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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

JANUARY, 1885.

ARTICLE I.

CHRIST AND THE THEOLOGY OF HIS DAY.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE H. SCHODDE, PH. D., Columbus, O.

"He came unto his own, and his own received him not," is the sigh of sorrow amid the joyous revelations of the majestic prologue to John's gospel. The voice of inspiration here pronounces one of the saddest facts of history. The attitude of the Jews toward Christ, as this finds expression in the words and deeds, not only of the Pharisees and Sadducees, but also of the mass of the people, although at first apparently undecided and expectant, from day to day grew in intensity of hatred and scornful contempt of His Messianic claims. With the exception of the few who were Abraham's children as well after the spirit as after the flesh, the nation as such, the chosen people of Jehovah, rejected Him whom Jehovah had sent as the fulfillment of all prophecy and history. The fulness of time had come; but as far as Israel was concerned the educational mission of the law and the theocracy had failed of its divine intent, and they were unable to understand the signs of the times. Christ's tears over Jerusalem's impending fate were wept over the spiritual destruction of God's chosen people, over the utter failure, as far as they themselves were concerned, of their mission as a great

and important factor in the development of the kingdom of God, and not over the city and temple of stone and wood. Looking at the contemporaries of Christ, as these are portrayed so vividly in the gospel records, it would seem that all prophecy had been written in a strange and unknown tongue, and all the dealings of God with Israel had meant nothing and had been forgotten. There is a rupture in the process of historical development in the Israel of the New Testament; the status of the life and faith of the people slaps all the previous history in the face, the condition of affairs is so entirely different from what it was intended to be and what it ought to have been, that the attitude of New Testament Judaism toward Christ, the fulfillment of Old Testament revelation, seems an historical enigma for which a solution is difficult to find.

And yet it cannot be said that this hostility to Christ and His claims was the result of mere blind fanaticism and ignorant hatred. The mere fact that Christ claimed to be the Messiah did not at once arouse up against Him the multitude of the people; it was only when they learned of the spiritual character of the kingdom which He intended to establish that they arose as one man against Him. As it was the case in their position over against the preaching of John, they at first, when Christ entered upon his active ministry, listened to Him with attentive ears and watched him with observing eyes. The desire and hope for something better than the terrible realities of the present could offer with the subjection and degradation of God's own nation under the yoke of the Gentiles, was as deep as it was natural, and almost every one in Israel was anxiously scanning the horizon of the future in his endeavor to discover the first dawn of the day that would usher in the great messianic kingdom. Nothing is clearer from the literature of the people which furnished them with spiritual food and drink during the sad centuries between the close of the Old and the opening of the New Testament, than that the longings for a Messiah, for a Deliverer, had taken deep root in the heart of the people. Not only was the advent of such a Messiah a postulate of prophecy too clear to be overlooked, but the experiences of the nation were such that the need of help was a lesson taught with a ter-

rible emphasis. Accordingly the annunciation that a messiah had come would prove rather a message of joy and anxious expectation than the occasion of opposition and hostility. How much this was the case in the days of Christ is clear from the actions of the people over against the preaching of the Baptist. The burden of his message was that the kingdom of God was at hand, in other words, that the Messiah of prophecy was about to make his appearance. This was evidently good news to the people, for we read that all Judea and Jerusalem went out to the Jordan to listen to John's proclamation and to be baptized as a preparation for the advent of new things. Christ met with a similar reception when he first entered upon his public career. From the very outstart condemnation and rejection did not meet him. The people were willing, indeed were anxious to hear, but reserved to themselves the right to judge and decide for themselves. This decision was not long in forthcoming, and proved to be an almost unanimous rejection of the Lord's person and work. The reason of this rejection could not have been, and was not, a protest against his claims as such, but it must have had a farther and deeper foundation; and the almost unanimity of this rejection shows that this reason must have been widespread and general. And why was it? Certainly not because Christ was not in truth the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, not because he was different from what the seers of old had pictured him, and not because his claims were wider or narrower than were the limits of the messianic person and work as marked out by a David, an Isaiah, a Micah, and their co-laborers. Christ was not rejected because he was at variance with Moses and the prophets; because His works and preaching prove how exactly and minutely He in each and every particular corresponds to the delineations of psalmists and prophets, and how in Him, and in Him alone, the Old Testament revelation and history find their complement, fulfillment and inner harmony. It certainly was not Christ who had departed from the forms and figures of revelation.

Then but one possibility remains, namely that the opponents of Christ, who resisted him in His person and teachings as a false prophet and Messiah, must have departed from the truths

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of revelation, must have, knowingly or unknowingly, rejected the words of prediction, departed from the ideal and the messianic hopes as held forth by the men of God who spoke in His stead, and must, in the room of the lost divine picture and biblical views, have set up carnal and erroneous human figments, and have rejected Christ because He did not conform to this false picture. And that such is really the case, and that the departure in life and faith of the Jews of Christ's day from the truths and hopes as laid down in God's word, was really the cause of Israel's direful step, is only too clear from the gospel records and from contemporary literature. The theology and faith of Christ's contemporaries are not those of Moses and the prophets, nor are they a lawful development from Old Testament premises. The Old Testament religion, as it was intended to be, in its ideal and pedagogic character, was no longer represented and reproduced in the beliefs of Christ's day; there had been a great departure from the landmarks of faith, and therefore when the true exponent and fulfillment of that faith came in Christ, they would not receive Him. They rejected Him because between Him and them there was a deep gulf over which it seemed impossible to pass; their theology differed, as does truth from error.

And wherein did then this great departure from revealed truth on the part of the Jewish world consist? To this question, the system of the Pharisees, which is fairly representative of the faith of the people, shall give us answer. It is evident from the New Testament picture of the Pharisees that they too sought the kingdom of God, and it is further evident that in doing so they based their hopes upon a foundation that Christ had to condemn, and followed out a principle which he had to reject and against which He had to warn and exhort with all the fervor of His soul, as is testified to by countless passages in the gospels. When He proclaimed the advent of His kingdom, He did it in the words of the Baptist, "Repent! the kingdom of God is at hand." The latter item of this announcement met willing ears on the part of the Pharisees, but it was the first word, the injunction to repent, at which they took offense. And in truth, the word "repent" contains all that distinguishes Christ's

promulgation from the tenets held by the Pharisees. For in that word lies concealed and presupposed some facts and principles which the theology of the Jews could not accept without an entire renunciation of its doctrines and principles. For repentance presupposes that there is something of which the soul is to repent, in other words, presupposes transgression, sin, and a state of condemnation before God. It starts from the premises that the deeds and actions of man have not been in conformity with the commands of God, and that the relation between creature and Creator is not such as it ought to be for the establishment of a kingdom in which the latter is the ruler and the former is the ruled; that the will of man is not subject to the will of his Lord, but has been rebellious and disobedient. Christ's anthropology sets out from the principle of man's disobedience, fall, and state of sin and corruption. And, further, proceeding from this and based upon this, Christ's demand of repentance as a condition to the entrance into the new relations, presupposed the soteriological principle that, as man has been unable to approve himself worthy of acceptance before God and is in a state of heart and soul that cannot be renewed, it is necessary for all these things to be changed and that he be received by grace and faith; that through some means the rebellious state be changed and man accept from free grace what he could not secure by merit or virtue. And what Christ in this first and fundamental proclamation taught, He elsewhere, often and clearly, preached and explained. How difficult it was for a Pharisee, even for the best and really earnest among them, only to understand these fundamental facts of Christ's gospel, we see vividly described in that remarkable night interview between Nicodemus and Christ, as recorded in John iii. And in truth Phariseeism inculcated principles radically opposed to those of the Saviour. In place of the evangelical principle of a justification by faith and repentance, they taught the principle of legal obedience and acceptance before God on the basis of absolute conformity to the laws of the Lord. The young man in the gospel who tells Jesus that he has fulfilled all the commandments of the Lord is a typical representative of the Pharisaic system, as this is pictured to us, as to doctrines and life, in the New Testament and in con-

temporaneous literature. The soul of this system was the nomistic principle, as it was of later Talmudic and is of modern orthodox Judaism. The law of Moses in its liturgical and ceremonial minutiæ was recognized as the standard and measure of righteousness before God. A man became acceptable before his Creator because he conscientiously adhered to the demands of the Pentateuch and of the tradition of the great teachers in Israel. The relation between God and His is based upon the obedience to the law as is also the membership in the kingdom of God. As Géike says in his life of Christ, "The fundamental principle of the Pharisaic conception of righteousness was the idea that strict observance of the traditions and commands of their schools in itself satisfied the requirements of God. Fulfillment of what was written in the Law and its rabbinical expositions, was, in their opinion, only a question of punctilious outward observance." According to their idea, then, an Israelite in whom there was no guile was one who, in his public and private walk, conformed entirely to the Law in all its real and imagined ramifications, and such a one was righteous before the eyes of the Lord. And what was more, this observance and obedience was merely outward, an action of the hands, tongue, lips and feet, not of the heart and soul, these were, so to say, dead factors as far as the securing of a righteous status before God was concerned; and, on the other hand, gross immorality was not inconsistent with this righteousness, as long as this immorality did not violate a legal injunction. It is just these features of Pharisaism that Christ so frequently scourges in his opposition to them. It is no wonder that in a system like this the tithing of mint, anise and cummin—mere garden herbs—could occupy a prominence in religion and life, while the principles of morality, of right and wrong, of the sinful state of the heart, and of pure worship of God, were regarded as of little or no importance, and, quite naturally, such a faith had no room for acknowledgment of man's condition of sin and need of salvation from on high, both of which truths are so clearly taught in both the Testaments. Its starting point and foundation was radically opposed to the gospel truths as taught by Christ, and therefore there could be no harmony or co-operation between

them. The Pharisees taught a legal righteousness attainable before God through the outward observance of Moses' laws and the securing of an acceptable status in the kingdom of the Lord by means of this superficial obedience; Christ taught that the man is rebellious, a corrupt sinner and worthy of condemnation; that he must repent and be born again, if he would live; and that he could become a child of God only through faith; and that he must accept, and not earn his salvation.

Which of these two systems is biblical and the truth, scarcely needs to be asked. Only the blindness of centuries, as was repeated only once again in history, namely in the history of the Romish Church, could so misinterpret the Old Testament revelation as to find in it the system taught by the teachers of Christ's day and believed by the people. It was a radically rotten system, poisoned throughout by self-righteousness and sin, and could produce only ills to those who adhered to it. It was error incarnate, and therefore resisted Truth incarnate.

But how came this to be so? How did error succeed in gaining so great a victory over truth? It certainly does not require a deep knowledge of psychology or of the history of thought to recognize the fact that this radical departure on the part of Israel's religion from the words and models of Moses and the prophets was not the work of a spasmodic movement, nor the mushroom growth of a night, nor the whims of a school of philosophy, but that it must be the result of a development that passed through decades and centuries. Even without any documentary evidences to prove the point, the mere facts in the case compel the student of history to believe that in the centuries from the close of the Old to the beginning of the New Testament there must have been agencies and factors at work, changing and revolutionizing the doctrines, faith and life of the people to such an extent as to make them the decided errorists we find them in the Saviour's day. The religious development must have been of a very erratic nature, in which not the truths of revelation and the lessons of history were permitted to guide the people and shape their faith and conduct, but foreign, antagonistic agencies were permitted to usurp this mission and assume such prominence in the national and religious life of the people that it made

them unfaithful to the divinely appointed mission of being the chosen nation of God, and incapacitated them from being prepared when the fullness of time had come. The substitution of the false principle of legal righteousness for the principle of justification before God through his mercy, or in other words, the substitution of Pharisaism for the faith as taught by the prophets, is the product of a few centuries full of eventful and sad days for Israel. And this sad history, in connection with the natural perversion of the heart, will suffice to explain the change in the faith of the people.

Its germs reach back to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. God had permitted the captivity of his people because of their disobedience and sin; during the days of bondage they had recognized the justice of their punishment and its cause, and those who returned, did so with the full determination that in the re-established Israel the theocracy, or rule of God, should be such not only in name but also in fact. Especially was it Ezra, the Moses Redivivus, who insisted upon the supremacy of the law of Moses in the doctrines and life of the people. That in doing so he was true to the genius of the theocracy, admits of no doubt, for God had appointed it to be thus. In the preparatory stage of the kingdom of God as presented in its Old Testament phase, the law had the mission of educating Israel unto the knowledge of the impossibility of becoming righteous through one's own exertion, and thus had the same mission to perform historically that it has to perform in and for the individual in the heart of each one to the present day. It was to be for the people, for history and for the development of God's rule among men, a "schoolmaster unto Christ." But never had it been God's intention that the law should usurp the principle of grace and free pardon to the repentant sinner, which is the basis of the Old as also of the New Testament covenant—it was merely to be a means to the end that the true nature of God's covenant, namely a covenant of grace, should become a living reality in the life of the people. But until this historical mission had been fulfilled, and Israel through a recognition of its own unrighteousness and need of a Saviour, would have been prepared for the reception of this Messiah, until then the yoke

of the law should be upon the people in order to prepare them for their mission and their mission for them. Nor is there the least evidence that Ezra and his coadjutors recognized in legal obedience any higher principle than was appointed for it by divine ordination. Nowhere is there the least indication that he or his made the law the basis of the theocracy and maintained that adherence to its behests was the means of becoming righteous and right before Jehovah's throne. We find him working hand in hand with prophetic inspiration for the reformation of the people, and starting them anew on the path that should lead them to the completion of God's plans concerning them.

But soon after him did the process of aberration set in. How easy the transition was is evident. It required but little superficiality and neglect to emphasize the performance of the legal ordinance in such a manner that the law, instead of being a means to an end, became an end itself, and instead of looking upon this performance as an act of obedience to the Lord and Master merely, to regard it as an act meritorious in itself and deserving of the commendation and reward of God. While thus the ceremonies of the law could be performed after as before, yet the spirit and animus of the acts could change and assume an *opus operatum* nature. That such a transition did take place is evident from the history of these days.

A strong agency in effecting this change were the learned schools of Babylon and Palestine, in which the study of the law, in all its possible and impossible minutiæ, became the subject of close and analytic scrutiny, and its observance was transferred from the heart to the head and its study became a matter of intellectual acumen and investigation. Then the history of the people, under Persian, Syrian and Roman yoke, ever and ever made them feel the peculiarities of their institution more and more, and emphasize the observation of the essence of these peculiarities, namely the law, over against the tyranny of the Gentiles. They recognized that their existence as a nation depended upon the observance of the tie that constituted them a nation, namely the law of Moses, and as the efforts from without, both those of brutal force and of intellectual attractions, endeavored to

disintegrate them and make them a more sympathetic member of the family of peoples in the East, the more the faithful clung to the observance of this law as the central feature of their worship and faith, well knowing that a surrender of this would insure them sure loss of their individuality. What is observed in every persecution for conviction's sake appeared here in its full strength. And in this manner the purely intellectual study of the law conspired with the peculiar history of the nation, to pervert it to the acceptance of a false standard and false belief. Regarded in the light of history, the adoption of the principle of legal obedience by the orthodox Jewish theology of Christ's day, is not so much of an enigma; to a great extent, it can be considered as the result of factors at work during the whole age from Malachi to Matthew.

To a great extent this process can be traced in the literature of the day. The Mishna as a whole, and the Talmuds and Midrashin in their roots go back to this age, and it is in these works that rabbinical Pharisaism and its self-righteousness finds its clearest expression. Then, too, in the other literary links between the two Testaments, in the apocrypha, the apocalypses and the like, the gradual entrance of this false faith into the religion of the people can everywhere be traced. Viewed in this light then, what at first sight might seem an inexplicable problem of history, really finds a rational explanation. Pharisaism as a system, as the theology of the Judaism of Christ's day, is a growth of centuries, and, as it was, could not but oppose Christ and His claims. It differed with Him *in toto*, because the righteousness it taught was not the righteousness proclaimed by Him. It taught error; He taught truth.

ARTICLE II.

HOW TO DEVELOP AND DIRECT LAY WORK IN OUR CHURCHES.*

By Rev. M. W. Hamma, D. D., Baltimore, Md.

In appearing before you to speak on the subject, "How to Develop and Direct Lay Work," I can hope to say little if anything new. If aught of interest may attach to my words it may only be because what I utter comes forth, freshly beaten out, from the anvil of practical pastoral experience.

From the expressed intention of the honored founder of this Lecture Course it is evident that theorizing and speculation are to have no place in its discussions, and that the recitation of practical experience in the pastoral office and the lessons drawn therefrom are to be the themes for consideration.

When we come to answer the question therefore, "how to develop and direct lay work in our churches," we are to deal not with an abstract, but a tangible, practical fact, such as has and may be actualized in pastoral experience.

One of the greatest living preachers has recently declared, "He is the most successful pastor who gets the most work out of his people." Presuming this to be true, the question, How to develop and direct lay work in our churches becomes, a most important one to those who are engaged in, as well as to those who are preparing for, the Christian ministry.

Lay work we must understand to mean *active effort* put forth in some religious direction by the members of the church; effort not in its massed capacity through the aggregation of a given number, but in its individual form. It contemplates the subdivision of a congregation into its units, into its personal factors, and these it proposes to deal with separately, taking each in hand, rousing, stimulating, and developing, by constant exercise, the faculties one may possess, and so directing all to

*Rice Lecture before the students of the Gettysburg Theological Seminary.

proper and spiritual ends, that they may do the most good possible in the places which they severally occupy.

To specify some means looking to the accomplishment of this object, I mention first, as the fundamental means to that end, *conversion.* To say that conversion is the fundamental means for the development of lay activity is to place the subject upon the highest rational and scriptural grounds.

Both reason and revelation coincide in declaring that any activity to be orderly, permanent, and beneficial must come forth from the deepest springs of man's nature, must proceed from motives which lay hold of all the powers of man's inner being with a controlling and permanent sway. Hence the radical requirement of the gospel is *regeneration* of man's nature; or as Christ himself states it: "Ye must be born again." And on this fact He bases all true Christian life and the final salvation of the soul.

Now *conversion* must not be confounded with *regeneration.* The *latter* is solely the act of God upon the human soul, breathing into it divine life, and changing it *from* sin to holiness, while the *former* is a term that includes the *entire process* of spiritual renewal in awakening. Regeneration and reformation taken together, or that whole series of acts both human and divine concerned in the transformation of an individual from a state of nature to a state of grace. *Conversion* expresses the sum and result of all, while *regeneration* means but the central fact in man's renewal. Hence I use the *former* term in naming the fundamental means necessary to awaken and promote lay activity, because it comprehends all the motives and powers of a new creature in Christ, aggregating the individual in all that *he is*, and propelling him forward in all spiritual activities to the noblest ends. Now it is quite possible to produce religious activity among church members by mere external means.

An appeal to party spirit, or denominational pride, or to local interests, or the pressure of personal influence, or other external force may rouse to effort in some religious directions.

But the response to all such outward appliances, when the inmost motives of the heart are not enlisted, are but mechanical and desultory; of brief duration and of doubtful value. A gal-

vanic battery applied to the nerves of a dead man will cause motion and action much as if the body were instinct with life. The eyes will open and close; the limbs will move as if again under the force of the will, but there is neither intelligence nor order there. It is but a blind response to external force with out rational direction or aim. So with all religious effort wrought by mere external machinery.

No such galvanized effort has any element of spiritual helpfulness to the doer thereof, and but little if any to the church in whose behalf it is performed. Hence it behooves you to recognize the supreme importance of aiming first and constantly at the *true conversion* of all in whom you would develop the best spirit and forms of Christian activity. And in order to this end you must be conscientiously given to the plain, evangelical preaching and teaching of God's word. The simple gospel story, telling of man's complete ruin by the fall, and of his complete recovery through faith in the person and work of the Divine-Human Saviour, is the ordained message to be proclaimed for the conversion of men. The repetition and enforcement of this wondrous story of redemption, in all the illustrious displays of divine love, felt and spoken from a heart itself entranced by this love, alone is suited and able to convert your fellow-men. From this simple and sublime theme you cannot turn aside for but a moment without the loss of divine, converting power over men, and the sacrifice of the best spiritual ends of your ministry. For temporal and sensational purposes you may preach the wisdom of this world, the humanities, the æsthetics, the speculations of philosophy, the cultures, the vague dreams of idealists, but, for the conversion of men but *one* subject is adequate to vitalize them with the life and power of God; the plain gospel is the solitary God ordained means. Eschewing all else for substance, Christ in the infinite outreach of his atonement must be the beginning, middle and end of your preaching in order to conversion. And let it be remembered that not a little has the manner also of preaching even these life-giving and soul-renewing truths to do in the production of their divine result. To proclaim these

holy messages as if they were a fable; to dole them out as if to utter them were a task; to speak as if the matters in hand were but for the occupation of the moment; or to render the ministration of them, either by manner or method, or forms of statement the mere entertainment or sensation of the hour, will go far toward neutralizing their power, and will almost certainly prevent their legitimate fruit—conversion.

A profound seriousness, a penetrating conviction of the unspeakable importance of the truths to be uttered, a soul absorbing earnestness in the delivery of the message, pulsating in the voice, flashing from the eye, beaming in the countenance, flaming in hot words and wrought into power in the manner—let these characterize your preaching of this simple gospel, and as sure as the Throne stands fast, it will authenticate its divinity in the conversion of souls. It is Dr. John Hall who says: "Give us the ministers who go directly with Bible truths to the souls of men—who preach to them of their guilt in denying the 'Holy one and the Just'—who urge this home on judgment and conscience with an earnestness begotten with the Spirit of God, and flowing out of souls set on fire from above, until the crowds, carried away, subdued and terrified cry out: What shall we do to be saved. Let us have sensations like this, produced any where, by any ministry, and I for one—if no part of this honor is given me—shall fall on my knees and give thanks to God who hath given such power unto men."*

Such preaching can hardly fail to thrust men through with the dart of conviction, to stir their deepest motives, to lay hold of their inmost souls, to strike them through with the life of God.

It will bear its legitimate fruit, the conversion of the souls, and so open in them the fountain of all spiritual activities, springing up in them eve as a well of water unto eternal life.

And now presuming that such a result has been attained to, it is needful to look for the specific ends toward which to direct these newly awakened activities and acquired powers in converted souls; this is the next important consideration on the

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*How to Promote Revivals, page 223.

part of the pastor. At this point it seems to me that this is of the very first moment, viz: to instill the true meaning and mission of discipleship, *or personal religion as being the work of soul-saving.*

That Christian has opened but half an eye to the signification of his profession who looks upon the salvation of his own soul as the whole range of his efforts. He needs at once to be taught the immeasurably greater truth that when God converts a human soul, he does it for as much more than its own salvation as 100 or 1,000 souls are of more value than *one.* Therefore every disciple should be led to enter on his life of faith *seized* of this one definite conviction, that his own conversion brings down upon him from God, the duty and privilege of saving others. Without this clear apprehension of the mission of Christian life, even conversion will fail of its best fruits and holiest activities, and the individual shut up to himself, will walk in his own tracks instead of outward and onward into the lines of others bearing influences to bless and save them. But the far-sweeping meaning of a life inspired by this true, because divine, idea, the influence of which is all but incalculable, has been well set forth in detail by another, rich in spiritual as well as intellectual gifts: *"No matter what the department, or what specific form of lay work comes to the front, the end to be sought, the achievement in which effort culminates is to win men to Christ. If you feed the hungry or clothe the naked, or kindle a fire on the cold hearth, or put a nosegay into the hand of the sick, or teach a class in the Bible school, or attend a cottage prayer meeting, or approach a stranger to bring him into social relations, the effort of the hour is supposed to look beyond to some eternal result."

This meaning of discipleship must be taught as the mission of every Christian and as the employment, to which God calls his every talent and power. Let it be ever enforced upon the understanding and conscience that the inborn life of the Christian, to be genuine, must, among its earliest and abiding impulses have a desire to bring others to Christ, beholding his

*Rev. Dr. H. C. Hayden, Lay Effort, p. 44.

true model in Andrew, who as soon as he had discovered the Messiah himself, "first findeth his own brother Simon and he brought him to Jesus," and in Philip, who, having made the same joyful discovery, "findeth Nathaniel and saith unto him, we have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph." Let it be the key-note of all your teaching that the life of religion to be a true one, must be but a constant, uninterrupted series of efforts put forth to save men, and if found devoid of these divine manifestations, is to be regarded as lacking the seal of genuineness, as spurious and worthless.

To rouse up this benevolent and beneficent impulse in believing souls, and bring them under the inspiring sway is to discover to them the inmost essence and practical reality of personal Christianity.

And now having designated some means necessary to the development of lay activity, it remains to point out *some specific channels into which to direct it.*

It were of little service to arouse and stimulate in Christians the spirit of activity, if no proper methods and plans of work were presented for its utilization. It may be easier to awaken the impulse and purpose of effort than to mark out definite channels into which they may be led to flow and crystalize into practical results.

To find work for all, and to direct to the best uses for the Church the talents and spiritual powers within her is probably the most difficult of all undertakings in the pastoral office. If all individuals were made over the same model in their physical, intellectual and spiritual natures they might be massed upon one or two general forms of work and the problem of the employment of lay talent would be solved.

But here at the threshold we are met with the fact that is fundamental to the human race, viz: the diversity of temperaments, tendencies, tastes, talents and gifts, which present themselves in a given number of human beings, fitting them for activity and achievement only in certain directions and to the same extent disqualifying them for practical service in all others.

It were worse than foolish to ignore these radical differences by endeavoring to force upon all the same general class of work.

The profoundest wisdom and skill must be employed by the pastor in discovering and applying the talents and gifts of each in the peculiar line of his adaptation. Otherwise the work sought to be done will be marred instead of helped; the object aimed at may be defeated instead of accomplished. The law of religious adaptation is much like that of intellectual. Some have a genius for poetry, others for mathematics, but by exchanging places both individuals lose their practical value.

Likewise some Christians have the talent of public address, others the gift of music, but if you ignore the fitness of things and give each the other's place, you will probably destroy the principal parts of your church services. It is evident that the utmost care must be taken that between the proposed work and the individual talents of the workman, at least reasonable adaptability exists, lest you be found trying to do even more than the Creator intended.

As well might the weaver expect to turn wool into silk, as for the pastor to hope to so change a Christian that he becomes proficient in doing that for which there is given him neither natural nor spiritual ability.

True we must not forget the factor of divine grace which is given to supplement all human insufficiencies, and which oft-times accomplishes great changes in men's spiritual tendencies and powers, and yet it must be observed that the aid from this source even is usually in the direction of developing the talent which the individual already possesses rather than in the bestowment of new gifts. These gracious promptings and unfoldings of divine energy are inclined to flow most readily and to the best effect in the channels of the specific talents which God has precreated in the individual soul for that given purpose. For wise reasons providence rarely fits one man for every and all kinds of spiritual work, nor all for the same kind, and the pastor can scarcely hope for success in securing a wider adaptation to given methods of work than there is natural and spiritual endowment for in the individual. But his wisdom and

success will consist in discovering each layman's aptitude and directing all to the work for which they are severally fitted.

In the universal harmony of God's plan, both the church and society are so constituted as to afford place and opportunity for the exercise of every class and grade of individual talent coming within their range. To name and mark out some of these channels and methods of work shall be our next object.

To begin with that which is nearest the heart, and central life of the Church let me designate first *the prayer or devotional meetings*, as one of the principal spheres in which to develop and exercise lay activity.

This class of meetings is as old as the New Testament Church itself. Indeed it may be said with truth that the Church of Christ was born in a prayer-meeting. In that upper room in Jerusalem, where the disciples waited for the fulfillment of the promise, while they prayed, the Holy Ghost descended with the "rushing mighty wind" that shook the place and "the cloven tongues of fire sat upon them;" there the dispensation of the Spirit began, and with it was inaugurated the Church under its New Testament form and administration.

Seeing therefore that the prayer-meeting is associated so closely with the birth, the essence, the life of the Church, and has been one of the most important factors in her development and history, it seems fit that the pastor assign this the *first place* of importance as a means for the spiritual employment of the laity. To secure general co-operation and heart-interest in this service upon the part of the entire membership should be the sincere desire and call forth the earnest labors of the pastor. This institution is justly regarded as the spiritual training school of the Church in which to develop and exercise the talents and graces of Christians and prepare them for all the other activities of Christianity.

But how far it has fallen short of this ideal in its practical realization in modern times is painfully evident. An eminent writer, himself a Christian, gives the following striking description of the "average prayer-meeting of the present day:" "*In a

*Holland, Every Day Topics, pp. 164, 165.

church of say 250 members there is an average attendance of 50 persons. These are made up, so far as the men are concerned, of the principal officers, the deacons, elders, etc., the remainder are women, the first women of the church, and such of their families as they can induce to accompany them. The clergyman, overworked, and discouraged by the small number in attendence is there to lead. He gives out his hymn, prays, reads the Scriptures, and with a few remarks, "throws open the meeting" to the laymen for prayer and exhortation. There is a long period of silence. The deacons who suspect that their voices have been heard too often, or that they may be in the way of others, remain silent. At last, either one of them is called upon by the pastor, or some poor man under the spur of a sense of duty, rises and utters as well as he can, the words of a prayer. Everybody sees that he is in a struggle, and that he is so little at home that he is only anxious to get through without breaking down. The audience is of course sympathetic, and instead of being led in prayer becomes as anxious for him as he is for himself. And so with long patches of embarrassing and painful silence, interspersed with dreary platitudes and prayer and speech, unrefreshing and lacking spontaneity to a sad degree, the meeting goes on to the end, which comes when the chapel clock shows that an hour has been spent in the service. To suppose that any great good comes from the spending of an hour in this way is to offer an insult to common sense. When men go to a religious meeting of any sort they go to be reinforced, or refreshed or instructed.

"How much of any one of these objects can be realized in such a meeting as we have described? How much of the still higher objects of spontaneous, joyous worship can be secured by listening to the painful blundering of consecrated laymen? Can it be that the Almighty Father of us all is pleased with an offering so little spontaneous, so far from joyous, so painful in its exercise, and so unprofitable in its counsels as this.

"If once a week a whole church would come together joyfully, and sing their songs, and pray their prayers, and speak their thoughts, and commune with one another on the great topic which absorbs them, that would be a meeting worth having.

"But how would such a meeting compare with the dead drag of the average prayer-meeting? It would compare as life compares with death, as beauty with deformity. So utterly valueless to all human appearances are the prayer-meetings carried on by some churches, that it may well be questioned whether they are not rather a detriment than an advantage, a harm rather than a help to the regular work of the pastors and the spiritual prosperity of those whom they lead and teach."

Not to quote the language of the author further, he continues to say in substance about what every thoughtful pastor and layman knows to be true, that, while this criticism is not meant to impugn the piety and sincerity of those whom it thus characterizes, such is the nature of things in the life and surroundings of laymen generally, that the effect is to chill their spiritual sensibilities and so absorb the attention with worldly occupations and cares as to prevent preparation of heart and mind for personal participation in the exercises of the prayer-meeting.

Furthermore, laymen, with very few exceptions are unused to public speaking, and the thought itself of being expected to do it becomes a source of fear, and the effort, when even undertaken, such an embarrassment as most likely to prove a failure, and as a consequence the individual is mortified and humiliated into the very dust of self-depreciation, from which he scarcely has the courage to again lift his head. From these and other considerations many attend this serviee only from a strong sense of duty, or beeause they cannot bear to discourage the pastor by remaining away. Many others less conscientious and considerate, from the dread of being expected or called upon to perform a service which they feel they could not decline publicly without painful embarrassment, or could not attempt without the risk of a mortifying failure, choose, to them, the easier course, of remaining away entirely from the prayer-meeting. And thus it comes to pass that the average prayer-meeting falls far below its design and possibilities as a means for the development of the active powers of the laity.

The failure appears to consist especially in two things: 1st. The smallness of the number who are wont to attend. 2nd.

The meagre and generally inefficient co-operation of those who take part in the service.

How to cure these radical defects is a question that may well enlist the most profound thought and purpose of the ministry as well as the whole Church. How to secure lay effort in the sphere of the prayer-meeting so that the laymen generally shall be educated to pray, and, to a reasonable number, speak in public, is a problem the favorable solution of which will bring unspeakable blessings to the Church. That the majority, at any rate, of the adult male membership should be able to do this is unquestionably desirable as one form of activity in itself helpful. But it is probably safe to say that reliance upon present methods will not accomplish this much desired end. Dependence upon extemporaneous prayer can enlist the personal co-operation of but the smallest number of the average congregation. There is generally a given few who can render an impromptu service of this kind with more or less acceptability, but the great majority usually are found wanting either in the natural, or gracious ability, or both, necessary to the effort. Now is it not practical wisdom on the part of the pastor to recognize this manifest difference in these two classes of Christians and simply accept the fact that for various reasons some *can* pray in public extemporaneously, and for reasons real or imagined many *cannot*, and then go forward and adapt his methods to these two different conditions, and renounce the vain and fruitless effort at seeking to lead all to adopt and practice the same plan? Let him be none the less earnest and faithful in his endeavors to develop extemporaneous talents in this direction in whomsoever he may find them, but equally ready to supply others with such helps as their case requires. Were it not much better to supply a suitable form of prayer for such as are willing to pray in public but are afraid to venture upon their own thoughts and words, and have them freely and openly use this than that they should ever sit silent; never pray at all? The prevailing conviction that entirely extemporaneous prayer on the part of the laity in public is the proper thing, is a splendid theory, and its realization would be a priceless achievement, but beholding its meagre results everywhere in the Church,

after long and faithful cultivation, may we not reasonably question its practicability as a universal method? Any plan of spiritual service that has succeeded in enlisting only a tithe of the laity in each church may not be a total failure, but so near it that its right to exclusive practice becomes wholly forfeited. It may be well enough to say *what ought to be*, but it is practically much wiser to look earnestly into the face of *what is*, and make the plan adjustable to that which cannot be altered.

If the method of exclusively extemporaneous prayer in our devotional meetings, after all the drumming and drilling of many years, has resulted only in the reluctant co-operation of less than a baker's dozen laymen in the average congregation, it surely is high time to at least experiment with some additional plans.

Suppose there were put into print in convenient form an indefinite number of prayers adapted to express all possible wants in the varied conditions and experiences of the human soul, so that each individual choosing one could make it the complete utterance of his own heart at any given time, who dare say that the offering of such prayer in public would not be as helpful to the soul that utters it, and as edifying to the congregation that follows it, as the spontaneous prayer under similar circumstances. May I not venture farther and declare, that, taking into account the embarrassment, mental confusion and all the hindrances common to extemporaneous efforts with most laymen, the use of a suitable printed prayer would be more likely to beget the spirit of true devotion in the individual himself, and minister much more to the edification of others than the extempore, with all its imperfections. With this method we can conceive of a prayer-meeting composed of the majority of the church, in which scores of laymen would take part in public prayer, and thus themselves secure the spiritual drill and culture sought by such exercise, while the devotional meetings would be raised to a condition of manifest success, shedding forth a general influence for good, in character and extent worthy of a means of grace such as this is claimed to be.

Against the use of such forms, of course, the evident objection will be urged that such service would almost inevitably degen-

erate into a dead ritualism and so lose its spiritual life. But the answer is quite as easily given that such result is by no means necessary. Yet taking even the worst view of it, and allow that it might become a mere dead form at last, and what has been lost? Certainly nothing of special value, but a possible gain is made; for it must be accepted on mere statement as true that a score of laymen who will only read prayers with reasonable efficiency are in advance of those who will not pray at all. And there is withal the hope that if they be earnest men, really desirous of spiritual growth, some may by and by drop the form and trust to the utterance of their own hearts as they become somewhat cultured in the grace of prayer. Let the pastor, however, insist always that no form is to be used to repress or in any way hinder spontaneous utterance, which should always be encouraged in all who can and will give such offering, and should be held up as a possible attainment finally to even those who use the form. Having it clearly understood that the formal mode is only additional to the other, and educational in its aim, its introductiou as an experiment is certainly worthy of the most careful trial. Without presuming to advise such a course, I simply suggest it as a possible solution of the difficult question, "*How to awaken and direct lay activity in the prayer-meeting.*"

I have resolved upon this plan in my own church, encouraged to it by the almost universal approbation with which the proposition has been met by the laymen. If the thousands, now dumb as though utterly speechless, are ever to lift their voices in prayer to God in the public congregation, the most of them must have a prepared form as the indispensable aid, else like the tens of thousands of a similar class before them they too will go to the grave with sealed lips.

The next specific channel of lay work of which I shall speak is the *Sabbath-school.*

It is only expressing a universal conviction to say that the Sunday-school is probably the most important branch of Christian work connected with the church in which laymen and women may freely engage. Its power to mould and control the destiny of human souls is at once beyond all finite calculation.

It is justly regarded as the nursery of the Church, both as it respects the training of the young and the development of the talents and activities of the individual members of the congregations who engage in its service and labors. It affords probably the largest channel for positive lay work connected with a Christian society. And it may be truly said that the congregation, all other things being equal, which can show the largest proportion of its membership occupied and identified with its Sunday-school, is the most truly active church. The question of personal fitness necessarily presents itself at this point as a consideration in the work of this branch of the Church. Want of ability is the plea which is the great hindrance to a larger success here. To remove this obstacle is no easy task, for often this plea is founded in fact and must for the time being be accepted as an exemption of some from the obligation to labor in given directions. But the pastor must himself possess and labor to inculcate the true conception of Sunday-school instruction. There is often a false standard of ability held up according to the measure of which many are deterred and excluded who otherwise might take an efficient part in this department of Christian labor. It happens frequently that this institution which is so simple in its object and aims is by professionals and experts rendered so complex, involved, and difficult as in a large measure to destroy its usefulness as a practical means for spiritual ends. If the Sunday-school signifies any thing that is valuable, if it contains any thing that is worth preserving, it is to be found in this solitary object, viz: To make Christians of the children and to make wiser and better and more active those already Christians. If this be not its meaning and end it does not deserve to live and hold its place in the Church. With this simple spiritual aim therefore it addresses itself to Christians, and confidently appeals to every grade of talent, since its work is to be performed with spiritual rather than intellectual means. Since the subject of its teaching is to be the simple story of the cross, here a consecrated heart may do a greater work than any educated head.

No need of philosophy, metaphysics, or the sciences of nature, or wide range of history, or a highly cultivated mind in the

wisdom of this world; in the Sunday-school teacher's chair, he need know but one thing well; *the story of Redemption.* The truths and experiences of this thoroughly inwrought with his hearts life, and inwoven with a divine lustre through the warp and woof of his character are the highest possible equipment.

This of course takes for granted the possession of that reasonable measure of ordinary intelligence without which no work of teaching can be successful. Let the above qualifications be possessed and vitalized and irradiated by the Holy Ghost, and they will constitute an endowment for Sunday-school teaching which for all its truest ends qualifies beyond all else. Such instructor, though he cannot read the Greek or Hebrew text, or conduct a blackboard exercise, or manipulate the elaborate machinery invented by others, for the school and class, may yet hope to do a greater and grander work through the teaching of this simple story, made rich and winning to the hearts of his pupils as he pours it forth from the treasures of his own experience. The late Dr. Holland beautifully says, "The observations of a life of observation have taught us that the principal good results of Sunday-schools come not from enterprising and gifted superintendents, come not from interesting and funny story tellers, who are known technically as 'Sunday-school men;' come not from singing sacred words to 'Yankee Doodle,' or of frivolous words to still more frivolous tunes; come not from huge feats of memory in the rehearsal of long chapters of Holy Writ; come from none of these numberless tricks resorted to for enthralling juvenile interest and exciting juvenile ambition and love of praise, but from the personal influence of Christian teachers, who, knowing their scholars intimately and loving them tenderly, lead them by the power of their love, and the light of their own Christian life." With this conception of the qualification of the best type of teacher we are constrained to believe that the Sunday-school affords a channel for the employment of a much larger proportion of the membership of the church than is commonly called into service. Many having a large measure of these spiritual qualifications are thought unfit because supposed to be lacking in the popular gifts of a false

standard. Such, usually discrediting their own ability, are often superseded by the self-confident, self-asserting, and often the spiritually shallow, and thus the surface talent is kept in exercise while some of the richest and most sanctified gifts of the Church are left comparatively unused.

You will observe that the best teachers do not always come ready made to the school. With most persons teaching a class comes as a final result of preliminary preparation; they come to it by gradual approaches. At first they may be induced to attend the school only to look on. After some persuasion they may come into an adult class; gradually their interest will grow, and with it a certain freedom and confidence will be developed, and after a while they can be prevailed upon to supply the place of an absent teacher for a Sabbath, and then again, and finally they may take a class permanently, and such often labor with the very best results. To have done this from the start would have been impossible and probably impracticable, but this series of gradual steps was the necessary educational preparation to develop both the ability and the willingness for the undertaking.

To gather into the Sunday-school as nearly as possible the whole congregation, adults as well as children, must be the untiring purpose and aim of the pastor who seeks the development of the highest and largest activities of his people. The school should be carried up into every rank of the church, or more properly, the entire congregation should pass down into the ranks of the school and thus be resolved into an army of learners and workers, ready to be detailed to any special service or line of activity needing reinforcement. Thus there would always be a large reserve teaching force from which to draw, and large adult classes with regulations, privileges and exercises to suit the circumstances might be maintained. Such classes are by no means an unattainable ideal; though rare, they should be numerous, and in the churches best estate they will be commonly prevalent. Seek to bring in all; of every rank and age, and if possible assign each a work, or a place, or if nothing more, a seat to look on, and in such a busy hive they can not long remain idle and uninterested. The very contact

and atmosphere of the place must ere long rouse and stimulate the best energies and purposes of their souls to active effort. An entire congregation thus gathered into the work of the Sunday-school would be to have achieved one of the best and broadest forms of lay activity within the range of possibility. Aim at this, not as a dream but as a practicable result quite within the reach of your future achievements.

As another specific channel of lay effort, I would mention next the *missionary work of the Church.*

I have already anticipated in a measure this branch of the subject in defining the true idea of Christian discipleship as meaning "soul saving," but in that I dealt rather with the *spirit,* while in this I am more especially concerned with its *exemplification.* The desire to save souls is the undermost and innermost motive of the Christian life, but to organize ways and means, and apply them to that end is the crystallization of such desire into practical forms; and this means *missionary work* in its broadest sense. But that which more especially deserves attention under this head is that form of missionary work, both home and foreign, which is conducted by the Church through her regularly constituted channels, such as Societies, Executive Boards, etc. To direct the entire membership into this channel so as to secure the fullest and most earnest co-operation of all, must be the constant aim of the pastor who desires the best state of Christian development among his people.

Broadness of view in respect to this feature of Christianity you must constantly seek to inculcate. The narrow conception of duty which sees only its own small congregation or province will constantly obtrude itself into the way of a world-embracing gospel. Such soul-impoverishing and unworthy conceptions must be removed from the minds of Christians, not alone by teaching, but by bringing them into constant contact with missionary operations in every way possible. Nothing will more rapidiy and effectually enlarge an individual's views, broaden his faith, expand his soul, and quicken his spiritual activities than the infusion of the missionary spirit.

But in this line there is little to be done in the way of formal work. Beyond the conduct of the necessary business, incident

to the management of societies or committees, and the gathering of funds, there is little to be rendered save the dissemination of information, the awakening and exercise of sympathy, prayer, and the grace of giving. And yet, to be able to turn a people unitedly into the exercise of these beneficent and gracious activities, is success of such character as to reflect the highest spiritual honor upon the pastor.

Here it is fit that I should make special mention of the comparatively new element which has recently come to the very front of missionary effort in our denomination—the Women's Missionary Societies." In the organization of these is met a long felt want in the Church: for here is a means for awakening, combining and utilizing the talents of the female portion of the congregation, and in a way that cannot but commend itself to the judgment and conscience of all. It is already evident that the originators of this movement "builded wiser than they knew," for the influence of their work extends far beyond the class for whom it was intended. These societies, wherever in vigorous operation, are the missionary leaven, leavening not only the women, but the men also, as well as the children, and become the most effective instrumentality in the dissemination of the missionary spirit and the accomplishment of its objects. Alone, this movement would not be sufficient, but joined with the general work, it not only adds much through its own specific resources, but becomes also a most powerful and salutary stimulant to every good work in the church. No pastor can have the best results of all forms of beneficence among his people until woman's labors have made their rich contribution, until woman's patient hands have given of their toil, until woman's loving heart has been busy with its generous devising, until woman's sweet spirit hath given its benediction of prayer and blessing, not until the Marys have come forth and poured out the precious ointment of their devotion upon it, not until then are the best gifts offered, the fragrance of whose sacrifices shall fill the whole church.

Would you realize in your ministry that which is the nearest to perfection in Christian activity among your flock, labor *first, last and all the time* for the universal infusion of the missionary

spirit among the men, among the women, and with equal diligence among the children; directing the thought, the purposes, the active energies of all into this world-encircling movement, and you will have wrought out under God the grandest religious result that is given to the Christian minister to accomplish.

Mark another channel of Christian activity for laymen in what we may term *social work.* This at first may seem somewhat remote from the spiritual forms of lay effort, and therefore may appear less essential, but on closer examination will be found to bear a very important relation to the prosperity of every Christian society. This element is so really of the essence of Christ's religion, that it should by no means be considered apart from it, as if it were external and merely incidental to Christianity. The grace of *sociability* and *mutual friendship* between Christians, and from Christians toward their fellow men generally, is so distinctly taught in the Scriptures that one is at a loss to know how these precious gems have been allowed to drop so nearly out of the crown of the Church. Christ himself placed them there, not as alien graces, but as those of kindred nature with the others, whose radiance, though differing from their fellows, are yet as essential to the perfection of the whole as a given color of the prism is to the perfection of light itself.

We need but glance at the primitive Church as she took form and character under the instruction of Christ and the apostles, to learn this truth. It was not simply incidental, or from the combination of external circumstances, that the early Christians were so heartily given to the exercise of the social graces of religion. It was not from *without* but from *within* that this prompting came. It was an impulse of that self-same divine life which came down from God into the souls of men and made them "new creatures." It was the manifestation of that "new heart" as it came under the reign of the new law of "peace on earth and good will toward men."

Sociability, the exercise of mutual friendships, were as much a part of Christian life in the primitive Church as prayer and worship. Hence we read such descriptions as these of the disciples: "And the multitude of them that believed were of

one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common," Acts 4: 32. Hence also the apostles have exhorted all Christians to the exercise of a like spirit, saying, "Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another" "Distributing to the necessity of saints; given to hospitality," Rom. 12: 10, 13. And John, that royal apostle of love, lifts this law of brotherly kindness even up to the standard of divine sacrifice, declaring, "And we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."

But contemplating only the ordinary duties and attainments in the line of the social graces, what a vast field there is here for the cultivation and exercise of this useful form of lay effort. By as much as this grace has been so sadly neglected, and the susceptibility to its culture is so great, there is a most powerful incentive to awaken earnest and universal effort in this direction. To attain to her best estate the Church must be brought back to her primitive customs in this regard; to that condition of simple and unselfish piety, in the warm fraternal love of which worldly distinctions melted away, and a mutual brotherhood was maintained, embracing *all* the disciples of the Lord, meanwhile manifesting itself in kindly greetings, practical sympathies, and the cultivation of friendly relations, and communings between individuals and families from house to house.

The Church of to-day giving herself fully to this friendly and fraternal piety of her early days might justly hope to be rebaptized with her primitive power and glory. Let it be the emphatic effort of your ministry to teach and have brought into manifest exemplification, that the Church of Christ is not an institution to be dominated over by the iron law of social caste, where selfishness and pride may turn up its nose at plain garments, and where the haughty spirit may ignore and treat with contempt the offered greeting of the poor, or where unsanctified wealth may enthrone itself for vain glory over the trampled rights and aching hearts of Christ's humble but truest disciples. Teach no divine lesson clearer than this, that discipleship carries with it the eternal law of *Christian equality* and the unalterable obligation to enter into the spirit and practice of all its

privileges and duties. It is to be remarked that this grace of sociability may be exercised by all in a reasonable measure. More easily acquired than all others it may be most urgently pressed upon the attention of every one as that which will yield the most bountiful reward. It is doubtful whether the same amount of effort put forth in any other Christian direction will accomplish greater results in winning men to the love and obedience of the truth. Often when every other effort has failed to attach a number to the church, or rouse another to activity, or bring another under the influence of the means of grace, the subtle and resistless sway of social power has prevailed.

The friendly call, not once, but repeated now and then at the opportune moment, perhaps in the day of sickness or calamity, or when death's darkness rests on the home, may be a more potent instrumentality to build up a Christian or save a sinner than any other power the individaal can wield. And now multiply this power by the number of souls in a given congregation, capable of such services and you have some expression of the aggregate good such social work might accomplish for the Church of Christ.

Let it be understood that no one can plead exemption from such efforts for lack of ability; for there is probably not one, but there is some soul to whom he can be a voice of instruction and comfort, or a hand of help and guidance. Ever impress upon the minds of Christian people that *that* church is the nearest the Saviour's ideal which has the most *heart to heart* communion between its members, and where the Christian law of brotherly fellowship has established the closest and most helpful social relations between its adherents, thus answering the Saviour's prayer for the loving *oneness* of his disciples. As the world grows more selfish, and worldly society continually more heartless, both the necessity and the opportunity for the cultivation of all the hearty sympathies and blessed ministrations of social friendships among the followers of the loving Saviour become greater.

It is not more truth, not more Gospel, not more sacraments, not more organization, not more discipline that the Church of

to-day needs, but more loving hearts, more outstreched hands, more practical sympathies, more sanctified social communion, more of unselfishness and loving friendship. Labor to have your congregations thoroughly permeated with these, and though you may have neither wealth nor social position, that church will be an advancing, spiritual power, before the face of which no opposition on earth can stand.

Did time and space permit I might mention many other points of interest and value, but I have selected those only of greatest prominence, and of widest and most effectual influence within the range of *lay work*. And now it must be evident that if lay work be thus apprehended by you, and if it be awakened and cultivated, and directed by these principles and methods into the channels and fields here set forth, you as ministers of the Gospel will secure in your future pastorates the most magnificent achievement that can be placed before a human soul. God will count you to have done better than to have built an earthly empire, or by the sword to have subjugated the mightiest of nations. The good that you will have done to your fellows will outlast the marble and the bronze of the ages, and the crown of your reward and rejoicing will be unspeakable in its preciousness and as fadeless in its glory as the light of yonder throne!

ARTICLE III.

MORALS IN THE MESHES OF THE BRAIN.

By Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph. D., Prof. of Ethics in the Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.

Good and bad, as discernible qualities of motive and conduct, are terms dropping familiarly from the lips of men on all the face of the earth. And so also with the cognate terms, virtue and vice. There are no exceptions. Where possibly the words descriptive of these moral qualities may not yet have developed into an attenuated and abstract form, there is nevertheless some striking analogy, or symbol, or figure of speech, under cover of which the fundamental distinction of right and wrong is set forth. These words are but the moral nature of man, reflected into speech; and there is an intensive as well as extensive meaning attaching to this fact. As far down as we may go in the scale of humanity, even to that point last discoverable on the hither side of brute life, we still note that the man speaks, and that he has words in his language for right and wrong.

Now a phenomenon so universal and primordial in the complex organization of man, may fairly claim a separate and exhaustive study by itself. And in any system of philosophy well planned and well digested, it must have the chief place; because whatever marvel man is as to his power of thought, he is a greater marvel as to the moral forces in the midst of which his being unfolds. When acting ourselves, or seeing others act, we instinctively ask what is the thing that ought to be done; and, implicitly, what is the special evil that ought to be shunned. A man using the power he has for oppressing his fellow-men, and getting his neighbor's property by unfair means—evidently no reasoning, nor force of custom, nor transmitted belief is needed to arouse the indignant judgment in the disinterested spectator, that such thing is wholly wrong. A man imbruting himself by the indiscriminative and unrestricted gratification of

his appetites and lusts—in the earlier and later stages of his decline, in the beginning, and at the extremest limits of indulgence to which he may go, is clearly never without some puncture of remorse, some whisper of admonition that this state of things ought not to be.

This is the inherent sense of obligation at the centre of all manhood, and co-evil in the race with its power to speak, to which we have been wont to set apart a special faculty called conscience, and the roots of which we have consentingly referred to some power of free-determination in the human will. But now physics, under the stimulus of certain newly discovered laws, is asking to have the whole spiritual domain to itself, and is applying its formulas with great confidence to the subtlest movements of the human mind. If that claim can be made good, it were the grossest empiricism to withhold assent. What specialists say on the basis of observation and experiment is always entitled to respect; and if they can make it clear by an appeal to unquestioned facts, and such inferences as may obviously and fairly be drawn from such facts, that the human will is a species of dynamics, and not as we have thought it a self-originating power of choice—then there is an end to all wrangle on that subject, and the enormous work of reconstruction must begin.

Nevertheless such wholesale transformation upon our old-time convictions cannot be wrought without noise, and without some critical inspection of what is going on. Men will be reluctant where so many grave issues are at stake; and so deep-seated and persistent is the popular conception of the freedom of the will, that we may know beforehand that, if it is to be eradicated, it must be done with the knife.

Let us see how the whole matter now stands as between the parties opposed. Man and plant; man and animal—how do these sets of objects to the ordinary consciousness contrast? It would not occur to any one to inquire about the plant how it ought to grow, or how it ought to blossom or bear fruit. Or, if that inquiry is raised, as in botany it surely will be, every one perceives that the word "ought" in that connection has lost the special meaning it conveys when applied to human beings, and

is used only in an accommodating and analogical way. Even in the case of the domestic animal, where often there seems to be something closely resembling the moral sense, and where wrong-doing, as in the horse for example, is resented and punished by the passionate master as if the creature were morally responsible for his acts, calling him vicious, malicious, wicked, and the like, yet we instinctively feel that the speechless brute, and because he is speechless, is infinitely below the ethical standard these epithets imply.

If the dog thieves, as he will, and when discovered will exhibit the same hang-dog, skulking, guilty self-consciousness which uniformly betrays itself in the human thief, we do not therefore seriously call the dog a thief. We punish him, perhaps, but because he could not put his plea into words we immediately convict ourselves of something cruel in the act, and fondle him back again to the best place in our affections the loyal animal can have. His cringing was not remorse; it was only the painful recollection of his master's scowl and admonitory cuff on a former occasion of merited rebuke. And so it is; the gulf between man and brute can be bridged over only by some causeway of ethical coherence such as articulate speech implies. However savage and brute-like the primitive man may have been, the presumption is he had the power of uttering words, and this faculty, when it came, carried in its bosom all the wide incommensurable difference between a creature having a moral nature and one who has none. It is obviously impossible that the doctrine of evolution should ever change our views on this subject. We can never speak of responsibility as an attribute of the highest animal we know, because whatever semblances of rationality and morality he may exhibit, we do all agree that his being is so circumscribed by the dominion of appetite, that they are semblances and nothing more.

Therefore, until recently, no one ever dreamed of so expanding the term "conduct" as to make it applicable in any intelligible sense to the irresponsible acts of the brute. Neither by loosening the term above, nor expanding it below, could any such meaning be conceived. Even where the reciprocal relations of

man and brute were fairly brought within the scope of the ethical survey, it was felt that responsibility was sharply defined as something attaching only to the man. He could act morally or immorally in his treatment of the brute, but the brute could never be charged with guilt in his relations with man. This is the popular feeling on this subject now, and we may confidently predict that whatever science may do in toning down and modifying it, it will always remain essentially the same.

It is a question, however, which mere dogmatism cannot set at rest. We must appeal to psychology in all matters of an ethical import, if we would settle at last whether the popular sentiment on this subject be empiricism or not. Psychology, biological or other, deals with the intellectual, sentient, and active powers with which the living organism is endowed, distinguishing between thought and emotion, and tracing out whatever deeper energy may be found in the realm of mind. And as we are here in a region of the subtlest processes, where powers and experiences acquire a speculative value as they stretch over from the finite to the infinite, we should be very rash to assume any stage of attainment in this direction as marking a limit in our researches never to be surpassed. Nevertheless, in general we may say, that an appeal to self-consciousness, and to other sources less introverted, will reveal in rough outline a threefold distribution of the faculties and aptitudes of the human mind—adopting Kant's nomenclature, the Sense, the Understanding, and the Reason; the Sense, when we are gathering impressions and facts from the outside world; the Understanding, when by a process of discursive reasoning we are working up these facts under some underlying law; the Reason, that magisterial faculty that brings down to these other two processes the universal and necessary ideas upon which they are respectively conducted.

Now, accepting this inventory as essentially in accord with the constitution of the human mind, we must note that Ethics ransacks these widely diverse provinces for the purpose of determining from which one of them, in the main, the moral quality dates. And so it comes to pass that every theory of

morals takes rank and character on the basis of this test. If the sentient nature be held as in the end the sum total of human susceptibilities and powers, then evidently what we distinguish as right and wrong in the relations of life can be traced to no fountain higher up; and are not the primary ideas we thought them to be, but are in their last analysis some modification of pleasure and pain. The nerves being the man, whatever brings pleasure to these either for the time now, or in the long run of experience, is good; and in like manner whatever brings pain is bad. In all sensational systems, of whatever shape or hue, the happiness principle is the alembic into which all problems of moral philosophy must be cast. Nor does it materially alter the point of view, for any one of them, to admit the discursive processes of the understanding to a larger prerogative in determining what the ultimate rule shall be. The greatest happiness of the greatest number—giving larger scope for the intellect of man, and the utilization of the aggregate results of his experience—does not in the end transcend the cravings and appetites of the animal nature, and at last must locate its highest moral persuasive specifically there.

This must be said of every phase of ethical teaching in which the sensations of pleasure and pain are the final appeal. They all rest ultimately on the sentient nature of man, and assume with more or less distinctness that nothing certain can be ascertained of his inner spiritual organization, except what can be gathered from the meshes of his nerves. There is no higher, as distinguished from the lower self; no tier of thought and purpose transcending that which binds the whole man implicitly to the world of sense.

It is the distinguishing feature of our time, that these systems have fallen heir to a large and rich inheritance from the evolution hypothesis, in its wide and somewhat indiscriminate gleaning in every field of research. Sociology, and Biological Psychology, and the Ethics of Evolution, are new branches which have sprung up in this dank and over-luxuriant soil, products, all, of the most stupendous and sanguine efforts to formulate mind-processes in terms of physical and biological law. We need not disguise it—the vast tide of ethical speculation in

our day sets in that direction; and so universally are the scientific forces enlisted on that side, and so splendid the trophies they have gathered in thus far, that not unfrequently we hear the faint-hearted concession that the day is theirs; we must surrender without terms.

This thing is difficult to do, because we cannot assent to the fundamental proposition on the basis of which all their victories have been achieved, to wit, that the sentient nature is the whole of man. Consistently they would cancel philosophy, and give science the exclusive occupancy of the field. Very naturally they all join in Comte's outcry against metaphysics. We have passed that era, they would say, in which the folly of evolving a universe from consciousness was entertained, and have settled down upon reality as discoverable in solid, tangible, flesh-and-blood facts. They urge that introspection is beginning at the wrong end; and that, therefore, all the old unsettled controversies about liberty and necessity, and such other unsolvable problems as take their rise in that dim region of fog, shall be dropped, and we shall begin *de novo* on the brain and nervous system, and by the aid of physiology, and pathology, and heredity, and the interaction of forces external and internal to the human organism, climate, race, history, determine all the profoundest mysteries of the soul and the world. Physical science is to furnish the analogies, nay, the very schedule itself, in accordance with which the whole spiritual nature of man is to be witnessed in its unfolding, and thought, and right, and duty, law, religion, morality, are to fall off into the aimless drifting of unstable force.

We may illustrate this in what we may call the *cell-fetich*, now so largely commanding the homage of the scientific world. Through the microscope we look upon the *amoeba*, a naked, protoplastic cell, of jelly-like consistence, but endowed with the capacity of sensating, so to speak, the object with which it comes in contact, and of extending its parts around whatever nutritive substance it is fitted to absorb. Here is automatic motion, or what we may call sensation in the far-off primordial stage of its evolution. It is the simple, isolated cell. Now as these cells by some law of chemical or vital affinity unite in

higher organisms, their resultant motions become the more complicated, and the primitive, blind sensation goes on developing into those subtle, elusive, nerve-processes that we are wont to call the faculties of the mind. These mental processes are presumptively vibratory thrills in the nervous mass, and the key to the whole mystery is found in the simple sensitivity of the primordial cell. In the human body the nerve-mass responds to outward stimuli in exactly the same way that the protoplastic mass of the *amoeba* stretches itself around the object it is to absorb. There is, no doubt, in the highly differentiated network of the human organism a wilderness of intersecting lines of transit to be traversed, as if electricity were playing over a myriad wires; so that what enters the eye and ear, being destined to make a long and perilous journey over crowded thoroughfares of sensation, is in danger of arriving very feebly at its goal, or, indeed, of not arriving there at all. Still, in all this complex arrangement, we are assured that there is no further mystery at work than that which we found in the naked cell.

It is plain to see that in a scheme like this the popular conception of the freedom of the will can have no logical place. By supposition such phraseology cannot have the accepted meaning, in a system that reduces all things to motion, action and reaction, and mere sequence under invariable law. This is necessity, and that which comes to pass only because it must, cannot in any sense be free. One of the leading exponents of this system has plainly avowed that it is no more proper to speak of the will as being free, than it is to speak of it as being rough or smooth, hot or cold. In short the notion is an impertinence and a fraud. The old problem so long taxing the ingenuity of men, instead of being summoned to a new solution, is peremptorily ruled out of court, as being a mere whim of speculation in the absence of scientific tests. Mr. Leslie Stephen,* who has, perhaps, most exhaustively and liberally canvassed this entire field, and has stretched the cord of reconciliation to its breaking, instals his enterprise by an explicit engagement to treat Ethics as wholly aloof from metaphysical

*See Science of Ethics, p. 12

questions, as, for example, the freedom of the will—as if in Ethics, the thing itself could flourish when the heart of it was gone. Will Cæsar cross the Rubicon? That question he says might have been answered beforehand, with as much precision and certainty as the mathematician can calculate the flight of a missile—provided, only, all the motives and conditions conducing to the act had been open to inspection; for every act of man follows invariable in the direction of the strongest motive or motives operative at the time.

Nerve-thrills—potentially that is all there is of it. There, at least, the secret is out. These, in the more complex organisms become emotions, and farther up ideas, shaping themselves, through time, into long accepted maxims of conduct, and finally spreading themselves out into the hardened tissue of social custom and civilization. Meantime the imagination dictates that where actions from countless repetitions run easily in well-worn grooves, they are somehow exempt from the law of necessity which has elsewhere unqualified sway. But it is all a deceptious dream, which science now, having shaken off the incubus of metaphysics, may easily dissipate. For what we call voluntary action is, like every other motion, calculable—well, if not calculable, it is simply because the ramifications of motive influence are too subtle to be traced. Still, it is urged, enough is known from the cumulative revelations of brain-study in our more immediate time, to make it clear that every act of man is but a sequence in a line of impulsions, differing not a whit from that in which the jelly-like mass of the *amoeba* closes around the object it is fitted to absorb. The strongest motive always determines the act. Since all metaphysical terms and ideas are to be eschewed, we must speak of nerve-currents, and by some species of clairvoyance get to see how they cut their channels through the brain. We shall always find the strongest current making its way. If three or four of them should happen to be discharged on some motor centre, and a brief interval of confused hesitancy should occur at that point, in the end that one must get vent which has the strongest volume, and to which the lines of transit most readily open out. In other words, what we were wont to call free-will, and out of

it to get some sense of obligation and moral behest, turns out to be but the free flow of nervous energy over beaten paths.

Let us be patient. This effort to carry our physical formulas into the ethical domain, indeed, to resolve all mental phenomena in this way, is the heroic experiment of our time; and such an array of seemingly consenting facts and discoveries have come in from the whole realm of biological and sociological research, as if for the express purpose of bringing with them the coveted philosophy, that it were a fatal sign of weakness in our holding the opposite view, to affect contempt, or speak slightingly, of an intellectual enterprise so imposing and vast.

Nevertheless we are perfectly confident that no such view of human nature can ever get a foot-hold in the world. In discarding philosophy, science is utterly powerless to deal with certain matters which are of infinite moment to every thinking being on the globe, and are, in a certain sense, the staple of all human aspiration, and struggle, and purpose, and work. These are somewhat discretely above the sensations of pleasure and pain—they have an element in them which cannot be let down so far.

To make this clear, let us reflect that mere sensation or feeling on which all these systems so confidently build, as a blind, unintelligent, brute impulse, has no meaning, except as thought on by something higher than itself. Whenever feeling becomes self-reporting, we are already so far within the precincts of mind, as we ordinarily understand it, with its old pressing metaphysical problems of self-hood and personality, importunate for a solution, that we do certainly know, both now and forever, that we have attained to a region where no known property of protoplasm will avail, and where physiology is hopelessly dumb. Starting with motion, and retaining at least a tolerable consistency of idea, we must conceive of sensation becoming metamorphosed into emotion, and emotion into thought, and all this by the addition of no new element, but only through increasing stages of complexity, and under the established law of the correlation of force. Thought, then, is only a mode of motion in the intricate and untraceable net-work of the brain, and nothing

more. We shall never believe it; and we can easily forsee that science can never set so impossible a proposition on its feet.

It sometimes happens that in seasons of sore intellectual dilemma, a large word or phrase, struck out in the heat of inquiry, is hailed as the "open sesame" of the difficulty, and forthwith wonderful treasures are thought to be uncovered by it. "Double-faced entity" was one of these talismanic words. It embodied a theory of monism in which every mental phenomenon had its physical counterpart, and they too were somehow to be considered the opposite faces of one and the same thing. Here was the human brain, for instance—a single, physiological unit, not two, but one. Every movement in it is a process of cerebration, and as we examine such process we always note it as coming to us in a two-fold aspect, on the one side as mind, and on the other as intricate vibratory movements in the nervous mass. Thought, imagination, memory, affection—when thinking of these as mental phenomena we have them on the very uncertain side of psychology, and do not know them until we turn them over, and look at them as modifiable states of the tissues of the brain. Having the two faces of the same entity, we may study them both, but they are both best studied in the physiological and pathological investigation of the solid nervous mass, in which, obviously, these subtle and elusive processes are going on. On the one side mind, on the other side mass, but the entity itself presumably mass.

Now we can hardly imagine a theory so essentially non-significant as gaining the cordial assent of any one, except on the supposition that he is sadly lacking in the philosophic mind. Those obtrusive laws of thinking, which keep sweeping us toward the rational by long lines of logical circumvention, impossible to be broken save by some frenzy of fanaticism that is determined to be insane—these compel us to reason in some such way as this. Here are two sets of phenomena, equally well attested to every sound intellect in the world, wholly diverse, having nothing in common, the phenomena of matter and of mind. Now these two sets of alien qualities must be conceived of, either as inhering alike in the material substance of the brain, and so, as not two sets, but only one; or the deliberate task

must be undertaken of reducing the one set to the other, and so again all distinction between matter and mind will wholly disappear. Either thought and nerve-thrills are one and the same thing, and so there is no "double-faced entity;" or thought and nerve-thrills, notwithstanding their irreconcilable diversity of character, are consenting properties of one and the same physiological base, and so the "double-faced entity" is but contradictory ideas linked in a phrase.

The reply to all this would doubtless be, that in this busy age when "things are in the saddle," we have no time to detain upon scholastic subtleties with regard to the laws of thinking, nor even upon the force of words, except as they yield themselves as working *media* toward the ascertainment of facts. Science cannot tie itself up to any alleged laws of thought; it simply seeks nature's oracle, and bows in absolute acquiescence to the response. Thus in the case now in hand, is it not a matter of universal experience that all our thinking is done with the head, and not with the hands, and not with the feet? And therefore, whatever thought be, are we not quite compelled to believe that it has its origin in the brain, and that there is indeed its physical abode? If so, why not hold it as presumptively made out, that thought is either some differentiated form of the chemico-vital processes going on in the brain, or an inexplicable complement of those processes, arising out of, and inhering in, the nervous mass? Especially now as monism is the habit of our time, and the old notion of the dual nature of man has fallen into disrepute, and the whole trend of the scientific industry and discovery, is toward an underlying physical unity for phenomena aforetime thought to be essentially incompatible and diverse! Force! Force! ultimately the incomprehensible All-Force, is coming to be considered the source and destination of every species of energy we are able to trace—why break the continuity by supposing the human mind to be something alien and foreign to this all-inclusive Force?

All very plausible, and exceedingly welcome to certain minds, but unhappily embarrassed by the impossibility of maintaining it by scientific tests. It is an accepted maxim in science that a thing must be thinkable before it can be set down as an ac-

credited fact; we must know that we know it, either as reasonable hypothesis, and therefore prospectively to be taken in with our inventory of facts, or, here and now, a thing actually commending itself to our consciousness as an unquestioned reality right before our eyes. In either case there is an intellectual element we cannot overlook. It is a question as to whether the thing can consistently be thought to be so. Now when thought itself is under consideration we are always and inalienably haunted by the consciousness of a self-activity, and a self-determination, that must forever shut it away from the category of force. So inseparable is this consciousness with the very idea of thought, as humanly understood, that it is absolutely impossible to think of thought in terms of force. I must do violence to language, and so to every moral conception of the human mind, if I undertake to say that thought is only some phase, however delicate and subtle, of molecular movement in the brain.* And even if by long continued drill in some per

*The physiologists themselves are beginning to perceive the utter hopelessness of tying up consciousness with the physical properties of the brain, as these are grossly apprehended by us; and Mr. Maudsley, the most inveterate and indefatigable of all explorers in this field, in his last work, *Body and Will*, suggests the novel expedient of having our mental activities take their rise from the play of an "all-pervading mentiferous ether" through the convoluted structure of the brain. Thus: "Perhaps when that time comes, the theory of an all-pervading mentiferous ether may help to bridge over the difficulty. For if the object and the brain are alike pervaded by such a hyper-subtile ether; and if the impression which the particular object makes upon the mind be then a sort of pattern of the mentiferous undulations as they are stirred and conditioned within it by its particular form and properties; and if the mind in turn be the mentiferous undulations as conditioned by the convoluted form and exceedingly complicated and delicate structure of the brain;—then it is plain we have eluded the impassable difficulty of conceiving the action of mind upon matter—the material upon the immaterial—which results from the notion of their entirely different natures." Body and Will, p. 101.

We may mark in this connection the singular coincidence that Kant, from a standpoint wholly different, made a like adventure toward explaining the interaction of body and spirit, wanting to "suppose that in every substance, even in the simple elements of matter, there is an internal agency, and that it is with this internal agency, and not the outward, that the spirit was directly in contact." See William Wallace's Kant, p. 133.

verse method of thinking on such topics, I should come at last to believe that not I think, but, simply, the pulpy mass of the brain in the molecular motions that are set up in it, still the consciousness of something in me self-energizing and self-directing is just as inexpugnably present and exacting as before. And science itself cannot feel itself warranted in pushing this matter, until somebody can be heartily pursuaded that his thinking processes are nothing more than a certain refined propagation of material forces through the nerve-battery of the brain, and can say candidly that he *feels* it to be so.

Once more—to put the difficulty in a concrete light—let us imagine that we have before us a fragment of the living brain, which in spite of its mutilated condition, for our benefit, will consent to run on with the ordinary vital and intellectual processes peculiar to the great organ from which it was removed. It is receiving and appropriating nutriment; it is—let us suppose—undergoing waste and repair, exactly as when it was in vital connection with the body as a whole. All these physical and vital processes we quite well understand, and have no hesitancy in identifying them with molecular changes obviously going on in the pulpy mass. But this mass *thinks*. And now in saying this, we are clearly denoting a new function of the mass which cannot be identified with molecular change, *because molecular change will not reveal it*, and because it requires the most violent wrenching of the whole frame-work of the intellect, to put these incompatible conceptions into one. In the nature of the case thought is discoverable only in consciousness, and consciousness has no meaning except as implying a discrete something antithetical to the material organism in which it works. How consciousness co-ordinates the vital processes of the brain, and what the terms of her physical regency there are, we may never know, but we do know that no amount of scientific research will ever annul the antithesis, and that the processes, however unified in a higher synthesis, stand, as against each other, forever opposite and diverse.

And now we come to consider calmly, face to face, the boasted conquest of ethics by the new doctrine of the correla-

tion of force. Has physical science actually subdued that territory to itself, or has it not?

First, it is agreed that the matter about which ethics is absorbingly concerned is the human will. Where rights and obligations are recognized and a rule enforced, we have been wont to hold to the implied alternative of obedience or disobedience, or the capacity in every responsible human being of freely yielding or withholding his energies according as he might choose. The uniform and inseparable presence and operation of motives, more or less cogent, in every act of the kind, we could not think of as actually determining the act, if the act was in any rational sense to be considered free. Duty is a misnomer, and every rule of right an irritating farce, if maugre its injunction or prohibiting, the fated act is determined beforehand by some accumulation of motive, which also the will at no point could control. It is a gross abuse of language, and in the light of philosophy an impertinence, to speak of the will being free under any system of determinism whatsoever. When therefore M. Littré says, that "liberty as applied to volition means the power of obeying the strongest motive," not only the words rear up in a rage against one another, but there are like contrarieties of thought which unappeasably lock horns. It is true, in scientific discussions, the mere matter of verbal infelicity should not be set down to too heavy a count; for the admonition will be swift, that we are more intent upon the mere statement of the thing than we are on the thing itself. But it is science now, and not hazy metaphysics that assumes to talk. And above all science cannot afford to speak oracularly on any matter except in such phraseology as will be intelligible and self-consistent throughout.

Here, however, is a *felo de se*—"liberty of volition means the power to obey the strongest motive." If a man always acts under the impulsion of the strongest motive, why speak of his *power to obey* the strongest motive? He has no power to obey, since he moves simply in the order of sequence, as would a projectile from the discharging muzzle of a gun. Still worse, why speak of liberty at all in such a connection; of a man's being free, when he has to go invariably in the line of the thrusting

forward of the strongest motive? He has no power to elect in the premises, and is therefore, not free. Indeed, it would be quite as rational to speak of a stream having the power to flow down hill, whither the whole force of gravitation was carrying it, and when, as yet, no one had asserted for it the power of flowing in any other way. Moreover the term obey, however appropriate its loose and colloquial use might be as applied to the forces of the external world, can have absolutely no meaning at all as applied to the human will, except as it conveys by implication the power to disobey. A man is free, not because he has the power to obey irresistible forces, for then it is sequence and not obedience at all; but he is free because he has the power of obeying or disobeying the push of conflicting motives floating in upon him from directly opposite and antagonizing poles. We may, indeed, speak of liberty as being realized through necessity—in some high Hagelian sense, which is probably the coming lesson of philosophy to our time on morals—but to speak of liberty as an attribute of necessity, is to drivel in nonsence; as if Lear looking at Kent in stocks, should somehow persuade himself that his faithful servant was still at large. In this matter of intelligible and consistent statement, science should at least pay deference to the common sense of mankind, if not to the quickened intellects of the philosophers, who are henceforth to be on the defensive against the combined invasion of a most determined and belligerent foe.

As concerns this, however, it may reasonably be urged that no form of words is wholly intelligible, when isolated from the general system of thought in which it occurs, and that a fair and generous interpretation of any statement can be made only under the light of the comprehensive discussion in which it is found. A proposition, which as to its verbal framework may seem hopelessly paradoxical and confused, when submitted to the grasp of the complete system it was intended to commend, may be found to be rhetorically even the more forcible for the very contrariety of ideas it seemed to embrace. Rhetorically this is true. And in the statement now under consideration we have no disposition to shrink from the test. In a controversy involving, as we conceive, the foundation principles of all that

is morally and spiritually precious among men, mere logomachy and logical legerdemain should be eschewed, and complacency in the truth, and unreserved devotion to it, on its own account, should be the inspiring impulse of the quest.

These words of M. Littré are adopted by Mr. Fiske, as the resulting formula of his labored attempt to show that the will of man is a *dynamic process*, and not, as has been ordinarily supposed, a free faculty or function of the human mind. This curious subject he thinks has needlessly exhausted the intellectual energies of the mightiest thinkers of the world, for now it turns out that the "metaphysical muddle," as Mr. Fiske calls it, was the obstructing mire in which they were wading, and advanced physiology has thrown that off. The road now is entirely clear. Indeed the confidence and enthusiasm of Mr. Fisk in his physiological solution of the will is something phenomenal to witness—as easy now to be understood, since the metaphysical muddle has been escaped, as to turn gently the hand to and fro in the air.

And what now is the new light which physiology has thrown on this confounding problem of the ages? Why, this in brief. The extended researches of a generation of scientists into the physiology and pathology of the nervious system—in the opinion of Mr. Fiske—have made it plain that all mental processes are, in the end, dynamic processes, or, otherwise, subtle molecular changes going on in the brain in more and more complex ramifications, but evermore under the impulsion of stimuli from without. And science has been sufficiently penetrating to put itself in possession of the main secrets of these subtle nerve-movements, so as to be able to distribute—Mr. Fiske thinks, with great ease—the various nerve-functions to their special kind of work.

Thus, on the supposition that all mental processes are dynamic processes going on in the nerve-mass of the brain, our chief interest in Ethics is to know what kind of dynamic process that is which we denominate the will. Science, Mr. Fiske says, has a prompt and confident answer to this inqury; and, that we may do him no injustice, we will give it in his own words: "The sequence of actions upon impressions is either reflex or instinc-

tive, and in either case automatic, so long as the nervous energy liberated by the impression is instantly discharged through a completely permeable channel or channels." This automatic action, or the unimpeded flow of nervous energy when some stimulating impression has set it free, he has elsewhere shown, is the characteristic of the lower ranges of animal life. "But in those higher organisms, in which an immensely varied experience has established innumerable complex systems of less permeable channels, there intervenes, between the liberation of energy in the brain and its discharge upon the motor centers, a period during which there is tension between various nerve-currents, each seeking to discharge itself along the most permeable lines of transit. This period of tension is a period of conscious deliberation, involving conscious reflection, and the feelings of desire and aversion." "In the language of dynamics, tension when not counteracted by opposing tension must pass into *vis viva.* This passage of nervous tension into nervous *vis viva* is volition."* Here we have it all before us, in a nut-shell so to speak, but the summing up, let us confess, of a very wide range of physiological research, and the ready use of vast stores of new information that seem to lend themselves plausibly to the task. Are we satisfied with it as a perfectly obvious rendering of the mystery of the human will? Let us take hold of it in detail.

First, we should exactly comprehend the conduct of the nerve-currents that we are hereafter to call the will. Nervous energy liberated in the brain, and passing freely along completely permeable channels, results in reflex or instinctive action, such as is conspicuously apparent in organisms of the lower rank; but in man, in whose organism there has somehow sprung up a vast network of channels through which the nervous energy does not so readily push its way, "less permeable channels," there is occasion for an interval of halting, a moment of hesitancy, between the liberation of the nervous energy and its discharge upon the motor-centers—a period of tension between various nerve-currents each seeking to discharge itself along the most

*See Fiske's Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, Vol. 2d, p. 177.

permeable lines of transit. Now it is on this period of tension that we are to fix our minds, as the dynamical solution of what we call the *conatus* of the will; for Mr. Fiske says it is a "period of conscious deliberation, involving conscious reflection, and the feelings of desire and aversion." Further on, when the conflict between these various nerve-currents is over, and the nervous tension has passed into *vis viva*, then we come upon what Mr. Fiske calls volition; but evidently the period of tension itself is, as being the period of conscious deliberation, the point in the system which we should designate the will. A struggle of nerve-currents—that is the will!

We may assume that the scientist, with his improved instruments, and his endlessly varied experiments on the brain of animals and of man both living and dead, has either looked in on this struggle between conflicting nerve-currents, "each seeking the most permeable lines of transit;" or that he has had before him such unmistakable facts of physiology and pathology as would compel the inference that such a struggle actually takes place. The great exponents all speak of it as if it were a settled fact. Admitting it for the nonce, we will try to imagine as vividly as we may how this concurrence of nerve-currents can give us what we call the will. Here is nervous energy liberated in the brain, streaming out we will say in three currents which are on their way to the motor-centers; but they come together at a point of intersection, where the right of way is held in momentary suspense, and is to be determined, at last, by the relative strength of the current, and the comparative ease with which the channels will admit of a passage. A B and C are hovering at this point. The period of tension we understand to be the time it will require for these jostling currents to get themselves adjusted, respectively, to such channels of transit as will be best adapted to each; and, no doubt, speaking dynamically, the strongest and least obstructed will get to its destination first.

All this is easy to conceive. But we are thrown into the wildest confusion when we are required to interpret this period of tension as "a period of conscious deliberation, involving conscious reflection and the feelings of desire and aversion." Ten-

sion and conscious deliberation must be held as one and the same thing—we will do what we can, but this we absolutely and definitively cannot do. There is, it will be seen, a surreptitious and illicit transfer of dynamic processes into terms of mind; and the difficulty, precisely that which was waiting to be solved, is slurred over and ignored. Do the nerve-currents consciously deliberate, or consciously reflect? And if so, is there anything in the whole round of scientific formula that would even suggest the reckoning of such exercises among dynamic processes. Conscious deliberation! conscious reflection! *conscious!* the notion that must go with that word with any possible meaning that may be assigned it—who would ever think of identifying this with tension, or any conceivable dynamic process whatsoever? If the writer meant that deliberation and tension are one and the same thing, and was seriously commending this to the world as the special deliverance of science that was to unlock in a jiffy the century-baffling problem of the will, he should have paused sufficiently long in his discussion to say as much, and then the reader would not have been left to grope his way in a "muddle" worse than that from which he was to be redeemed. As it is we fall a prey to the inevitable workings of human thought, and insist with as much persistence as ever that tension is a dynamic process, but conscious deliberation and conscious reflection are not. The two processes may be coincident, and doubtless are, but no science and no dialectic in the world can ever succeed in reducing the one to the other.

Here again we may appeal with added emphasis to the indefeasible prerogatives of language, and the fixed laws of thought ultimately asserting themselves in no other way. What does conscious deliberation mean? Is the scientific specialist able to look through glasses which to other eyes are wholly opaque, and so move in a world where every dialect of man is radically reversed, and where a physical vocabulary is all that avails? Why not, then, when tension was seen to be the whole of that mystery which we call the will, have either avoided all those idioms which imply the old persistent notion of a free, self-conscious intelligence asking itself which way it shall go; or, have

so translated or transformed the obsolete term, that to all minds nothing but its physical equivalent would have remained? That were a huge task, for it involves nothing short of the annihilation of thought. There are incompatibilities here, which to be surmounted must be reciprocally annulled. For to deliberate, as language now stands, is not only something that physical nerve-currents cannot do; but to deliberate, in any the most vapid rendering of the meaning of the word, conveys and implies a capacity for choice, which these nerve currents, neither in themselves considered nor in the hypothesis which supports them, can be said to have. Thus it would be grossly absurd for Mr. Fiske, or any of his school, to say that these nerve-currents, after duly deliberating which route it would be best for them to take, concluded the one to go in this direction and the other in that. That would be to personify these nerve-currents, and so replace the one soul by innumerable little souls creeping through the interstices of the brain. And yet all this and nothing less is compelled by the exceeding loose attribution of the activity of "conscious deliberation" to the conduct of the nerve-currents when brought upon a strain. Deliberation means choice, and conscious deliberation means conscious choice. And, most obviously, in a theory that requires volition to follow inevitably in the direction of a "dynamic push," there is no room for deliberation, for the root of that word signifies to be free. A body of men, for example, get together in convention to deliberate upon what it is best in given circumstances to do. Their deliberation implies that they have moved freely to the consultation, and that they are in no essential sense coerced to the conclusions to which they will arrive. If in any way coerced, they were machines, and the idea of their acting in any conceivable way as mere processes of dynamics, is not only subversive of all rational use of language, but is utterly incompatible with all notion of obligation in the case. Morals, in such a predicament, were hopelessly mired in the meshes of the brain.

This is not the place, however inviting the task, to enter into a discussion of the true autonomy of the human will. It is a vast and difficult subject, and cannot, under any circumstances, be disposed of by a simple turning of the hand. We must see

by this time, however, that all the ebullient promise thrown out to us by this dynamic theory of the will in advance, has miserably failed to set in fruit; and that we are left in all respects just where we were before our "metaphysical muddle" was so boastingly assailed. Nay more. It is unavoidable that every attempt to solidify a subject like this into the gross, tangible, traceable, outlines of physiology and physics must immediately stand self-confessed, as unable to subsist by itself, as incapable of discovery, as having come to its work with its whole intellectual provisioning gathered up in advance. The theory of the will current in modern times, prior to the remarkable and epoch-making discussions of Kant, the theory that makes its freedom consist in the absence of constraint, is simply taken by the physiologist and pictured in the undiscoverable movements of the vascular and fibrous substance of the brain. With the *Systeme de la Nature*, the cerebralist has said beforehand: "Will, the result of brain-action, is not free; its action is necessitated"—and then put himself down to the ingenious task of finding some physical counterpart for the semblance of freedom that haunts the popular mind, in the imagined jostling of nerve-currents rushing for passage-ways that are not easily traversed. To speak mildly of it, it is not science, it is the dull fabric of a materialistic dream.

What is specially to be deplored is, that this chilling experiment, unlike the old systems of determinism, will carry nowhere on its bosom the sense of obligation on which every moral imperative must rest. I, or rather the nerve-currents, driven on irresistibly by some *vis a tergo*, shooting up hither and thither aimlessly from the abyss of force, can at no time arrest the progress of sequence, and there is no friendly hand outside of me that has the power to interfere. The strongest currents will have their way. If they run out into acts of cruelty, and treachery, brutality, and lust—why, there is no helping it, and law, and custom, and conscience, and God, must put in their most strenuous interdicts in vain. Indeed every ethical behest, unless it can be seen as another nerve-current rushing into the general fray, and getting on a freight of dynamics sufficient to carry it through—in which case it would be no behest at all—every

ethical behest, in like manner as every base deed from which it beckons us away, is only an illusion of the unscientific mind, and will be amply corrected when men get to see that every deed, like every atom, is infallibly predestined to its place. Then, alas! who is to blame? All are innocent, even blind Nature who threw us in the dark. Nay, there is no guilt, and no innocence, and the most confounding thing of all is to determine how such bungling distinctions could ever have been made.

It has always seemed to us in pushing through the long and intricate windings of the New Ethics, that we were somehow witnessing an intellectual feat corresponding to the legerdemain of the Eastern juggler in which he seems to be astraddle of the air. There is absolutely no foundation underneath. All moral science must rest upon the will, or, if the virus of metaphysics has made that term an offense, then certainly on a sense of obligation, which always means that a man has the power of holding himself back from a course of conduct which his judgment condemns, but towards which the force of circumstances and the ruling impulses of his nature are carrying him along. If this thing, however, by whatever name it may be known, is to be given over to the law of physical necessity, and is in very deed to be set down as a dynamic process, then there is most certainly, as a matter of fact, nothing to it whatsoever. The abiding puzzle is to know how the old terms, voluntary action, free moral agency, responsibility, conscience, innocence and guilt, wholly eviscerated of meaning in the new connection in which they stand—shadows, skeletons, ghosts of exploded ideas—can still be glibly uttered, and sent back and forth in the interchange of discussion, as if they were still the winged cherubim they were aforetime thought to be. Wholly inexplicable to us is this combined pulling on a staple where no staple is. It is as if men rowing in a boat, should throw away their oars, and begin paddling with their hands, and then insist that these same helpless hands were the identical oars they threw away.

Finally, it is due this physiological rendering of the will, and the great systems that have sprung up on the basis of it, that we recognize the wide-spread enthusiasm it has created, and cordially award to that circumstance all that it can rightfully

claim. The world does really seem to go after it, and the leading scientific minds of the century, with rarest exceptions, are throwing the burden of their energies together to this single point—to demonstrate that the whole mystery of human life and mind is resolvable to the necessary processes of the nervous system and the brain. What does it mean? The intellectual life of an epoch never so converges to a centre, without drawing thence some vast wealth of discovery that goes on speedily in unsuspected ways to revolutionize the world. On such occasions the dear, unforfeitable interests to which the common herd were clinging, were found to be actually and easily forfeitable as being superstitions, or were meagre approximations and bungling half-truths which the new age, with its blaze of discovery, filled out and installed. In the same way, now, we are invited to believe, the time in which we live, with its great flood-tide of biological research and speculation, will sweep on to some such crowning revelation in physics as will render our current metaphysical ideas a superfluity and a naughtiness, and no one will be worse off for the loss. This we are told is the meaning of the wholesale surrender of the thinking energies of our generation to the study of matter and its laws; and that we may with certainty await its legitimate outcome, in the universal acknowledgment that these laws are everywhere supreme.

We cannot accept this interpretation of the materialistic frenzy of our times, and instinctively revolt from the anticipated result, as the very fatuity of madness should it ever come about. In that case our "unforfeitable interests" must go; and we do certainly know that, come what may, these interests cannot go. Here are sacrifices that cannot be made. Morals, religion, character, pre-eminently the religion of Jesus, implying in every fibre of it, somewhere a pivot of self-determination on which the soul can be swung heavenward in its gaze—everything of this kind must go down under the crushing supremacy of fixed physical formula; and this we know cannot be.

But the reasoning is wrong. Our age is an age of transition, and all the alarming features of it can easily be explained without blending them into a gloomy prophecy of what is to come. In these great themes that are engrossing our time, we must

have regard to the law of continuity in the development of thought, as well as in the development of anything else. It will not do to imagine that the Last Judgment took place in 1859, when Darwin published his "Origin of Species," and men, stimulated by his remarkable researches, set about the work of reducing to new formula the hypothesis, a thousand times stated before, and as often confuted, that "mere material phenomena that vary to conditions is the all of the universe." Scientific men would have us believe that the world began to think precisely at that date; and that the Darwinian discovery was the first-born child of the new millennial time. Whereas they forget the kind offices of philosophy to this very foundling; philosophy coming down from another realm.

Beginning with Kant, himself a staple link in an interminable chain that runs through all historic ages and takes in every clime, we find this colossal intellect attaining to an altitude of philosophic outlook possible only in one who was "heir of all the ages;" but on a corresponding scale repeating the ancient infirmity of philosophy, in letting out his foundations to two utterly hostile and conflicting schools. He saw and emphasized the contrasting elements of thought and matter in every object the self-conscious intellect takes within its grasp; but by throwing the substratum of things, the *noumena*, the *ding an sich*, hopelessly and forever out of relation to human mind, he gave occasion on the one side, to the great Hegelian movement to bring back the inhibited to a place of all-inclusive vitality in an organon of thought; and on the other side, through Comte, and Hamilton, and Herbert Spencer, and a whole generation of speculative scientists, to the development of the Unknowable, and the imposing system of agnosticism that has sprung up in its track. In every object there is thought and thing; thought from self-consciousness at work on the thing, and the thing becoming intelligible only as it is thought. The conflict of our times is waged over the contrasting prerogatives of thought and thing. Shall the whole metaphysical mode of studying thought, by a direct appeal to consciousness, be set aside; and shall we assume to know it only as it is functioned in the brain? Nay, rather, must not all study of it except as

seen in visible operation in that nervous mass be discarded, as nothing indeed, and the real thing be found to be the multifarious phenomena of molecular change?

Now it was inevitable, in an age of almost blinding physical discovery, when men's minds were dazed through excess of nature's revealments, and the intellectual life of a generation was setting in full volume in this direction, that empirical matter should mount into a position of overmastering prominence, and the transcendent thought element, now reckoned the Unknowable, should float more and more into the inane. The thinker and his thought will become as nothing when weighed in the balance with a little mote of protoplasm wriggling in the focus of a microscopic disk. Philosophy will disappear, and a cold wave of materialism will sweep over the land.

But, by and by, self-consciousness will begin to assert itself, and the mind long glued down to the arid wastes of blind molecules moving evermore only as they are moved, will rebound again to its wonted sense of superiority over nature's forces, and become aware of the dismal solitudes from which it escaped. The thinker will find an apprehensible *noumen* in himself, and nature vast and imposing as it is in its physical magnitudes, will be seen to be actually unintelligible except through the restored conception of an Infinite Spirit pervading, fashioning, flooding it all, and returning to itself in the myriads of intelligences that reflect it back from the bosoming worlds. The Unknowable, which during these dreary years of the arrogant usurpations of science was practically a cipher, and was even forcibly dismissed from the minds of men, will at least be known, nay, reverentially and religiously known, as in the recent remarkable confessions of the great apostle of it, we have had the foretokening promise. Mr. Spencer, entangled in a controversy with Frederick Harrison on the idle dream of the Positivists, as to a humanity religion, a humanity immortality, a humanity God, loathing such abstractions as but a web of moon-beams around the sternest realities known among men, his antagonist could fairly retort upon him with the charge that he was habitually representing the divinity toward which the

worshipful impulses of men should be directed as the "All-Nothingness," and that religion under such an inspiration as he could supply must dwindle to a ghost. In reply to this, the great English Agnostic definitely explained away his agnosticism, by declaring openly that with him the Unknowable was the very antipodes of the All-Nothingness; rather the one, sole, ultimate all-inclusive Reality, of which all mental and material phenomena are the manifestation and the show.

This indeed is a long progress upward and inward toward the infinite mind-element at the heart of the world; and it is only one brief step beyond this, to aver, as we must, that that imminent Presence cannot do less than think and love. Coming thus far, the religion of Jesus is plainly in view. For what if it be true that immensity overpowers us, now, as we look forth from our observatory windows far into the depth of the starry sky, with the knowledge that the most distant orb that glimmers on those measureless expanses is but a camp-fire for the first night's halting on an aerial journey that is absolutely without limit! What if this mystery is just as deep and impenetrable right here at hand, in the life that beats in this bosom, and the thought that throbs in this brain, in flower, and leaf, and grass, and in the very dust that we stir with our feet on the highway—in every thing coming swiftly upon the uninvaded province of the incommunicable Mystery, and compelling us to fall down hopelessly there! Such humiliation, such impotence, science has taught us most profoundly to feel, but immediately at this point we believe—God help us to believe—the Incommunicable has thrust itself beyond the border, and we have what all history unites in calling the Divine Incarnation in our little world.

ARTICLE IV.

DOGMATIC THOUGHT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

By Rev. Chas. S. Albert, A. M., Baltimore, Md.

Our age is a practical one. It deals with the material and it is proud to be scientific. So vast has been the demand which the new countries, discovered in the late centuries, have made upon the intellectual powers and physical energies that they might be possessed and developed, that outside of their demand, little was left for theological or philosophical research and study. A wilderness to be transformed, forests to be felled, the uplands and meadows to be made beautiful with fruitful orchards and waving grain, the prairies to be broken, rivers to be bridged, mountains to be scarred and tunneled for lines of railway, mines to be dug for hid treasures, these all claimed and absorbed largely the mental and physical energies of men. It is not surprising that the early centuries of the United States produced scarcely a theologian who lives to-day by his thought, and enrolls no poet, or famed man of letters, or philosopher. Energy and brain were needed elsewhere. Men were busy in mastering the earth, or taken up by war. They were workers and soldiers.

Then came the imperious rulership of science, after an interval, in these Eastern States. The earth and its fascinating study claimed much of the best thought and toil of the strong in mind. Bountiful were the results and certain the conclusions. The world struggling over theological or philosophical questions had labored to little purpose. Moonshine was better and more substantial, for moonshine could be analyzed. Dogmas on unseen and unmeasurable and unsubstantial things were worse than useless, for they were fetters by which the world had been held in bondage.

But, slowly and surely, the tide sets the other way. Science perpetually reaches the limits of matter, the seen and measur-

able, and comes into the presence of the unseen and the infinite. Scientific men start with matter, but they come to and must discuss spirit; they start with nature, they must end with nature's God. He that studies a sun-beam must eventually reach the sun; he that studies the works of God, can, if he will, find in every one a beam of light that may lead him to the brightness of the wisdom of the Creator. And it is interesting to observe that lately scientific men have found no subject so fascinating as the study of the Power behind the matter that at first they claimed would suffice. They too have proclaimed dogmas, and tell of the Infinite, the Unknowable, the Supreme Energy. Philosophy and theology are difficult to dispense with in this life.

Our country also and the world too having gained possession of new arts, inventions and lands, begin to spend thought upon higher things. A multitude of philosophers, wise and otherwise, theologians new and old, thinkers profound and shallow, are born almost in a day. The spirit in man cannot rest content with railroads, mines, lands and comfortable homes; it yearns for truth and the highest truth is God.

The observer is impressed with the thoughtfulness of the day on religious subjects. There is wide-mouthed infidelity and cold skepticism, but the very denials and warfare declare that men are not engrossed in the material. Indifference is a worse state than opposition. Much of the antagonism to orthodoxy is caused by the non-adjustment of new truth to the old symbols and dogmas. Orthodoxy has held fast to all the past statements which men made, not out of the Scriptures, but out of their conceptions of what the world was, based upon the prevalent physical and philosophical theories. It has been unwilling to hold fast to the scriptural truth merely and accept the new knowledge, but must hold that truth in conjunction with a mass of ancient and mediæval notions which cannot be defended. The result has been that men have not discriminated, but have condemned, in a wholesale manner, orthodoxy and its dogmas.

There has been given to us a knowledge of the earth and man by the constant labors of thoughtful and conscientious men.

Nature is also of God and has His thought and His truth in it. In the Middle Ages, nature was almost a sealed book. It was unworthy of the consideration of spiritual men. "It was not only rejected; it had fallen into contempt. * * * Outward nature was believed to have no inner relationship to the human spirit; it was an evil thing resting under the curse of God since Adam's fall." The day for such a position is past. The advance of physical knowledge made is to be studied and accepted with thankfulness. It may happen that some interpretations of ignorance that have been foisted upon the Scriptures cannot indure the new light of truth, but it is so much the worse for the interpretation, but not for the Scriptures, just as some of the bold assumptions of scientists under larger knowledge shall be found untenable because untruthful.

Urged on by considerations like these, a new school of theology has arisen. It is noted for its liberality, its free handling of the Scriptures, in its attempt to reconcile modern thought and theology. Whilst not in agreement with it, and this not being the place to discuss its tenets, reference is however made to the school as another evidence of the deep interest in religious thought. Nor ought we to overlook the statement of Martensen: "During the course of historical development, the difference between orthodoxy and heterodoxy is relative and variable; and propositions which at one time, on account of their novelty are branded as heretical innovations, may at a later time be justly pronounced orthodox, or purer presentations of the essence of Christianity. Every new dogmatic presentation of the truth must thus necessarily contain propositions which have the *appearance* of being heterodox, since otherwise it would leave everything as it was, and would only be a repetition of the dogmas of the Church, without attempting to involve a purer conception of the Christian truth."* Whatever, therefore, is brought before us should be carefully considered with reference to the essence of Christianity, nor should we hastily condemn until we can from the Scriptures, prove that such views are contrary to the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

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*Martensen's Dogmatics. T. T. Clark. Page 56.

We add one other remarkable and valuable testimony, to us as Lutherans, to the interest in dogmatic thought. The confessional tendency of our Church in late years is noteworthy and instructive. The Lutheran Church is exceedingly rich in its inherited treasures of dogmatic thought. Yet there was a time when its treasures were useless, because not valued or understood. It seems to be the law of all great doctrinal truths that they must establish themselves through bitter controversy. Athanasius, Augustine and Luther, their names recall the hard contests which were necessary before the truths they taught could be accepted. The agitation affects all their contemporaries and produces thoughtfulness. Thus, for a time, these doctrines are understood and prized, and they produce under such conditions, great and healthy results. After a time peace follows and then they are held, but not apprehended. "In periods of intellectual quiescence, it is found that the religious world is settled firmly upon theological dogma." Then is the era of formal orthodoxy. The doctrines are true, but the truth is not active. Then follows deadness of religious life for which orthodoxy is cursed though the curse rightfully belongs to its slothful adherents. Men rest content with holding the form of words, but dead to the spirit thereof. Churches are then found whose symbols and dogmas are correct, but whose Christian life is a minimum. The granary is full of precious seed, ready for the earth. Every seed has the potency of life, but no soil in which it may bring forth "first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear." The reverse is also true. A Church whose symbols and dogmas are imperfect, yet who gives them place and opportunity in the hearts and lives of its people, brings forth a harvest, a mingled harvest of good and evil, and according to the preponderance of truth or error, one or the other will eventually gain the mastery; as the Roman Catholic Church with its mixture of truth and error wrought well for a season until error gained the mastery and called forth by its evil the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Where formal orthodoxy is, but no living appreciation of its own truth, reaction comes in attacks upon it and search after other foundations by the conscientious, or in bitter gibes from the

evil-disposed. Under these assaults, orthodoxy is forced to return to the consideration of its fundamental principles, whereby comprehension and the living appreciation and application of its truths are gained anew.

Our Lutheran Church was for a time formal but not living. It had its dark ages. It then passed into its terrible conflict with rationalism and skepticism and has found its safety in a return to its old symbols and dogmas not as things to be received without thought and apprehension, but as holding the truth which must be set forth to meet the wants of the age intellectually and lived that their truth may be made manifest by experience and example. As one has sharply said: "To some men Christian theology (we will not say Christian ethics) is little better than an embalmed mummy hidden in the solemn pyramid of the past, to be visited on subbatic occasions, looked at, admired, and left in awful solitude and silence until the next visit." The better study of dogmatic truth is to repossess ourselves of the inward meaning and from thence to proceed to new considerations of the truth. "Have ye understood all these things?" They say unto Him, "Yea Lord." Then said He unto them, "Therefore every scribe which is instructed into the kingdom of heaven is like unto a householder which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old." The old is truth, and on the basis of the old the new must be brought forth. It may indeed be argued that dogmatic expressions "are more or less characterized by relativity and transitoriness, that as they originated in the midst of great movements in particular periods, in various ways they exhibit the traces of peculiar theological culture, the peculiar needs and defects of the time." Allowing for this, they do contain the truth and the fundamental conceptions of the Church; and only from a true understanding of the past can the Church go forward to express its conceptions in fresh form and with larger knowledge. Hence, the study of the confessions has been extremely rich in results. The old truth has revealed its preciousness. It has put new life into the Church, for this truth has brought us back to Him whose body the Church is. And only from the standpoint of our confessions can we expect a hearty and vigorous advance in faith and work in the future.

We cannot do without dogmas or creeds. Truth that it may work must be expressed. Truth that it may be confessed and witnessed to must be set forth in clear language. Truth as a Christian dogma must be drawn, not from the individual opinion nor from the reason, but as "a truth of *faith* derived from the authority of the word and revelation of God." When such a presentation of truth is given it becomes a dogma and must always have in it that which is essential and authoritative. When it is received it becomes a mighty power in practical life. We may separate if we choose, between theology and ethics in thought, but the testimony of history is positive that dogmatic truth has always guided and influenced practical life. Let me quote at length from a recent writer.* "Arius had received his training, not in Alexandria, but in Antioch, a city which, located as it was, on the eastern confines of the empire, had not been able, dispite its attachment to Hellenic culture, to overcome the preponderating influence of Orientalism. Here toward the close of the third century was growing up a school of Christian thought, antagonistic in its spirit to that which constituted the ruling idea of Greek theology,—a school which was destined also to leave its impression on the Christian Church. The leading characteristic of the school at Antioch was the Oriental tendency it displayed to separate the human from the divine. The tie which united them, however it may have been viewed, did not spring out of the natural kinship of the human with the divine—a kinship always existing, but revealed in the splendor of its perfection in Christ. In the Antiochian theology there was a disposition to regard the *nexus* between the Deity and humanity as the arbitrary exertion of the divine power, by which natures incongruous and incompatible in their essence had been brought together in an artificial alliance rather than in a living union.

Beneath this conception of the relation of the human to the divine lurked the Oriental idea of God as the absolute and the incommunicable, for whom contact with humanity or with the world was by his very nature impossible. From such a point

*The Continuity of Christian Thought. Allen. Page 85.

of view, the incarnation of God in Christ was not only inconceivable by the reason, but seemed also to endanger the well-being of true religion.

Arius was the first formally to advocate such a view of the Deity, and to follow it out to its logical consequences, to the denial of the incarnation. Of his sincerity there can be no doubt, nor of his high moral character. It does not surprise us to learn that he was a strict ascetic, surpassing in this respect his Christian contemporaries; for asceticism was a necessary concomitant of Oriental religion, and had *at first* appeared in these sects and heresies claiming an Oriental origin before it made itself at home in the Church. The time in which Arius lived was favorable to the spread of his thought, for the Roman emperor had just professed himself a Christian, and the world was willing to follow in his train if only the one obnoxious tenet of the incarnation could be so modified as to reconcile Christianity with the principles of the heathen religion.

To this task Arius addressed himself in all earnestness, and with singular powers of influence and even fascination. In his theology, God is conceived in His absolute transcendence as at an infinite distance from the world and humanity, and in his solitary grandeur forever abides beyond the possibility of communion with any creature. For the purpose of creating the world He calls into existence a highly endowed supernatural being of different essence from His own, who yet participates to some extent in the attributes of the Godhead, and is therefore worthy of being called a god. In reality, He is neither God nor man, but stands midway between the two, as far below the one as He is exalted above the other. Because of the infirmity and limitation of his nature compared with that of Deity, He is not able to perfectly comprehend the character of God. What He sees and knows of God is after a measure proportionate to His capacity, and the relation which He imparts to man is still further reduced and limited by the weakness of human faculties. God therefore remains in His inmost character unknown and unknowable; revelation becomes a regulative principle of conduct, but, is no longer a ground for communion between the human

and the divine. Union with Deity, according to such a theology, is impossible. The supernatural being whom Arius sets forth as the mediator between God and man, does not unite but separates them, for he serves to reveal the infinite impassable gulf that lies between them.

The system of Arius was in its principle a reversion to Jewish Deism, as if it had been the highest type of human thought concerning the nature of the Deity. But it was also a system inferior to Judaism and even to Mohammedanism, for it was weakened rather than strengthened by its adherence to Christ at all. In Jewish and Mohammedan theology the world is at least created directly by God himself, whereas according to Arius, creation is the work of a being inferior to God. The door was thus opened for a return to polytheism, and there was no obstacle to the introduction of many such beings, inferior to God and yet higher than man, who should serve as intermediaries in the economy of external nature or of the spiritual life."

Heathenism slowly dying found in this system that which it could adopt and which, inside and outside the Church, as it was, gave it strength. The doctrine of Arius received support from the disposition of the evil heart to fear God in abject terror and in its inability to believe in God as a God of love, near to all and who has manifested that love in the incarnation. "Arianism was a symptom that the popular Christianity was shifting its basis from love to fear and was thus endangering what was highest and most distinctive in the religion of Christ: whether God was present or absent, whether humanity has been redeemed or still lay under the curse of sin, whether the incarnation has revealed the inmost nature of God, as written in the nature of man, or the revelation made by Christ was an official code of duty promulgated by some high celestial ambassador—such were the issues involved in the Arian controversy."

The work of Athanasius was a necessity. The Nicene Creed stands for what is distinctive in the religion of Christ. The dogma of the incarnation is the essence of Christianity. Denial of it leads back to Judaism or heathenism, ushers in a long train of evils and deprives practical Christian life of its power.

However it may be couched and however presented with ap-

parent reverence to Christ, yet with it has ever gone the power of Christianity. There has been no halting-place possible to sober thought, except in the Athanasian doctrine, or in the mere humanity of Christ, though glorified and honored. When the latter is reached, there comes rejection of portion after portion of the Scriptures until little more than the bare morality is left, as we have seen often in the past, as we have a notable instance in Prof. F. Max Müller, whose dogma concerning Christ may be found in one of his late publications.* He rejects the account of the birth and the resurrection of Christ, classifying them as myths. And one by one even the other positions, he maintains, must be sacrificed until Christ becomes a man but little greater than others by the force of his genius.

Dogmatic truth has far-reaching consequences. The apprehension of it makes the difference between the Romanist and the Protestant, between the Calvinist and the Lutheran. He has only partially comprehended his Church who thinks he can take one portion of its confession and reject other portions. The man who deeply studies Lutheran theology finds an amazing consistency throughout, and, for instance, cannot dispense with the doctrine of the Lord's Supper as taught, without rejecting its doctrine of the personality of Christ. The rejection of that doctrine of the sacrament becomes possible alone by denial of fundamental concepts of the Lutheran Church concerning Christ, specially the concept concerning the relation of the divine and human natures.

But the consequence of the study of the Confessions has been increased activity in our Church-life. We realize that the Lutheran Church is of God, that as it deals purely and truly with the word of God and the person of Christ, it has a message which must be delivered to the world and which demands our homage and love. Church-love has been developed and with it, Church-activity has wonderfully increased until this has become the missionary age of the Lutheran Church. There is now no begging for recognition. The Lutheran Church has a right to exist. Its apology is now the manly presentation of its doctrines.

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*Biographical Essays, Müller, p. 117.

It would be profitable also to consider in proof of the proposition that dogmatic truth rightly apprehended is the spring of practical life, the wonderful spirit of modern missions. The eighteenth century was the period of Deism. Deism and Rationalism ruled a great portion of the thought of the world. The defenders of Christianity themselves were indifferent to dogmatic truth. It is that which has made us dissatisfied with the defences offered by Paley and even Butler. They are weak and unsatisfactory because they are without the distinctive doctrines that centre around the person of Christ. It was thus naturally an age deficient in aggressive Christian work.

The Methodist movement in England, whilst not intellectual, did bring men face to face with God through a living and personal Christ. Schleiermacher marks the turn of thought in Germany and proclaims that religion is the simple feeling of dependence upon God. The personal relation to Christ is restored. It is his great honor to have been the theologian who led the thought of the Church back from Illuminism to the truer conception of Christ. And as others have taken up and corrected and deepened his work, what has been the result? A development of activity in mission work which the world has not witnessed since the days of the early Church. These movements in England and Germany have taught men to know and live and dwell in the presence of God in Christ. For Christ's sake they go forth, and with Him they toil without doubt as to the result, glad if little be accomplished that they are working that which is well-pleasing to Him. "In demonstration of the spirit and with power," they preach Christ crucified, to them by literal experience, "the power and the wisdom of God." Dogmatic thought finds its expression in practical life. A future article may possibly be written which may set forth the thought of the writer on the adaptation of past dogmatic thought to the questions and fresh knowledge of the day and on the dangers which attend the inflexible acceptation of the mere language of dogma.

ARTICLE V.

THE LUTHERAN CONCEPTION AND PHILOSOPHY OF DIVINE TRUTH.

By Rev. J. M. Cromer, A. M., Kansas City, Mo.

Much has been said concerning the obsoleteness of the creeds of Christianity. One of the results of the scientific and skeptical criticisms of modern times has been to raise the question of a re-statement of the fundamental doctrines of theological truth. The general advancement in knowledge has suggested, by analogy at least, both the possibility and the necessity of advanced ideas in the interpretation and enunciation of the doctrines of Christianity.

This thought is emphasized by the fact that our leading biblical scholars have felt justified in revising our translation of the Holy Scriptures. It is not, therefore, a matter of wonder, but rather of expectation, that the statements of Christian doctrine, made centuries ago, should be thought, by some at least, also to need revising.

The fact is that not a few modern critics have expressed contempt for these ancient religious documents. Many so-called theological writers have posed as heroes of a new departure in rejecting these historic symbols of faith, while it is broadly asserted that the theology of the modern pulpit is much in advance of the theology of the creeds. The Congregationalists have made a new creed, while others whose creeds are more or less Calvinistic have very materially modified their confessions. The general disposition of the age to sever allegiance to the thought and conclusions of the more remote past, is nowhere more manifest than in the general attitude assumed toward the original declarations of the Church of what she believed God's word to teach.

Now the question with us as Lutherans is, Does our Confession come under the same general criticism? How have we been affected by the advancement of science and the searching

criticism of modern times? So far as skeptical criticism is concerned we are not aware of a single point that has been made against us; and so far as the advancement made in biblical knowledge is concerned we have found no necessity for any alteration; for this new knowledge has not affected any of the fundamental doctrines of our religion. Lutheranism has gained rather than lost by this increased light; for it has added confirmation to her original conception of the interpretation of the sacred word.

We only make mention here of the fact that exception has been taken to our Confession upon its statement of the doctrines of the sacraments, that it was not explicit enough to bear upon its face the interpretation we intended. The discussions in the early history of our Church arose largely out of this fact, and the principal differences which now exist amongst those of our own name are to be traced to this fact. On this account, also, we have been misunderstood by sister denominations, and have by them been accused of holding to the doctrines of baptismal regeneration aed consubstantiation.

But a lack of clearness upon these doctrines will not seem so strange when we consider the nature of the questions involved. And when we come to understand the different fundamental grounds upon which a conception of divine truth can be formed, we will be convinced that the truth is in the Lutheran doctrine, and also that if Lutherans had been more willing to abide by their fundamental position, and had not suffered themselves to be drawn into such heated discussion, they would have been saved the ruptures of domestic differences, as well as the misfortune of being wrongly interpreted and misunderstood.

The idea, however, which we desire to keep before the reader is that the Lutheran conception of divine truth is the most scriptural, and hence has less to fear from the increase of scientific knowledge, and is not therefore a special object of modern criticism. The popular attacks of infidelity have not, in all their sweeping assertions, come against us. For it will be noticed by the most casual observer that the severest storms of opposition, and those which have gained the most strength from the popular mind, have been waged against the human

element in our religion—the form of creed, rather than against the religion itself. There is an under-current of opposition which assails the very essence of our religion, but it is both too deep and too foul to become popular.

A careful analysis of the most aggressive opposition of to-day will show it to be directed against the excesses of Romanism, and the unsympathetic conclusions of Calvinism. It is true that, as a denomination, we have been accused of a rationalistic tendency, which might indicate that we have not only been seriously affected by modern skeptical thought, but have actually become parties to its advancement. In our western country, made up as it is of such a vast variety of sects and nationalities, this accusation has done us no little harm.

The writer was once made a corresponding member of the Presbyterian Synod of Illinois. It consisted of principal delegates from the whole state and was an intelligent and zealous Christian body. Upon the floor of Synod one of their state missionaries made an eloquent appeal for a certain county, that they as a Christian body might save the people from Romanism, *Lutheranism* and Infidelity! The Synod responded by giving orders to an ex-German Lutheran minister and sending him into this forsaken region. It was learned afterward that there were some rationalistic Germans in that county. And thus by many who are either indifferent or ignorant an unpleasant association has been made between the two terms Rationalism and Lutheranism.

But even a hurried glance at history will show this accusation to be as unjust as to accuse the Church of France of Atheism, or the Church of England of Deism, or the Church of this country of Agnosticism. Rationalism is not indigenous or peculiar to Germanic soil. It was not begotten of German theology, or born of German thought. Rationalism came third in historic order, being a result of the Atheism which began in France, and which swept over England in the form of Deism. Our own Agnosticism is a logical and an historical result of all. As a logical result Rationalism is better than either of the preceding forms, since a God of the understanding is better than no God, or than a God afar off; and yet, because God could not be com-

prehended by human reason, Rationalism only prepared the way for our Agnosticism, which is nothing short of practical Atheism. Thus reason has run the circuit of nations and of faiths, landing where it began, inasmuch as the Agnostics of to-day have turned their backs upon the future, and are stretching themselves back over this great chasm of time and thought to shake hands with the ghosts of Voltaire and Paine.

Rationalism would have gained little power in Germany but for the fact that its onset came when a controversy was being waged between a cold orthodoxism, and a weak subjective pietism. Moreover, Germany and her Lutheranism have proved their loyalty to a truly evangelical faith by antagonizing this Rationalism, and gaining in the warfare the most signal and triumphant victory of Christianity in modern times. The *united* Protestantism of our own country, some branches of which have had so much to say about the prevalence of Rationalism in Lutheran Germany, will do well, indeed if she succeeds equally in her warfare with her enemy, Agnosticism.

But our discussion leads us to notice opposition only in so far as it may have its cause or excuse in the symbolical statements of divine truth. Perhaps the Church, by one or more of her varied forms, is more responsible for the opposition of to-day than many suspect, or would be willing to admit. At all events there is a significance in the fact that many pulpits have departed from the teaching of their creeds; and what is of more consequence to us as a Church is that these pulpits are notably those whose theology is Calvinistic. For this reason, and others which appear further on, it will be interesting and profitable to notice the position which our own creed occupies in this advanced and advancing age.

But that we may the better accomplish our purpose, it will be necessary first to go back of the creed to the conception or philosophy of truth upon which it is founded. And this is the principal study of this article.

Creeds are not justly considered when viewed merely as causes. They are themselves effects, and their merits cannot fully or properly be estimated without studying and becoming familiar with the causes which lie back of them.

Therefore we will not specially dwell upon the creed itself, but upon that conception and philosophy of divine truth of which it is a natural and legitimate outgrowth. The points to be gained by such a study are many; but the chief aim is to show that whether a creed is correct or not,—or in what degree it is correct—is not to be determined so much by the increased light and knowledge of modern science, as *by the fundamental conception of Divine Revelation upon which it is based;* and if there are creeds which must now be modified to adapt them to the wants of the age, it is not because of outgrowing old forms so much, as it is a correction of a wrong growth from the beginning. All we claim is that a proper interpretation of God's word is not subject to the corrections of an advanced science, and that if there are such corrections necessary they must be made by an *enlightened conception of the teachings of the Scriptures given by the Holy Ghost, and which was as possible centuries ago as now.* Our religion is not antequated, and if any of its forms are antequated, it is the fault of the forms and not of the religion.

And here some of our Christian thinkers have made their greatest mistakes. They have humbled themselves too much and altogether unnecessarily before the advancement made in the sphere of scientific knowledge. We have conceded too much to the irreligious thought of to-day. If we have broader conceptions of Divine truth, more advanced ideas of its meaning, and more rational views of its doctrines, we are inclined to give the credit to modern scientific culture. As a result, the intellect reigns supreme over the heart, and modern culture arrogates to itself the prerogative of dictating our faith. The way is thus opened for the popular adoption of anything this indulged culture may see fit to impose upon us. The Christian world concedes this supposed superior knowledge to science, when in changing and departing from its historic confessions it consents to be guided more by the idea of making the new statement scientific, than of conforming it to a higher and truer conception of what the divine Word teaches. We cannot but feel that the fear of scientific criticism is greater than the desire to

be loyal to the Scriptures. These changes are the rather necessary, if necessary at all, because of the wrong conception upon which the creeds were based.

This, of course, raises the whole question of the effect of scientific progress upon our ability to interpret and understand divine truth; but this is only incidental to the present discussion. The question here pertinent is, Was it not possible for those creeds, which are now either discarded, or subjected to restatement, to have been founded upon a proper conception at the beginning, and thus to have avoided the need of the change, and the consequent reflection upon our common Christianity? Or if this was practically impossible, is all Christendom laid under the same necessity? Or were there confessions whose conception was more in keeping with the truth, and hence have not yet felt the necessity of any material change?

That we may answer these and other such questions, let us now notice the different conceptions of divine truth that shaped our different confessional statements.

It is, however, first necessary to define the essence of Christianity—the germ principle which is fundamental to all Christian truth. This essential principle is the *union of the human and divine.* The general character of this principle is seen in its application first to Christ who is the most perfect type and embodiment of this union. Then it follows in its application to the Holy Scriptures, the Sacraments, and as a culminating result, the Christian life.

The manner of apprehending this union, therefore, determines all religious confessions. The different confessions, receive the fundamental principles in this way.

Truth itself is one, and cannot be divided though it may be differently apprehended. This difference of apprehension is discovered when we study the truth in its deeper relations to man—the being to whom this truth is presented and by whom it is to be received.

Man's nature is threefold in its endowments, having sensuous, intellectual and spiritual faculties. These faculties are all to be used in the determination of what is truth, and God in his revelation appeals to them all. But there is truth which belongs

specially to one or the other of this group of faculties. Spiritual truth, being the highest, appeals to all of these groups, but aims principally at the enlightenment and development of man's spiritual faculties. The dire results of sin, however, made man's reception of divine truth depend upon a special training. The spiritual nature suffered most from man's disobedience, and his sensuous and intellectual faculties are called into service to aid in the education of this nature. This is strikingly exhibited in the symbolical religion of the Jews, the aim of which was not only to reveal God's present will to them, but to prepare their minds and hearts for the greater revelation of himself in the person of Christ. But their failure to apprehend the spiritual meaning contained in their rites and ceremonies, and their final failure to learn the spiritual lesson given in Christ, gave evidence of their spiritual deadness. So that when Christ came there was still need of making use of the most elementary methods of teaching the truth. The intellectual pictures, however, which Christ used in his similes and parables were a step in advance of the crude symbols of Judaism. And when Christ's work was done, and his personal ministry ended, and when the appeal was to be made still more directly to the hearts and consciences of men, we find that even the dispensation of the Holy Ghost was inaugurated by an ocular and oral demonstration, while all through the lives of the Apostles they have the gift of performing miracles. The Jew could see the smoke ascending from his altar, the glory of the shekinah, the pillars of cloud and fire, and the awful Sinai. The Galilean farmer could understand the literal terms of the parable of the "Tares," and of the "Sower and the Seed." But the spiritual meaning of these seemed beyond their grasp.

Now when, after the lapse of centuries of the Church's apostasy, and the word of God was unearthed as from the obscurity of the grave, it became necessary to formulate Christian doctrine anew, but we find the same characteristic dulness in apprehending divine truth.

And here we may note that *the only fundamental difference that can exist between different doctrinal bases of Christian truth grows out of the use of different faculties in its apprehension.* As

already suggested by our division of man's faculties, there were three original modes used in apprehending the union of the two natures—divine and human—for man's salvation. The Roman Catholic Church begins the lowest down in the scale of faculties, and she receives her whole cast and character as a distinct religious body from her over-mastering desire to *see this union.*

The Reformed* Churches took a step higher, and are as clearly distinguished in their character throughout by their reigning determination to *understand this union.*

The Lutheran Church agreed with neither. She claimed that this union was such that it could neither be seen nor fully understood, and appealed to a higher court of man's nature, the highest, and one more appropriate to the particular truth to be apprehended. And thus she finds the basis for her distinctive features as a religious body in that she looks on this union as a "most vital, intimate, and efficient communion, penetration, and reciprocity," and does not regard it so much as an object to be seen, or a problem to be solved and comprehended as a divine fact, growing out of God's love for his fallen creature, presented to him as *an object of faith and joyous realization.*

It is highly interesting to carry out these three fundamental principles in their many ramifications and practical bearings, and see how they affect, directly or indirectly, every article of Christian faith, and every rule of Christian practice. We will follow the application in the cases of the Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches, only so far as is necessary to give clear proof of the fact itself, and to serve our purpose in the fuller discussion of the Lutheran principle.

The sensuous view of the Roman Catholic is most strikingly exhibited in his external religion. His use of art in religion, his fondness for pictures, sculpture, and church architecture; his forms, ceremonies, crucifixes, beads and holy gestures—all show the principle of appealing to the eye and ear. His doctrine of an external Church dispensing salvation; the authority given to tradition; the hierarchical priesthood, all emphasize

*The word Reformed is used here and elsewhere in this article to embrace also the more strictly Calvinistic churches.

the sensuous nature of his religion. His view of the Sacraments as *opus operatum*, and especially his doctrine of transubstantiation, in which he would change the bread and wine of the eucharist into the literal body and blood of Christ which he may not only *see* but also *touch* and *taste*, are convincing evidence of the prominence given the senses. His righteousness by works carries the same idea into the practical life while his embodiment of infallible authority in the pope is only a result of the limitation he puts upon the Divine and an effort to see the Divine in the human. The stress he lays upon church festivals; his calendar of saints; his withholding the cup from the laity, and his extreme unction of the dying, are only a natural outgrowth of his fundamental conception.

Just as distinctly may we follow out in religious life the development and application of the Reformed conception. In making the intellect most prominent in apprehending this union, the whole question of religious life and doctrine tended toward the narrow limitations of finite reason. Such a union was conceived as would be most fully intelligible to the human understanding. This led the Reformed theology to separate between the human and divine, regarding each by itself, making their union little more than an ideal juxtaposition. This tended to the laying of all stress on the divine and a failure to estimate the human. The human in Christ was excluded from all participation in the attributes of the Godhead. Consequently the idea of God's sovereignty gained undue prominence over that of God's love for his fallen creature, and in the work of salvation the divine part was magnified into a pre-determination which left no room for self-determination in the sinner. Thus the Reformed churches came to their *decretum absolutum.*

Out of this somewhat mechanical view of the union of the two natures, came the mechanical idea of inspiration, which made the human nothing but an amanuensis of the divine, inspiration, therefore, being claimed for everything. Facts, words vowels, and punctuation points were all considered inspired. The geography and history were equally inspired with the religious and moral contents. The human element was put entirely into the back-ground.

In the Church no place was allowed to tradition, and historical development was lost sight of. The visible was ignored and everything made of the invisible. Hence the dearth of religious forms, the lack in hymnology, and the little meaning attached to the sacraments. Baptism was regarded as merely a dedicatory rite, and the Lord's Supper as simply memorial.

It will be seen that the highly spiritualized view of the Reformed Churches is in diametric opposition to the highly sensuous view of the Roman Catholics. Thus the Reformed Churches seemed to take for granted that everything in the Romish Church was wrong, and without due consideration, hurried their reformation to the opposite extreme.

The Lutheran ground lay between. Hence Lutheran theologians must define themselves with regard to both, making their work two-fold. The Lutheran Church, upon the proper evidence that the Bible is God's word, begins with faith as the fundamental element in the study and knowledge of the Scriptures, and in this spirit builds her whole system. And while the Reformed did not wholly refuse to allow place to the senses, nor the Romish Church deny place to the intellect, and neither was without faith, we are not to think of the Lutheran Church as denying all place for sense and intellect. The use of all of man's endowments are necessary to the fullest understanding and faith. The difference is that the Romish Church builds her knowledge and faith upon a sensuous foundation and the Reformed Church moulds her theology and cultus upon an intellectual basis, while the Lutheran Church rests her whole system of religious truth upon simple faith in the statements of God's word, making the sensuous and intellectual contribute to the one end of enlightening and confirming her faith. In so far as the senses and intellect are able to fathom the mysteries of divine truth, in so far her faith may be said to be rational—within the scope of reason; but her faith is not thus limited; for though she may neither see nor understand, yet upon the sole authority of God's word she believes, and in this exercise of faith she may be said to be mystical—having a faith above reason. Her foundation makes her proof against any very grave error; for she has first believed the doctrine before she

has subjected it to a scientific statement, and her statement will not be allowed to conflict with her faith, and hence her failure will be of the head and not of the heart—in not being able to define that which she believes. In case of the other Churches composing the trio, an error either of the sense or the understanding leads to an error of faith.

The superiority of the Lutheran ground is seen in that faith is the all-important requirement of the Gospel. We do not necessarily believe that we may understand, but we believe whether we understand or not. We believe that which we understand, and try to understand that which God's word asks us to believe, after we have believed. The Lutheran seeks to make mind and sense administer to the enlightenment and confirmation of her faith, as God's word rules that faith.

Thus the Lutheran Church believes, upon the clear statement of God's word, in the complete humanity, and the complete divinity of Christ, and in their complete unity. In Christ a truly divine nature has been united with a truly human nature, so that God has become man, and man has become God—the God-man.

Up to the time of the Reformation, although the union of the two natures had been acknowledged and believed, specially after the Chalcedon statement was made, yet the divine was emphasized at the expense of the human. It remained for the Lutheran Church, standing between two extremes, to give equal emphasis to each nature, and to exalt the one true Christ. And although she may have gone to the extreme in declaring the communication of the properties of one nature to the other, yet in her view we have the most worthy conception of him we are taught to call Lord. Without the blending of the two natures there can be no condescension of the divine, nor any exaltation of the human. Little meaning would be given to that shortest and sweetest verse in God's word: "Jesus wept." His tears shed over Jerusalem would add little to the pathetic appeal he addressed to her. And how much meaning would be taken out of his sufferings and death.

But whatever our conclusions, our only point is to establish the superiority of our original mode of apprehending divine

truth. A Reformed writer of a somewhat recent date says: "We ought never make our recognition of the existence of this union of the human and divine in Christ dependent, as to its ultimate authority, upon our insight into the nature and manner thereof." Or, as Lutherans would say, we ought to make it a matter of faith, in which case our "ultimate authority" is God's word which plainly declares this union, though we may stand in holy awe and wonder at the divine mystery. Speculation is not to be condemned, but given a secondary importance.

In regard to the Bible, the Lutheran unites the letter with the spirit, excluding neither for the other. The human element is equally recognized with the divine. He does not regard the holy men who penned the Scriptures as mere machines, operated upon by the Holy Spirit, and thus made to write that which they neither understood nor had any interest in. The divine here has been emphasized by the Reformed at the expense of the human. The more we read the Bible as coming indirectly from God through the hearts and minds of those to whom God revealed himself, the more precious it becomes. It thus comes to us full of its divine glory, and its human experience. We thus get not only the idea of God as an offended sovereign who regards us as his rebellious subjects, but also the idea of his wonderful condescension, by which we can recognize him as our Heavenly Father, whose only begotten Son He gave for our ransom from sin, and before whose eyes one hair of our heads shall not fall unnoticed.

In the Church, the Lutheran conception recognizes the presence and operation of God's Spirit as seen in and through the human development, rejecting only a false tradition. She thus maintains the full significance of both the visible and the invisible Church, sacrificing neither for the other. Hence we find in her a proper regard for a clean and pure art. Church music and hymnology find in her a rich development, and become a prominent feature in her worship.

The same fundamental conception is carried out also in the Lutheran idea of church government; for however the human may vary the divine is not thereby affected. Hence our gov-

ernment is not a distinctive feature. Believing that the divine and human are here united, and that Christ gave no specific form of government and discipline, we do not insist upon uniformity in this particular, leaving it for different countries to fashion their Church under their civil government as they choose.

In general, while we have our forms and outward observances, nothing can be more contrary to the true genius of our Church than to allow the form, or human expression of our religion to become a distinctive feature. It is therefore no necessary evidence of disintegration or lack of unity, to find that all who bear the name do not bear the same outward resemblance. And while uniformity of worship would greatly aid our weak natures to realize this unity, yet our fraternal recognition ought not be made to depend upon this outward likeness. But it is Lutheran, and scriptural as well, to make use of whatever forms are agreeable and necessary in order to give the best expression of the divine that dwells within.

Luther was necessarily so fundamental in his work of reformation that it was left for his followers to form and build the denominational superstructure. In this building a disposition was soon manifested to be more Lutheran than Luther, which caused much contention. This spirit still exists, and is of all things most un-Lutheran. The highest development of Lutheranism, and of Christianity as well, is to find our union in the divine rather than in the human part of our religion. The human may and does vary, and can never become a true basis of union. The divine is the same, "Yesterday, to-day, and forever." Luther says: "Let him who would not err hold fast to this, that Christianity is a spiritual gathering of souls in one faith, and that no one will be counted a Christian because of his body: let him also know that natural, proper, right Christianity is found in the spirit, and not in any external thing."

The special meaning which the Lutherans came to give the sacraments grew out of the original conception of the union of the divine and human. And because this union could neither be seen nor understood we were subject to gross misrepresentations and unkind criticism. All dogmatising on this point is

only an effort to bring spiritual truth within the comprehension of reason. Our error, if error it is, consists in putting the doctrine of the sacraments with the mysteries of Christianity, instead of among those parts which we are expected and are able to understand. Is the union of the divine and human in the sacraments of such a nature as to be understood? Then the Reformed were right in their conception, and their conclusions correct—they are nothing more than dedicatory and memorial. If this union is too highly spiritual to admit of explanation, then we must either deny the fact itself or else receive it by faith; and in this case it does not devolve upon us to explain the nature of it; such an effort would be inconsistent as a ground of our faith.

The Roman Catholic, who says he sees this union, must show it to us, for, verily, we have eyes to see. The Reformed, who says he understands its nature, must explain it to us, for we also have understandings. But the Lutheran, who says he believes it, need only give God's word for the fact itself. This does not hinder him from seeing and understanding all that is possible; it simply removes his faith from a dependence upon these. Hence, when we have tried to dogmatize we have found difficulties, and caused misunderstandings; and as a natural result have appeared to favor either the Romish or Reformed view, for we have no more faculties with which to receive truth than they. And although our ground-work of faith may give us a clearer understanding, yet it is more the understanding of experience. Transubstantiation and baptismal regeneration follow naturally enough from the Romish idea: the mere memorial and dedicatory conception is the only one possible from the Reformed standpoint. Somewhere between lies the Lutheran idea. Just where would be inconsistent with our philosophy, and as we believe also with God's word, to try to define. And yet if a definition is possible we are wrong. But we have senses and understanding, and must have some form of receiving the truth. And this was and still is our difficulty—making the doctrine a matter of faith because of its mystery, and at the same time trying to give some idea of the doctrine. It is not *con*, *in*, or *sub*, but it is, *i. e.* Christ is present. We all agree, as

Lutherans, on Christ's presence; we also agree that it is a spiritual presence. But this turns the apprehension of it over into the domain of our spiritual natures—makes it a matter of faith. The objection of the Reformed Churches is, naturally enough, that our view is "incomprehensible to the natural understanding," and this we are perfectly willing to admit. Here Melanchthon was inclined to the Reformed view, and precipitated that lamentable Crypto-Calvinistic controversy by his desire to unite the Lutheran and Reformed Churches on this doctrine.

But we pretend no discussion, except such as naturally rises out of a comparison of fundamental principles. Every system has its extremes which may be modified; but the foundations of ours we cannot compromise. They are too distinctly marked out, and appeal to the strongest confirmation in our complex natures. And if the Romish Church cannot give up her sensuous conception, and the Reformed persists in her original mode of receiving truth, then we must forever remain widely apart, for we cannot yield our ground of faith. We accept and maintain it with all of its mystery and intellectual difficulties. True, our natures require signs, and we have them; truth must appear reasonable, and we always appeal to reason to its utmost ability of understanding; but we dare not narrow down divine truth to that contained in the sign or what is possible to reason. With the Greeks of Christ's time, "We would see Jesus;" with imprisoned John we would know more of Him we call Messiah. And yet a higher development of the Christian life is manifested when, with the distressed father who wanted his child healed, we cry out: "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief." It is this faith that is our need to-day. Oh; that the Holy Spirit would increase our faith, and thus enlighten our spiritual understanding.

We have yet to consider the Lutheran conception of this union in the Christian life. Here more than anywhere else Luther seemed inclined to the Reformed view. He had come up through such an experience with the *un*-holy Catholic Church, and had received such a baptism of the Holy Ghost, as to turn him against the human element in the Christian life. He did not despise good works, nor underestimate them as a result of

the true life within; but he had seen so much of a righteousness by works as to make him reduce the human part in redemption to its smallest possible quantity. Hence we are not surprised that he is here somewhat inconsistent with his own true conception, not perhaps in laying too much stress upon the divine agency in salvation, but in putting too little stress upon the human agency.

The Roman Catholic had developed a monergism of works by which eternal life was made to depend too much upon what the sinner could and did do. The Reformed Church, which always separated between the two natures at the expense of the human, developed a monergism of divine agencies which made salvation so much depend upon God as to ignore man's choice and free agency. Now the Lutheran conception properly applied here would call for a synergism in which the divine and human coöperate for man's redemption. Upon this doctrine Melanchthon seems to be more consistent with the Lutheran idea. Luther afterward was more favorably inclined to Melanchthon's view. Although man's part be reduced to the minimum, we cannot deny his coöperation. Even though his very faith is the gift of God, and this gift is conditioned by a godly sorrow for sin which the Holy Ghost alone can produce, yet the sinner must yield, and after yielding he is given his moral task which he must work out with fear and trembling.

And now, what a clear conception and true philosophy our Church has of divine truth. But it will be noticed that much we claim as growing out of our conception is the commonly accepted doctrine of modern Protestantism. However firm a root the system of Calvin may have taken in a scholastic age, and whatever eminence the Reformed Churches may have gained, it is nevertheless true that Lutheran theology is becoming the popular theology of the day. We have not thought to claim more for our system than an impartial judgment would grant; and if the modification of creeds to-day is bringing them nearer the Lutheran conception, then it has remained for modern Protestantism after four centuries of experience, to place the capstone upon the pyramid of tribute which has been paid to Martin Luther. No grander comment has ever been made upon

the work of this humble man of God than that which Protestantism in all of its varied forms is perhaps unconsciously making in our own times. That Luther could overcome his desire to see, which was no less than in the Roman Catholic, and curb his ambition to understand, which was no less than in the Reformed, and plant himself squarely and alone upon a basis of faith, is evidence of the better philosophy he had formed of God's truth; and is not only no reflection upon his head, but rather a grand triumph of the work of divine grace upon his heart.

Two facts are here worthy of note. The first is that Lutheran theology has an original basis in its fundamental conception of divine truth. The Lutheran Church is one of three that can lay claim to any such groundwork. She is no sect, and stands much nearer the apostles in her apprehension of an apostolic Church and of an apostolic gospel than those who claim apostolic succession. There are those who speak of the forms of Protestantism as *sects*, who themselves are neither Protestant nor Roman Catholic, and whose only claim to originality is in an outward ceremony.

The second fact is that the other two Churches which share this honor of originality have proven their own fundamental error—the Roman Catholic in her gross excesses prior to the Reformation, and failure to embody the spiritual element of Christianity in her religion, and the Reformed Church in her manifest departure in modern times from the leading characteristics of her original conception. The practical modification of Calvinism in nearly, if not quite all the Reformed Churches, is a plain reflection upon the philosophical conception out of which they grew. And it is no apology for the system that it is the most intellectual and ingenius statement of religious doctrine ever produced; nor is it any compliment to Calvin himself, that while he confessed that the doctrine of reprobation was a "*decretum horribile*, he declared it, seeing he could not yield it without injuring the unity of his system."

And now let us glance a moment at the opposition to Christianity—so much of it at least as may be founded upon wrong conceptions of divine truth. Let us remember, too, that the

popular opposition—that which catches the popular ear, and is to-day doing the most harm—is that which is waged against some wrong view or abnormal development of the truth of divine revelation. I ask, in all candor, is not an excessive and sensuous Romanism, and a rigid, almost heartless, Calvinism—to use Calvin's own words, his "horrible doctrine"—responsible for this popular unbelief? What is Draper's "Conflict between Religion and Science," but a conflict between Romanism and science, with a few slurs upon Christianity at the close? And whence comes the great cry in this day against creeds? Who are those that are breaking away from the ancient statements of doctrine? What ministers are severing their church fellowship, and becoming independent, or, what is worse Unitarian? Are they not largely those whose creeds have been Calvinistic? What doctrines are those at which the mind begins to stagger and which turn it away from the truth itself? Are they not the doctrines of "absolute degrees," and a material "hell-fire?" What a fame a Beecher can acquire, and what a sensation he can create by assuming the air of a martyr, and, in one of his meteoric flights of eloquence passionately declaring that he did not believe God created human beings to damn them eternally—as though the whole Christian world did believe it, and always had believed it, and he was the only one bold enough to dare say he did not believe it. Who can blame Beecher for breaking away from such an unscriptural and even blood-curdling doctrine as this? And who can do otherwise than blame such doctrines for the loose and infidel liberalism in our pulpits and pews to-day, and which is being caught up by the ever ready enemy and turned into Agnosticism? Can these Churches which have such doctrines incorporated in their creeds, and which have, within the memory of many living who are still young, maintained them, evade responsibility for the mighty conflict they have occasioned? And, what is scarcely less injurious in its results, when these pulpits and denominations do break away from such bondage, why is it that almost universally the credit is given to modern science?—the enlightenment of the age? I ask, was modern thought and scientific knowledge necessary to an exposure of Romanism? No, *Romanism was ex-*

posed, and, so far as doctrine is concerned, overthrown long before this day of scientific progress had dawned. And what is more, the present revival in letters and culture is historically traceable to the wonderful Reformation, through him who, under God, *by spiritual weapons in a spiritual warfare* broke the power of the religious hierarchy which had kept the people in civil and religious bondage. Modern science, art, music, jurisprudence, literature, civil and religious liberty—all have their origin in the *broad conception of divine* truth which was the vital cause of the Reformation. And yet, four hundred years after this great work has been done, set free by its power, enlightened by its truth, and in every way lifted up by its enfranchising influences, a modern science has opened its eyes and taken all the credit of this marvelous age to itself?

Are we to depend on the development of this new science in order that we may have the atrocities of Calvinism exposed? No, they were exposed in a most heated and too bitter strife in the age which gave them birth by those whose only weapon was God's word and the creeds of the fathers. It was that age that gave birth to a Luther and Melanchthon, and a host of other co-workers, who contended over-much, it is often thought, over what was considered an opinion. And now what reflection is cast upon our common Christianity to-day by not recognizing these historic facts.

The unbelieving world has reckoned all this pulling away from the old conceptions of Christianity as a result of its assaults, and is becoming bolder in its antagonism, and more influential with the masses on that account. Whatever influence this enemy may have had, it is true that the Christian world is not dependent upon it for any such assistance, and that the truth was held in all its apostolic purity by the leaders in the German Reformation. Rather is this breaking up amongst the creeds due to an increased spiritual enlightenment gained by a continuous study of God's word. That some have gone too far to the other extreme is not the fault of the liberating truth, but of the strong bondage by which they were bound. Our modern progress in religious faith, in so far as it is evangelical, is a

triumph of the religion of the heart over a religion too much of the head and understanding.

The Churches which have taught a literal "hell-fire," and absolute decrees, are responsible for much. How many have been driven from the truth by these horrible doctrines. It is a glory of our own Church that we never taught such doctrines, and a greater glory still is the fact that we learned our truth before this learned age began, and, as we devoutly believe, from a superior spiritual enlightenment.

Whence the loose ideas of inspiration? Who are they of the pulpit that have gradually drifted away from this all-important doctrine? Are they not those whose original idea was so rigid? And so far as the Church is responsible must not this old theory bear the blame of too loose theories now? Not that Lutheranism may be glorified, but that our common Christianity may be saved the unjust and unnecessary humiliation of bowing before an ungodly science, do I claim that these doctrines which have come under such destructive criticism to-day, and which have been practically abandoned for years, and are now being wholly exterminated, in new statements of religious truth, are not, and never have been, tenets of the Lutheran Church. She may have her faults, and will have them until, in God's time, she with all others shall be lifted above the earthly condition and exalted into the Church triumphant; but it is not presumptuous to claim that she has been the purest conserver of God's truth, and has not changed her ground of faith in this changing age. She can meet science, as she met Romanism, with the Holy Bible, and she will no more heed her dictates than did she heed the bulls and anathemas of the pope unless her ground is proven false from her holy weapon of truth by which alone she stands.

But on the better side of our development as Christians in general, we can say that the Christian consciousness is Christward. Those who are not broken off by this decay of creed, are drawn nearer the loving Saviour. Christianity is rising to a higher appreciation of Christ as the All in all. The theology of to-day is also looking toward a more scriptural and hence more perfect Christology than has ever been known. It is God

in Christ, and through Christ, that is the moving power and force of our Christianity to-day; for God out of Christ is a consuming fire. In our theology we must not separate the Christ from God, nor from man. And here, too, the Lutheran Church is at home. Her Christology is the most complete, because she had faith to believe without a complete demonstration.

And now, as Lutherans, if it be true that the religious thought of the age is gravitating toward our fundamental conception of divine truth, around which we have built our denominational structure, let us feel the responsibility this fact imposes. It has been too much our weakness to only boast of our rich legacy of doctrine. While others have translated our theology and adopted it in their religious instruction, and embodied it in their religious life, we have too willingly contented ourselves with being able thus to administer to their wants, and have not unfrequently simply assumed the relation of teacher to the religious world. How responsible God has made our position. Let us not only have Christ's spirit toward all of its followers, but let us with a holy ambition vie with them in the great work of evangelizing the world. Let us add to our distinctive features of doctrine that other feature which such a doctrine ought to beget, of being first and foremost in the Master's great field of harvest. Now our pure doctrine ought to be exemplified in pure living and pure doing for the Christ whom we so exalt. In this great breaking up of the ancient crafts of revealed truth, let us prove to science that at least one of these crafts has weathered the storms of centuries and is still sea-worthy. And may we prove a blessing to the Christian world in our active coöperation to save the world from sin, even as we have proved a blessing in our rich fund of religious knowledge. Do we believe that God is united with us in the salvation of men? Then how this faith should quicken every energy, and call out our every power and ability.

ARTICLE VI.

THE INFLUENCE OF BENEFICIARY EDUCATION UPON THE CHARACTER OF THE MINISTRY.

By Rev. Chas. E. Hay, A. M., Allentown, Pa.

The career of King Jeroboam abounded in wrong-doing; but of all his iniquities none proved more disastrous to the people, or called down upon him and his family more terrible expression of the divine displeasure, than his shameful prostitution of the sacred office of the priesthood. Grown reckless in the exercise of kingly prerogative, he presumed to establish an independent order of worship, and upon his own responsibility appointed the priests of the high-places. It is not surprising to find this important function in such hands most perversely exercised. The priests receiving appointment through a channel thus unauthorized could not have expected, had they even been men of personal purity themselves, to enjoy the favor of Jehovah. But alas! purity and piety were not among the qualifications sought by an idolatrous king. The character of the men thus called to direct the devotions of the nation is to be inferred from the two notes of the sacred record, indicating their origin and their qualification. (1 Kings 13 : 33). They were of the "lowest of the people,"—men of poverty, the result of their own indolence; men guided by no high principle, —illiterate, self-seeking, despisers of things sacred, slaves of vile passions; men suited to be the tools of unscrupulous despotism,—to whom religion was a name, and the administration of its ordinances a trade. The only qualification demanded for consecration was the willingness to serve. Whoever under these circumstances applied was good enough. There was no knowledge to be kept by the lips of this priesthood,—no moral character to be maintained. Whoever had no better employment, and could find the society of miserable sorcerers congenial,—was ushered into the office into which the sons of Aaron had counted it high honor to be admitted after long and care-

ful training. "And this thing became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off and to destroy it from off the face of the earth."

Our theme has relation to the proper occupation of the modern "High Places." By the common consent of thoughtful men the pulpit of the Christian Church is a station second to none in dignity and in power for good. As the mountains and hills are lifted nearer to the sun, so the pulpits of our land stand out above the marts of trade and halls of legislation. They are professedly and by divine appointment the stations from which God speaks. Beneath them the people gather to catch glimpses of the heavenly glory. The frail men who stand in them are accredited as chosen vessels of the Lord—leaders of the people. In learning, in manly character, in Christian grace, they are called to be ensamples of the flock.

The selection and equipment of men for such an office cannot be matter of small moment. Whatever abstract theory be held as to the nature of the call to the ministry, it will be conceded that the Church at large has a responsibility in the matter. The modern prophets do not come from out a fiery cloud with radiant face, nor does an angel call them from the plough and suddenly lay upon them a special "burden of the Lord." Their's is a recognized and regular place in the economy of the Gospel dispensation. It requires special preparation. These men come out from the midst of the working congregation, avail themselves of the educational advantages furnished by the Church at large, and receive from the Church the ratification of their commission.

This instrumental agency of the general body of believers in providing for the adequate ministry of the Word is abundantly recognized in the establishment and support of our various institutions of learning. It was for the training of ministers mainly that most of our colleges were founded, and to this end solely that our theological seminaries have been established. It has been thought well worth while to erect spacious buildings, gather massive libraries and summon foremost men as instructors from the ranks of the active ministry, in order to pave the

way to extended usefulness in the pulpit. No one questions for a moment the wisdom of all this.

Born of the same impulse, for the furtherance of the same ends, there has been developed in all the leading branches of the Christian Church a more or less clearly-defined plan by which direct pecuniary assistance is rendered to needy aspirants for the sacred office. Such aid has been supposed to be in many cases indispensable. It has been tendered to multitudes of sensitive young men and gratefully accepted by them. To no cause have our progressive congregations contributed more liberally or more cheerfully than to this.

But of late years the wisdom of the entire system of Beneficiary Education has been called in question. A few imaginative minds have been filled with spectres of an overcrowded and degraded ministry. Strange, chimerical notions have been entertained of "manly independence," as affected by the acceptance of such practical Christian sympathy. It has been charged in effect that our Synods and Educational Committees have been repeating the sin of Jeroboam,—presumptuously accelerating the supply of pulpiteers,—filling the ranks of those who are to minister in sacred things with men incompetent. The cry has been: "Hands off! Let the Lord call whom he will. Let the candidates labor with their own hands, or depend upon special providential supply of their necessities." And this, while vast fields are lying waste, vacant pulpits in our very midst appealing to us, multitudes of our own people in the West languishing for the living bread, and Africa and India sounding in our ears the Macedonian cry!

Whatever may have been the case in other branches of the Church, in our own Lutheran fold the plea of overcrowding has been but the cry of ignorance,—with no other basis than the noisy wail of a few men whose own career had forfeited the confidence of the Church, and *made* them supernumeraries. We *need* men, and have *always* needed them. But however great the demand, it is *men* alone that we want,—men thoroughly furnished, not novices. Rather let the fields lie untouched, than commit them to the charge of those who will but trample the golden grain, and leave a barren wilderness to the dismay of

future husbandmen. If the system of beneficiary education be rightly chargeable with a tendency to degrade character in the ministry, to elevate *hirelings* to the control of the Saviour's precious flock,—by all means let it be abandoned. We propose to ourselves the question:

Does the System of Beneficiary Education for the Gospel Ministry repeat the sinful folly of Jeroboam, elevating to sacred station "of the lowest of the people" "whosoever will"?

We first notice the second count in the indictment. Does this system tend to make *willingness* or *desire* upon the part of the applicant the sole prerequisite? Does it open the door so wide that whosoever will may enter?

Upon the contrary, we claim that the system preëminently tends to check the presumptuous aspirant, that it throws safeguards around the sacred office. Applicants for aid are subjected to far more searching scrutiny than other candidates; and this at every stage of their educational career. They are required to present testimonials from pastors and friends who have known them intimately, to convince an educational committee of their talents and fitness, and then to submit their case to the unprejudiced judgment of an entire synod,—all this before receiving one cent of the Church's money. Each year the record of their intellectual progress is reviewed, testimonials of Christian deportment secured, and further financial aid conditioned upon evidence of satisfactory character and development. We claim it therefore as a peculiar advantage of this system that it is calculated to secure higher character in those who are the special subjects of its care. We claim further, as an incidental benefit, that the maintaining of this standard for beneficiaries exerts a wholesome influence upon self-supporting candidates; and still further, that it stimulates all the members of the synod, who as honest men must seek to reach the ideal which they annually hold before others.

We readily admit that the existence of a treasury may have attracted some unworthy men, who have thought thus to secure a free education and a life of indolence,—that here and there in our weaker synods there may have been too great timidity in rejecting the unqualified. But such instances only mark the

imperfect administration of the system. Its natural tendency we insist is to introduce a careful law of selection assuring the survival of the fittest,—to assert and bring into practical operation the right of the Church to pass judgment upon ministerial character. So far from opening the door to "whosoever will," this system declares of all whom it reaches:—*not* whosoever will, but whomsoever God calls,—whosoever in natural endowment, and piety, and consecrated life gives credible evidence of the divine commission. The spectacle of our committees annually rejecting more applicants than they approve, and our syonds after wider scrutiny still further limiting the number,—is sufficient answer to the charge of indiscriminate elevation at the expense of the Church.

By far the weightier, because more plausible part of the indictment is that this system draws recruits from the "lowest of the people." It is representend as going abroad to *buy up* with its tempting offer of a free college training the poor, the lame and the blind,—as making the ministerial office the creature of charity, and thus alienating the strong and self-reliant youth of the upper and middle classes of society. Let us look at this more closely.

We must in the first place discriminate between the terms *low* and *poor*. Beneficiary Education does aid poor men. It is a system devised for such. But rightly administered, it is the *worthy* poor who alone receive its benefits. It has never been the way of Providence to bestow mental and spiritual gifts alone upon the wealthy. Prophets, apostles and evangelists, as the Master himself, have known what it is to be in want. The majority of God's chosen workmen have in all ages been of those not largely encumbered with the riches of this world. Endowed with higher gifts than gold,—they have seldom been called upon to exhaust their energies in guarding vaults. Ministering in spiritual things to multitudes, they have counted it a small matter that they should from these same multitudes receive a modicum of things temporal for their support. If the working pastor be thus sustained, why not the candidates? It is a thing well understood, in America at least, that early poverty is no reproach. In a land where presidents, legislators and

foremost educators are born in log-cabins and sell newspapers, it were strange indeed if the Church should be reproached for admitting to her service the hardy sons of poverty. It is to be remembered too that it is not the *absolutely destitute* who commonly receive the encouragement which this system offers. It does not extend *entire sustenance*, but merely *assistance* to supplement personal means and effort. The proper preparation for the work of the ministry requires an amount of capital which few young men may count trifling. Food, clothing, books and travel to and fro must be provided for. The time and strength given to study must make financially unprofitable the valuable years up to, or past, majority. With our elevated standard it requires almost as much capital to prepare a man for college as would formerly have sufficed to carry him to graduation. We aid no one until he is ready to enter a regular college class. The young man who knocks at our doors with this measure of attainment has already expended in time and money an amount sufficient to have given him a fair start in business. It were an *outrage* to reproach him with the honorable poverty to which a high ambition has reduced him.

If then, it be laid to the charge of Beneficiary Education that it puts into the ministry some whose limited means would otherwise have debarred them, we shall gladly let our system rest under the reproach, simply remarking that that is just what it aims to do. If it be implied, however, that the lack of sufficient means to complete a college and seminary course unaided affords any presumption of vulgar origin or low morality, we resent the charge. Upon the contrary, the life of self-denial and manful struggle against odds, which the position of such an applicant commonly implies, may be claimed as an important educational factor in perfecting those who are all their lives to "endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ." *These* are not the "lowest of the people," but in all that makes strong character and fits for lofty station they rank high,—may be of God's noblemen.

But will an honorable young man accept such charity? it may be asked. Charity forsooth! Pray what is charity? Is the farmer charitable when he feeds the ox that treads out his

grain? Is the merchant charitable when he pays his book-keeper? It is not compassion, but self-interest, which here appeals to the Church of Christ. She sets up, or rather finds set before her in God's word, a lofty ideal. For its attainment she needs direction. She must have leaders, teachers, overseers. These are a composite result of rare native endowment, and educational equipment. The native endowment God has given freely. The Church pays a few dollars toward the educational equipment, and then receives her reward in a life-time of consecrated service. If we must talk of charity here, let us not forget the devotion of means and strength without reserve, the abundant labors of a life, with the prospect of an old age unpensioned and unpitied, with possibly a family unprovided for. But such considerations are on either side unworthy. It is not kindly feeling for needy applicants upon the one hand, nor selfish desire for her own advancement upon the other, that should sustain such enterprise in the Church, but *an overpowering desire* for the progress of the kingdom of Christ. The candidate gives his *all* to the work, counting it but little and himself an unprofitable servant. The Church sustains him, counting it high privilege to do so in order that through him may be made known within her bounds and abroad throughout the earth the unsearchable riches of Christ. There is here no suppliant and patron, but mutual coöperation in a great work—members of one body moving together for one end.

The benefits received by so-called "beneficiaries" differ in degree only, not in kind, from those enjoyed by all students of theology. There is no such thing as independent preparation for the pulpit. If the furnishing of means for study is a *charity* the ministry are all the Church's beneficiaries, and none the less are our lawyers and physicians under debt of gratitude. No college student pays for half that he receives. The "manly independence" which would scorn the Synod's treasury must, to be consistent, at least treble the annual tuition fee. The benefit in the latter case is none the less gratuitous because less direct.

In short, the Church has a vital interest in the thorough education of her ministry. As she herself advances in culture and

power, her ministry must rise still higher in capacity. She has furnished to this end general facilities in her literary institutions. It is among her further duties, in self-defence and in loyalty to the cause, to see to it that the course of no candidate be shortened nor his physical energies wasted for want of means. When in this spirit aid is offered, we fail to see that its acceptance involves any loss of manly character. Not the "lowest of the people" may we expect to see taking advantage of the proffered help, but the noble, the sensitive, the devoted.

We find, then, no reason in the nature of the case to fear degradation of ministerial dignity or worth from the prosecution of our system. Its practical operation fortifies this judgment. With all the imperfections of its past administration, we claim that it has *not lowered*, but *greatly elevated* the average standard of attainment. It will not be denied that it has given to the Church some of her noblest workmen, who without it must have entered the ranks if at all with utterly inadequate equipment. We claim that we are incomparably stronger as a working Church to-day than we could have been without this system, and that the necessity for it grows greater instead of less as years and opportunity increase upon us.

We believe that this system has commended itself to the sober judgment of our thinking people, and that to discard it, or to diminish our zeal in its behalf, would be to walk in the footsteps of Jeroboam, in abandoning our sacred high places to men of lower character. We value the system as an ally of intelligence, a standing protest against incompetency in the pulpit. By its aid we are enabled to lay claim to *all* the consecrated talent of the Church, and to train it to the highest efficiency.

It is to be confessed, however, that carelessness in the presentation of this subject has tended to bring it into disrepute. We have magnified unduly the personal claims of the needy candidate—have appealed too much to the sympathies of our people, and taken their offerings as gifts of charity. We should rather call for them as a matter of course and accept them as the meeting of an obligation. Let the time-honored position of our larger synods: "No worthy applicant refused assistance,"

be courageously maintained, not out of pity for the prospective candidate, but under a solemn sense of obligation to the Master, who selects these his servants and sends them to us. We may be assured, our congregations will sustain us. Our treasury shall never be exhausted. If its supply run low,—tell it to the people, and it shall be speedily replenished.

One chief error, I conceive, in our treatment of the entire question of ministerial supply has been in the undue prominence we have given to its financial aspects. We have been calling for *money*, MONEY, MONEY, until our people have been led to think their obligation fully met by an annual contribution. It has almost seemed as though preachers were to be made by money. No wonder if young men of means have been led to look upon the ministry as a menial office—to be filled alone by the sons of the poor. This is not the fault, be it observed, of the system of aid, but of its undue exaltation,—its unnatural prominence. We have spoken of it perhaps as though it were the only and proper path to the ministry. It must be remanded to its place as subsidiary. Our call must be for *men*, MEN, MEN! The choice young men of our congregations, be they rich or poor! Having these, we must insist on thorough training at all hazards,—and only at this point, as enforcing our demands and attesting our sincerity, dare we point to our auxiliary treasury. Our error was pardonable in the days of the Church's weakness when we were compelled to beg for money. But now, approaching our maturity, with a liberal, intelligent and progressive people, we must rise to better things. We must exalt the column in parochial reports which indicates the number of *men* our churches offer for the Master's work above that which notes the dollars given. The dollars will come of themselves when our people shall be willing to give their sons thus to the Lord and to his service.

Let the mistakes of thoughtlessness be rectified. Would we see lofty character in our High Places, we must appeal to lofty motive. First always the candidate's supreme loyalty to the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, and then all these things added unto him through the agency of a willing Church. Let this order but be observed, and the position of Beneficiary

Education in our ecclesiastical economy will be assured. The slanders of its traducers will be answered, and it will continue its beneficent work, training the pulpit flame to shed purer light upon the pew.

ARTICLE VII.

ROME AND THE BIBLE.

Translated from the German by MRS. J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, Berlin.

In a June number of the "Daheim," a journal published in Leipzig, an article on Rome appeared containing this sentence: "Up to the year 1870 every Bible was confiscated without mercy, which, even as a constituent part of innocent traveling baggage was to pass the boundaries of the States of the Church." A Catholic subscriber living at Altona, finds in this statement a "mystery" which he politely requests the editor to solve. He begins his protest by saying: "In No. 16 of your "Daheim," the writer of an article on Rome affirms 'that up to the year 1870 every Bible was mercilessly confiscated.' Now since I belong to the religion which acknowledges its head in Rome, and am also convinced that this religion is everywhere, and at all times has been, the same in its teachings, I cannot, when I glance at my own book-case and there perceive my Bible (of course not Luther's translation) comprehend such a statement as the one cited in your paper. I contend and seek for the truth, and this has always been my attitude."

The contributor of the article in question replies as follows in No. 48, of the same journal, 1884: "No doubt you will accord me, the author of the lines to which you refer, the privilege of endeavoring to find a clue to your mystery and to make you a satisfactory reply. If I rightly comprehend, you doubt the veracity of my statement, 'that up to the year 1870 Bibles were confiscated in Rome,' and perceive abundant reason for nourishing such doubt in the fact that you are in possession of a Bible, the one, by the way, translated by Dr. Joh. Franz Allioli; all of which, taken in connection with my declaration, and your con-

viction of the consistency of the Roman teaching at all times and in all places, seems to you, a member of "the religion which has its Head in Rome," an irreconcilable contradiction. Your candor pleases me and therefore I will gladly attempt to support your striving and search after the truth. I take it for granted that you will allow me to speak in perfect candor and honesty; and right here at the beginning, I must beg that you will attribute it to the interests of truth should I be obliged to touch on matters, which, objectively as I shall endeavor to answer you, will, of necessity seem disagreeable to you.

First, honored friend, you did not correctly read my observation in No. 16 of the "Daheim" to which you refer, and have likely been misled for that reason. I wrote then that "up to the year 1870 every Bible was mercilessly confiscated which was to pass the boundaries of the States of the Church as a constituent part of innocent traveling baggage." It is evident that these travelers were neither pilgrims, nor such as acknowledge the head of their religion in Rome, but were almost without exception, Protestants of all lands; and the Bibles they carried along on their trip to Rome were for private instruction and edification, and, as a matter of course, were neither translated from the Vulgate, nor approved by those in Episcopal orders as is the case with the Bible you have in your book-case. That also would not be likely to stand there if you were not living in Altona and enjoying the silent blessing of the Reformation in Germany. Be assured that if there had been no Luther even the Allioli translation either as to form, or content, would have been inconceivable; on the other hand, you certainly would have been prevented from possessing such a translation. In Protestant lands, where the accusation is easily raised that Rome forbids the Bible to its adherents, exceptions to its practices are allowed, which in doctrine, are fundamentally condemned.

Go here in Rome to search in the houses, and among the families, for a copy of the Holy Scriptures! Among 300,000 inhabitants, including the priests, and excepting the Protestants, there are not two hundred. "Here in Rome," writes the author of the Roman Letters, "Ueber das Vatikanische Konzil" (Augsb. Allg. Ztg. 19, Jan. 1870) "here in Rome one may find a lottery

dream-book in nearly every house, but never a New Testament." I can assure you as a perfectly authenticated fact, one sufficiently characteristic, that at the time of the last Council, in 1870, the Bishop of Orleans thought it necessary to consult a Bible (Old and New Testament) to defend a position, and not having brought one along, nor finding any in Rome, nor venturing to ask for it in this or that library, he borrowed one from the Evangelical pastor of the chapel of the Prussian embassy. Return it, the Lord Bishop never did. Was it confiscated from him, or did he confiscate it?

That up to the year 1870, the Bibles which as a constituent part of travelers' baggage reached the boundaries of the States of the Church, were confiscated, is simply a fact well known here in Rome. This ought not to be a matter of surprise to you up in the North, if you consider that the custom-house officers of the former Church-States received their orders from an authority, which, in perfect harmony with the practice of former centuries most decidedly prohibited all not ecclesiastically approved Bible translations within the reach of not only its spiritual but also of its temporal dominions. If we confine ourselves to the current century alone it is sufficiently well known what were the convictions of Pius VII. (1800–23) Leo XII. (1823–29), Pius VIII. (1829–30), Gregory XVI. (1831–46), and Pius IX. (1846–78).

Within the space allotted to this reply I cannot quote my references contained in original documents lying before me. It probably suffices to say that Pius VII., in a Brief (June 26, 1816) addressed to the Archbishop of Gnesen, characterized Bible Societies and their persistent activity in the distribution of the Holy Scriptures as "a most insidious device, a pest to be rooted out by all possible means." In another Brief (Sept. 23, 1816), he heaps the bitterest reproaches upon the Archbishop of Mohilen because he recommended to his diocese the reading of the Bible in the language of the people. Leo XII. made the matter still more formal. In a circular (Encyclica of May 3, 1824) to all Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Romish Church he designates Bible Societies as pernicious snares laid for the faith of Catholics; and declares all translations of the

Bible into the vernacular to be an adulteration of the Sacred Word by means of which the Gospel of Christ is changed into a "gospel of men," or worse still, "a gospel of the devil!"

Pius VIII. in spite of his short reign differed, in this respect, not a whit from his predecessors. He spoke of the distribution of the Bible by Bible Societies as "a pest, the most dangerous of all contagions." Gregory XVI. issued on the 8th of May, 1844, a papal bull against Bible Societies and took this opportunity to command the priesthood to snatch all vernacular Bible translations out of the hands of the people of the faith! And finally, Pius IX. already Nov. 9, 1846, only a few months after the beginning of his reign, issued a circular which contains this passage in which he again condemned "the treacherous Bible Societies which are pressing upon the incompetent their Bibles interpreted according to their own conceptions." (Compare also the Encyclica of January 1850)!

Perfectly in accord with such views are well-known events of our century, of which, because of limited space, I can recall only a few to your notice. In 1834, the people of the Ziller valley, in the Tyrol, were persecuted, and driven from their homes, for being incorrigible Bible readers. They were received by the Prince under whose royal protection the Prussian Bible Society sprang into being, twenty years before. In 1805, incited by the British Foreign Bible Society (Protestant) which had been founded the year before in London, and likewise, by the Protestant Nurenberg Bible Society, a Catholic Bible Society was founded in Ratisbon by Wittmann, the principal of the priests' seminary there. But already twelve years laters a period was put to its activity because of the animosity of the church authorities. In the spring of 1817, when Evangelical Germany was making preparations to celebrate the Reformation jubilee, the Ratisbon (Catholic) Bible Society was disbanded and the Catholic priest Gossner, who went on distributing Bibles in spite of the decree, was banished from Munich! The condition of affairs was worse still in other lands more directly under the influence of the papal throne. In December, 1851, Napoleon III., at the request of a French Bishop, permitted twelve Bible colporteurs to be sent to Cayenne. In 1854, the police directiory

of Ofen, Buda, confiscated 121 Bibles which were discovered in the possession of the Evangelical congregation there, and had all, with the exception of one, "which was enough for the preacher," stamped into pulp in the paper manufactory, the proceeds of the sale of which were returned to the congregation, taking a receipt for the amount from the pastor. In Florence, 1849, an Irish Colonel, Packenham, obtained permission from the reigning government and had 3000 copies of the New Testament printed without notes. The translation was that of the Florentine (Catholic) Archbishop Martini; none the less, the grand ducal court of justice condemned the printer Giovanni Benelli to pay a fine of fifty sendi ($50), confiscated the 3000 New Testaments and banished Colonel Packenham from the country. In March, 1851, in this same Florence, the Waldensian pastor, Geymonat, was surprised by the police in his private dwelling, while holding a Bible reading with fourteen young persons, and, after being placed in handcuffs he was hustled with a pack of thieves beyond the boundaries. On May 16, 1851, Count Ginceiardini with six friends was condemned, by a decree of the authorities, to banishment, again because of Bible readings. On June 8, of the same year, a sentence from the regular court fell upon the Madai family for holding Bible readings and Bible distribution which were condemned as "godless;" and for which the husband, Francesco, was served with a termed of four years and eight months in the penitentiary at Volterre, and his wife, Rosa, with three years and nine months in the prison at Lucca. While as for Pius IX., on his return from Gaeta whither he had been obliged to flee from his Catholic subjects, he burned 3000 New Testaments in Rome; this lot had been struck off by the Genoese Th. Paul, in 1849, at the instance of a Scotchman, Douglas, who had obtained permission of the Roman triumvirate. They had been left in the care of the American consul from whom the pope had them bought for eighty pounds sterling,

I am aware, honored friend, what, confronted by these facts, you must long ago have had upon your tongue, namely; that with papal decrees as with Catholic governments the hostility has been towards Protestant Bibles and New Testaments, or,

toward such as have not been approved by the chuch authorities. But that objection is futile.

The Ratisbon Bible Society cited, which was disbanded by a papal bull 1817, distributed translations of the sacred word which had been made by Catholic theologians, Leander van Ess, Gossner, &c., and which Catholic Bishops (those of Ratisbon, Gnesen, Mohilen) had approved, and recommended to their diocese. The brief of Pius VII., which I have already mentioned, was issued June 26, 1816, and forbade among other things the reprinting of a Polish translation made by a Jesuit, father Wuick (consequently no Protestant!) toward the close of the sixteenth century, and whose spread had been approved by two popes, Clemens VIII., and Gregory XIII. These papal edicts make no distinction between Protestant and Catholic Bible translations, or Bible Socities, but condemn all of them together. Let me remark that the London Bible Society distributed in France, the Catholic translation of Sacy; in Spain, the Catholic translation of Scio; in Germany, the Catholic translation of Leander Van Ess; in Italy, the Catholic translation of Martini. Those 3000 New Testaments which Packenham caused to be printed and which the police confiscated in Florence, 1850, were also Martini's translation, as were those others published by Th. Paul, in Rome, and which the pope bought up and burned. This fact seems the more mysterious when we discover that April 16, 1778, Pope Pius VI., wrote to this same Italian author, a former abbot and subsequent Archbishop of Florence, a letter highly commending the Italian Bible translation he had just completed. This passage occurs: "You do well in encouraging the faithful to read the divine word; for it is the purest fountain and must be made free to all believers so that they may dip from it purity of morals and the doctrines of the faith."

Here then, we come of necessity to another point mentioned in your letter: namely, that the teachings of the Church, or the papal throne are at all times and in all places the same. In relation to Bible reading this has certainly not been the case, and because this point has brought us to an interchange of opinions you will of course allow me to prove my assertions in the inter-

est of the truth which you, and all honorable Christians place at so high an estimate.

You must have already perceived that concerning the Polish Bible translation of the Jesuit father Wuick, Pius VII. was of a different opinion from his predecessors, Gregory XIII. and Clemens VIII. You have also heard how Pius IX. burned the very Martini Italian translation of the Bible for which his predecessor, Pius VI., commended its author so highly. You will be still more amazed when I tell you that this same Pius VI., who, in 1778, praised the Bible as the purest fountain from which the devout could dip purity of morals and doctrinal teaching, sixteen years later issued his bull "Auctorem fidei," Aug. 28, 1794, condemning the recommendation of the Catholic Synod of Pistoja in Tuscany to read the Bible in the vernacular, denouncing it as "false, inconsiderate teaching insulting to the ears of the devout and a disgrace to the Church." Is not that a far greater mystery than the fact that you possess an Allioli Bible in your book-case while up to 1870 the custom-house officers confiscated Bibles on the boundaries of the former States of the Church? Besides, here the excuse would not apply to the effect,—that this prohibition pertains to Protestant Bible translations, a prohibition become necessary because such translations are falsified; and only the Romish Church, by means of its representative, the infallible pope, can decide what is the true sense and the proper understanding of the Holy Scriptures.

The allegation that the Bible translations made by Protestants are falsified is easily uttered, but not easily proved. Without further consideration one might enter a wager that as respects faithfulness to form and content, the Protestant translation transcends the contemporary Catholic one in all the various languages and dialects. Besides, the Evangelical Church takes constant pains to put the truest possible text into the hands of its members, as the English revision just finished, and the German one now rapidly approaching completion sufficiently attest. While the Romish Church, on the contrary, binds all of its members to the Latin translation of the Vulgate, which the Council of Trent (Sess. IV. decr. 2.) decreed should be employed

in lectures as well as disputations, as the authentic *i. e.* the pure Bible text. A glance at the title-page of your Allioli edition will show that it is therefore so regarded in the Romish Church to-day; and in fact as the only authentic one. And yet, during that very Council of Trent, Louis of Catanea demanded an exact revision before the Vulgate should be proclaimed as the real Bible text, equal, or in fact, superior to the original Hebrew and Greek texts. Besides, he urgently called attention to the fact that such a declaration of the Council would be a violation of the canon "ut Veterum" dist. 9, which commands that the Old Testament should be read in the Hebrew, and the New Testament in the Greek tongue.

This man with his well founded scruples and warnings, did not stand alone. Many Fathers at the Council, aware of the deficiencies of the Vulgate translation, pointed to the utterance of St. Jerome, that indeed, "it was a work of the Holy Spirit to write the Holy Scriptures; but every translation, however, is only a work of human skill." Isidorius Clarus, who was present at the Synod maintained that he had found not less than 80,000 errata in the Vulgate. In consequence of this a committee was appointed, with Cardinal Caraffa as chairman, to revise the Vulgate text; and by a decree, a promise was made in the name of the Council and the Church, that in the future all editions of the Vulgate should be published with such emendations as should be suggested by the aforesaid committee; but this committee which departed for Rome during the session of the Council never accomplished anything, and so the promise was not fulfilled. In short, the Council—and there were not more than thirty-five, or forty-five representatives of the Romish Church present, pronounced a translation recognized as erroneous, to be authentic. And for two reasons; first, in order to obstruct the spread of the widely celebrated and eagerly bought Luther translation which was being distributed far and wide, even by Catholics in the lands of the Romish faith but under another name (Ems); on the othes hand, in order to defend and preserve certain proof passager valuable for the Roman dogma which are to be found in the Vulgate but not in the Sacred Scriptures: as for instance Gen.

14 : 18, in favor of Masses; Job 5 : 1 and Psalm 150 : 1, in favor of saint worship; Eph. 5 : 22, to support marriage as a sacrament, &c.

Yet, listen further. Pope Sixtus V. felt himself under moral obligation to give the Roman Church an improved Vulgate text, and in fact made preparations to fulfil it. The revised edition of the Vulgate which he planned (editio Sestina, 3 B.) was produced in the Vatican printing establishment, and furnished with a prefaced Bull: "Aeternus ille," which designated this edition as the authentic one desired by the Council of Trent; the official, and therefore henceforth unchangeable one, on penalty of the major excommunication. It appeared in 1590. Nevertheless he himself afterwards discovered a list of the most serious errors in his edition and had them rectified by pasting on slips of paper to indicate the corrections. His successor, Gregory XIV., acting on the advice of the distinguished Cardinal Bellarmin immediately issued a new edition in which no less than 2,000 passages were corrected. Bellarmin, Alano and other theologians labored upon it under the chairmanship of the Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna. Out of respect to Sixtus V., as much of his edition as was possible was quietly destroyed; and to protect his papal honor, the mistakes found in it were either attributed to typographical errors, or to the fault "of others." Gregory XIV.'s short term of office placed the new edition in the hands of Clemens VIII., who published it in 1592 and decreed that *henceforth no other than this edition* should longer be sanctioned in the Romish Church.

Does this edition finally contain a faithful translation of the original text? On the contrary, it is full of errors. And those who make this assertion are not Protestants alone, but competent Catholic judges, as for example, the learned Sixtus of Siena (cf. Bibl. santa VII.), Cardinal Gaetano, the Dominican Sante Pagnino, Arria Montano, Francisco Torerio, Girolamo Olestro and Natale Alessandro. The latter showed in a learned dissertation, that there are 103 wholly false passages in the Vulgate of Clemens VIII. But most suggestive of all is the fact that the editor of this Vulgate edition purposely permitted errors to remain. One of the members of the committee, a man in

whom the Catholics must certainly repose confidence, Bellarmin, writes to Lucas of Brügge: "Thou shalt know that the Vulgate edition has not been carefully corrected by us; many passages which we would otherwise have had to alter we have for good reasons permitted to remain." Indeed Clemens VIII. publicly acknowledges in a preface to the edition he published, that "much had been altered after judicious investigation, while other matters *equally subject to correction* had been left unchanged after equally profound consideration." In spite of all this he had the heart to publish a bull at this same time, Nov. 9, 1592, —this preface and the bull, both in Latin text, here before me— in which he threatens any attempt to revise this his Vulgate edition with the major excommunication. Now when was Clemens VIII. infallible? When he declared that he intentionally retained false passages in his Vulgate, or when he declared this Vulgate translation, which is sprinkled with false passages to be the true text? According to the Dominican Natale Alessandro it contains 103, according to the Florentine Archbishop Martini (Edict. 1854 Le Monnier) 975 misinterpretations.

But I will close. The ancient Church recommended Bible reading to the laity in the most urgent manner. To this fact we have the testimony of a Cyprian, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory I. From the time of Pope Nicolas I., and Gregory VII., a change took place. For the sake of the Romish hierarchy they prevented the Slavs from reading the Bible in their own tongue. Innocent III. longs to have prying "Bible readers" stoned. In 1229, the Council of Toulouse issued a stern decree prohibiting the laity from even possessing the Old and New Testaments, not to mention a copy in their own language. And, take notice! At this time there were no Protestants. When these afterwards, with perfect right, pointed to the word of God as the original and only reliable source of salvation and life, the Council of Trent ordained, in the "Ten Rules" which lie at the basis of the "Index of Forbidden Books," and which were sanctioned by Pope Pius IV. on March 24, 1564, that no one be permitted to read a heretical translation of the New Testament (Rule 3); and that because the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the language of the peo-

ple, even when the translation has been made by a Catholic, is in general *more injurious* than useful, it can only be allowed by a *written permit* which the bishop, inquisitor, priest, or confessor may grant to such of the laity of whom they know with certainty that the reading will not be a disadvantage, but will rather conduce to the increase of their faith and piety." Here we are speaking only of such a translation as the Church authorities would sanction; and even these the booksellers could only dispose of upon a special grant from the bishop. He who without such a written permit should read the Bible, can receive no absolution unless he previously delivered up his Bible to the bishop (Rule 4). Indeed, Clemens VIII. took back even this concession and imposed the penalty of the galleys to such of the laity as read the Italian translation. Yet, Benedict XIV. decreed, June 13, 1757, by means of appendices to the 4th Index Rule that permission to read the Bible could be granted, if the edition in the native tongue were approved by the Apostolic chair, and were furnished with notes.

Since, then, honored friend, your Allioli Bible harmonizes with these conditions, and you probably have also taken pains to procure the written permit, you have the good fortune to possess a Bible in your book-case. Nevertheless, you will no doubt acknowledge that the Romish Church does not lay much stress upon a knowledge of the Bible on the part of the laity; and that even to-day it does not promote Bible reading, but rather limits it, not to say, hinders it. Occasional exceptions do not prove the contrary, they rather confirm the rule.

ARTICLE VIII.

AUGUSTINE AND PELAGIUS.

A Chapter from *Kahnis'* "*Gang der Kirche*," translated by PROF. E. J. WOLF, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.

No Church Father from the days of the apostles to the time of the Reformation can be compared with Augustine. Even Luther and Calvin are inconceivable without his influence. That which the spirit of the Western Church struggled for in Irenæus, Tertullian and Cyprian was realized in Augustine. His development passed indeed not only through gross errors but also through gross sins. No church teacher, however, unless he had been entirely renewed through the grace of Christ, could have made such an exposure of his past life hidden in darkness, as he has done in his "Confessions." And he was standing but at the outset of his theological development when he wrote them. But that which impelled him thus unreservedly to confess to the whole world his errors and his sins, was the blessed conviction that the darker the ground of his natural heart, the brighter the light of grace reflected thereon. And he was conscious, too, while tracing his sins to their lowest depths, that in his own ruin he represented the ruin of his race. In Adam, through whom sin entered into mankind, the whole race sinned, and the result of this sin was temporal, spiritual, and eternal death.

Augustine's life till the time of his conversion was a chain of fruitless struggles for moral renovation. The result of this could be nothing less than the acknowledgment that one's own power can effect nothing. Finally, however, the new man came into being. This could not be the work of the human will. As man cannot give birth to himself so he cannot of his own ability effect his second birth. Born of God, a child of God, Augustine derived from the immovable basis of experience, the consciousness that nothing could wrest him from the hands of God. And this consciousness was effected by divine grace, con-

cerning which he knew that it had from eternity ordained him to salvation. To him the innermost essence of Christianity consisted in its predestinating, calling, regenerating, sanctifying and upholding grace. Christianity is the life of salvation produced by grace in man. We have seen above that to the Western mind, especially to its greatest exponent before Augustine, Christianity was essentially a new and a new-creative life. This earnest school found the one thing needful, not in the visible church, not in church doctrine and in theological science, but in the salvation of the individual through grace. Hence also the church is, in its view, not the communion of those externally called, but the communion of those elected through grace. This acknowledgment that the gospel consists in the salvation of the individual by grace, contains the Protestant element in Augustine, to which the Protestant tendencies of all ages succeeding him have adhered.

As Augustine before his conversion was in the service of sin, so he was also in the service of error. But in the error he was seeking the truth. The good seed which his mother Monica had planted in his heart was constantly overgrown with luxuriant weeds of every sort. A voice from the classic world, a word of Hortensius in Cicero, which urges men to strive after wisdom, made an impression upon him. But this voice was not able to quench the evil spirits which were intrenched in his flesh. This much only he could then already whisper to himself, namely, that he who is engaged in the thirst of truth dare not ignore Christianity. But Christianity as it presents itself to simple faith he could not grasp. The pursuit of philosophical knowledge had become all-controlling with him. Accordingly he devoted himself for nine years to a syncretism of faith and knowledge, *i. e.* Manichæism. There he found a higher knowledge, a sacred circle invested with the charm of mystery, a mode of viewing things at once sensuous and idealistic.

Augustine did not attain to the highest grade of Manichæan knowledge, but he certainly did apprehend its essence correctly. After he had clearly perceived the untenable character of Manichæism, he was still not prepared to enter the Christian sanctuary. But apart from the continued influence of his mother

upon him he was powerfully impressed both by the life and the teachings of Ambrose. He recognized in the cause which was represented by Ambrose the victory over Manichæism. Then, he felt himself drawn toward Platonism. What an impression Platonism could make in the Post-Christian centuries upon minds seeking the truth we have seen in the case of Justin. Augustine felt transported when he could soar away from reality into the realm of the eternal ideas of God. The reconciliation of Platonic ideas with faith in Jesus Christ was in his estimation assured by John's doctrine of the Logos. He must have observed too that Victorinus, the man from whose writings he had derived the knowledge of Platonism, had become a Christian. Thus also Simplicianus, the aged, venerable tutor of Ambrose, when he learned of these struggles of Augustine, entertained the hope that in this way Christ would be brought near. But the conflicts which Augustine had at that time still to sustain with the flesh, told him very clearly that he had not yet apprehended the full truth. He felt that only that truth which morally renews a man can give him blessedness. This ethical side of the truth confronted him in Paul more than in John. And thus at last the decisive moment arrived. Kindled by the account of his countryman, Pontitianus, concerning two youths who while going around the walls of Treves had suddenly resolved to abandon the world for solitude, it became to him a divine necessity to carry out the injunction of Rom. 13 : 14, a passage on which his eyes had incidentally fallen,—namely to break with the flesh in order to live solely to God and to His will.

Augustine was baptized by Ambrose on Easter A. D. 387. Justin and Augustine were converted from Platonism to Christianity. But while Justin's conversion consisted in this that he discovered in the prophetic scriptures the truth which he had failed to find in Plato; with Augustine it consisted in his moral renovation through grace. The conversion of the former partook more of an intellectual character, that of the latter bore more of a moral quality. Augustine was destined after long wanderings to return to the principles of the Western Church to which the faith of his mother had bound him. Contrary to the methods of the Eastern Church he was to come to the truth

by the way of personal experience, in order that he might rest his faith upon the corner-stone of experimental grace. This faith then, concerning which he taught that it precedes knowledge, he might in turn confirm in the realm of speculation which he had mastered.

The Eastern Church was called by her intellectual endowments to the task of establishing and completing theologically the doctrines of the Trinity—and of the theanthropic Christ. But for the understanding of the doctrines of sin and grace her moral consciousness was wanting in depth and seriousness. We look in vain among the Apologists and the leaders of the Alexandrian School for a definite doctrine on Original Sin. Athanasius held indeed that Satan had spread his malign power from Adam over all mankind, yet believed too, that there are men without sin. The Greek Fathers who had more or less received their training from the classic world had too high an estimation of the bright side of human nature, to have made sin, which through Adam had entered into mankind, consist in the loss of moral freedom. On this account they also taught a coöperation of grace and freedom in the appropriation of salvation. Even Irenæus and Tertullian concede the survival in fallen humanity of a certain moral freedom which coöperates in embracing salvation. The sinful act of Adam is, however, in their view, the act of the entire race; the curse of it, spiritual death, has accordingly also extended over all mankind. All who are descended from Adam are affected with a depravity which has become their second nature. This is plainly Tertullian's idea.

Augustine went a step further. All who are descended from Adam form in his view, a corrupt mass that has entirely lost moral freedom. Man in the state of nature is spiritually dead. Hence he is incapable of contributing the very least to the appropriation of salvation. It is purely grace that kindles salvation in him. By grace Augustine understands the converting (gratia operans) and sanctifying (gratia coöperans,) action of the Holy Ghost. But salvation is imparted only to those whom God before all ages predestinated to salvation. Out of the mass

of corruption, which is of itself liable to eternal death, God has, from pure grace, without their merit or worthiness, predestinated a certain number to salvation, a number large in itself but small in comparison with the multitude of the lost. Those who are thus foreordained of God cannot fall away. Such among the supposed elect as fall away, were in fact not elected. The influence of others upon them is not excluded. But only those who endure to the end will be saved.

The doctrine that all men as they are by nature are in consequence of the first sin exposed to eternal ruin, indicates a seriousness in the conception of sin such as is not found in any Church Father before Augustine. Nor did any of the Fathers before him put the all-in-all effecting grace of God so decidedly in the centre of Christianity. It is at the same time not to be denied that no one before him, taught a depravity that excludes all moral freedom, or asserted a predestinating grace. Neither did Augustine succeed in having either doctrine adopted by the Church.

Considering the course of events in the Church, it was perhaps well for the development of the doctrines of sin and grace that their sharp antitheses were for the first time opposed to each other in Augustine and Pelagius. The latter, a thoroughly rationalistic theologian, who in his thinking confined himself to what is individual, empirical, practical, took great offence at the moral laxity of many Christians when he arrived at Rome early in the fifth century. We have heard above from the lips of Jerome what in this respect was then the state of Rome. To Pelagius the cause of this condition was found in the abuse of freedom and the remedy lay accordingly in the right use of freedom. But freedom in his view was man's innate ability to determine himself either for the good or for the evil. His exercise in deciding for the good is virtue, the habit of deciding for the evil is vice. Every man is by nature as Adam was before the fall: neither good nor evil, but capable of either. There may be men who never sin. Even if a man sins he does not thereby lose his freedom. Such a thing as inherited sin is inconceivable. What Augustine calls original sin is nothing more than the habit of sinning which has become second nature.

That God should have punished Adam's sin by fixing an innate sinful condition in all men is preposterous. All religion rests upon the principle that man by virtue of his self-determination embraces the good, in order that by doing the same he may be saved. That a man *can* perform the good is of God. The *willing* and the *being* is of man. The "can" ["posse"], the capacity for the good is divine grace. If a man can always do good he does not properly need a law, nor a redeemer. But that he may more easily accomplish that good which is the divine will, God has given man the law and the gospel. This also is grace. If man sins, God for Christ's sake forgives him his sins. This again is grace. But finally the help which God vouchsafes to man in his illumination and the appropriation of salvation is likewise grace.

Pelagius accordingly never denied that grace is compatible with freedom. But his whole conception of Christianity is based upon the idea of freedom in so far as it implies the liberty of choice. That a doctrine which recognizes no innate depravity leaves no room for a Son of God who died for the salvation of man, and for a Holy Spirit who out and out renews man, was not maintained by Pelagius. His teaching on the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son was in entire harmony with the Eastern Church. Hence it is not at all remarkable that the Patriarch John of Jerusalem dismissed the charge of Orosius, the zealous disciple of Augustine. Thus likewise Pelagius succeeded in vindicating himself before the Synod of Diospolis, which tried his case under the Metropolitan Eulogius in 415. Even Zosimus of Rome, who it is true knew very little about the subject in dispute, was satisfied with the declarations of Pelagius. African Synods (416–418) in which the spirit of Augustine was supreme condemned his doctrine. After the last Synod of Carthage had in nine theses emphatically pronounced its condemnation (418,) Zosimus himself became suddenly convinced. He issued an encyclical letter against the Pelagian doctrine. About 424 the victory of Augustine over Pelagius was complete. The ecclesiastical Council of Ephesus (431) in a summary way condemned the latter. Augustine died in 430.

In his contest with Pelagius Augustine had in the main triumphed. But the great teacher of the Western Church, as was shown by those Eastern Synods, was not an authority in the Oriental Church. And that is still the case to-day. Augustine's doctrine would never have prevailed in the East. Even in the West men discovered dangerous extremes in Augustinianism. The doctrine of predestination considered from the practical point of view doubtless presents some grave aspects. These were demonstrated by the monks of Adrumentum. This doctrine would lead either to despair or to self-security. It would sap the zeal for the salvation of the brethern. Are they ordained to eternal life then they will attain the goal without any admonition. Are they not ordained to it, then all counsel is useless. Considered in its historic claims this doctrine had too little of the past in its favor. This point was established by Vincens Lerinensis in his "Commonitorium." Scripture and tradition must decide. Scripture alone is not sufficient. There is too much diversity in its exposition. Tradition must therefore be added to it. And the marks of tradition are antiquity, universality, unanimity. The authority of one single man cannot be decisive.

The opponents of the doctrine endeavored by means of exaggerated statements of it to deter men from it. Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians substituted for it the doctrine of foreknowledge. Predestination is an act of the divine will, foreknowledge is an act of the divine intelligence. Predestination relates only to the good, foreknowledge both to the good and the evil. This intermediate school, however, took offense not only at the doctrine of predestination but also at the doctrine of the natural man's total inability for all good. It taught that through the fall of Adam human nature became indeed spiritually diseased but not spiritually dead. According to Pelagius it is unimpaired, according to Augustine it is dead, according to the Semi-Pelagians it is diseased. There still survive in the natural man good elements which can, it is true, not save him, but which offer to grace a point of connection. Grace leads to salvation, not by itself but in union with the coöperating will. An intermediate position like this was taken in Gaul by the so-called Massilians. Augustine attacked them with his two works "Con-

cerning Predestination," and concerning "the Grace of Perseverance." The course of Cassian, whose middle ground was favored by the powerful Monasticism of the day, was followed by Vincens of Lerinum, Faustus of Rhegium, and by Gennadius. The revolting aspect of the doctrine of predestination was of decided advantage to this moderate school. After his triumph over the predestinarian Lucidus, who was obliged to recant, Faustus of Rhegium carried the day at Lyons in 475 on the basis of his treatise "Concerning the grace of God and the freedom of the human will." Higher ground on this intermediate position was taken by the treatise "Concerning the Calling of Nations," which was ascribed to Leo the Great. The special grace in Christ Jesus unites with the universal grace which is found in the religious spirit of man. But the antagonism between rigid Augustinianism and these attempts at reconciliation could not be solved. The Synods of Orange and Valence (529) adopted moderate Augustinianism.

ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.—*Manual of Preaching*, lectures on Homiletics, by Rev. F. W. Fisk, D. D., Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Chicago Theological Seminary—see notice in this No. of QUARTERLY. *Some Heretics of Yesterday*, by S. E. Herrick, D. D.—see notice. *Teachings and Counsels*, twenty Baccalaureate Sermons, with a discourse on President Garfield, by Mark Hopkins, D. D. *An Explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, by S. T. Lowrie, D. D. *Dictionary of the Bible*, comprising its antiquities, biography, geography, natural history, and literature, with the latest researches and references to the revised version of the New Testament, by W. Smith, revised and edited by Revs. F. N. and M. A. Peloubet—see notice. *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible*, its subsequent reprints and modern representatives, by T. H. A. Scrivener. *The Reality of Faith*, by Rev. Newman Smyth—see notice. *Anecdotes Illustrative of New Testament Texts*, the Classical Library. *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2nd ed., by Alfred Edersheim—see notice. *Exegetical Handbook to the Gospel of St. Matthew*, translated from the 6th ed. of the German, by Rev. P. Christie, the translation revised and corrected by F. Cromlie, D. D. and W. Stewart, D. D., with

supplementary notes to the American edition by G. R. Crooks, D. D. *Pastoral Theology*, by Jas. M. Hoppin, D. D.—see notice. *The Divine Authority of the Bible*, by Prof. G. F. Wright—see notice. *The Empire of the Hittites*, with decipherment of Hittite inscriptions by Prof. A. H. Sayce, a Hittite map by Sir C. Wilson and Capt. Conder, and a complete set of Hittite inscriptions, by W. Wright, D. D., revised by W. H. Rylands. *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, a study of Modern Theology in the light of its history, by Aex. V. G. Allen, D. D. *The Reality of Religion*, by H. J. Vandyke, D. D.—see notice. *The Theocratic Kingdom* of our Lord Jesus, the Christ, as Covenanted in the Old Testament, and Presented in the New Testament, by Rev. Geo. N. H. Peters, A. M., in three vols. *The Divine Origin of Christianity*, indicated by its Historical Effects, by Richard S. Storrs, D. D., LL. D. *Cyclopedia of Biblical*, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature, prepared by John McClintock, D. D., and James Strong, S. T. D., Supplemental vol. 1, A.—Cn.

Scientific and Philosophical.—*Occident*, with Preludes on Current Events, by Joseph Cook—see notice. *The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin*, by John Fiske. *Fichte's Science of Knowledge*, a Critical Exposition by C. Carroll Everett, D. D., (German Philosophical Classics). *Atheism in Philosophy*, and other essays, by F. H. Hedge. *A Criticism of the Critical Philosophy*, by Jas. McCosh, D. D. *Hindu Philosophy* popularly explained, the Orthodox Systems, by Ram Chandra Bose, A. M., of Lucknow, India—see notice. *Oriental Religions and their Relation to Universal Religion* by Samuel Johnson, with an introduction by O. B. Frothingham.

Historical and Biographical.—*The Algonquin Legends of New England*, or Myths and Folk-lore of the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscott Tribes, by C. G. Leland—see notice. *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, edited by Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder. *The Ancient Empires of the East*, by A. H. Sayce—see notice. *Concise History of the Netherlands*, history of Holland and Belgium from the earliest times, illustrating the period covered by Motley, with important new facts, and bringing the narrative down to the present time, by Alexander Young. *Life and Times of Gustavus Adolphus*, by Hon. John L. Stevens, LL. D., recently U. S. Minister to Stockholm. *Thomas Carlyle*, a History of His Life in London, 1834–1881, by Jas. A. Froude. *Romish Life in the Days of Cicero*, Sketches drawn from his letters and speeches, by Rev. Alfred J. Church. *Biographical Essays*, by Max Müller—see notice. *A Sketch of the Life and Times of the Rev. Sidney Smith*, based on family documents and recollections of personal friends, by Stuart J. Reid. *Universal History*, the Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks, by Leopold Von Ranke, edited by G. W. Prothero, Fellow and Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, by Oliver Wendell Holmes. *John Adams*, by John T. Morse, Jr.

Miscellaneous.—*The Foundation of Death*, a Study of the Drink

Question, by Axel Gustafson. *Amusements and the Christian Life in the Primitive Church and in our Day*, by Rev. L. C. Vass. *Poems* of Sidney Lanier, edited by his wife, with a memorial by W. Hayes Ward. *The Literary Remains* of the late Henry James, edited with an introduction by Wm. James.

GERMAN.

THEOLOGICAL.—*Die Lehre der Missouri Synode von der Prädestination.* Aus ihren eigenen Publicationen dargestellt. Prof. Dr. Gottfried Fritschel. pp. 60, Mendota, Iowa. *Beiträge Zur Apologetik.* Lic E. G. Steude. pp. 295, Gotha, 1884. *Von der Incarnation des Göttlichen Wortes.* Prof. Dr. Ed. Böhl. pp. 135, Vienna, 1884. Zöckler's *Handbuch* der théologischen Wissenschaften in encyclopædischer Darstellung, etc—4. Halbbd. Nördlingen, 1883. 6. Halbbd. (3. Bd.) pp. 241—772, 1884. The second Edition of Hagenbach's *Encyclopædie u. Methodologie der Theologischen Wissenschaften*, thoroughly revised, completed and edited by E. Kautsch. pp. 544, Leipsic, 1884. Second Edition, thoroughly revised, of Dr. F. R. Frank's *System der Christlichen Gewissheit.* pp. 550, Erlangen, 1884.

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ARTICLE X.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

JANSEN, M'CLURG & CO., CHICAGO.

Times of Linnaeus. By Z. Topelius. Translated from the original Swedish. pp. 394. 1884.

The final volume of The Surgeon's stories was noticed in the QUARTERLY of July, 1884. The review of the "Fifth Cycle" under the title of the "Times of Linnaeus" was accidently delayed to the present issue. Essentially the same families figures here as in the other volumes, while the path of true love if it does not run more smoothly certainly ends more happily. Thanks for this to the fateful ring which plays so prominent a part in the whole series and which had at one time been flung into the sea because of the spell of witchcraft supposed to be upon it. The universal misfortunes which follow its loss are happily stayed when on the occasion of a visit from the king, the ring once more turns up in the entrails of a huge pike about to be served for the royal feast.

The great work of the eighteenth century in the development of the natural sciences is kept before the reader and towards the close he is introduced to some of the academic conflicts which the theologians were called upon to wage against the freethinkers and atheists.

The general merit of this volume sustains the high standard of the previous issues. Vivid description, absorbing narration, thrilling love stories

*For its German Literary Intelligence the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY is mainly indebted to the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of Leipsic, edited by Drs. Ad. Harnack and E. Schurer and published by the J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

and a healthy moral sentiment are everywhere interwoven with important historic events. The scenes of other lands and the characteristics of times long gone by, are made to pass before the reader's minds with a dramatic effect that falls little short of living reality. For a knowledge of Swedish history and a vivid realization of former times we should much prefer these novels to an ordinary historical text-book. The romance not only delights the mind but rivets historic facts in the memory.

A. D. F. RANDOLPH & CO., NEW YORK.
LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., LONDON.

The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. By Alfred Edersheim, M. A. Oxon., D. D., Ph. D., Late Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. In two volumes. Second Edition, stereotyped. pp. 698, 826.

These two massive octavos numbering fifteen hundred closely printed pages constitute one of the most notable theological works of the day. No work of greater significance and ability has issued from the English press, and its success is the more admirable since in form and contents it covers a sphere which has hitherto been practically viewed as almost exclusively the domain of German thought and speculation. When the present work is found to be in no way inferior to the eminent German productions in the same line, while at the same time it has the merit of being not only more lucid, but thoroughly evangelical and conservative, we can but regret that Christian students of our country have been so largely dependent for "Lives of Jesus" upon the various "critical" schools of the Continent.

The main feature of Edersheim's work can best be given in his own language: "Since Jesus of Nazareth was a Jew, spoke to and moved among the Jews in Palestine, and at a definite period of its history, it is absolutely necessary to view that life and teaching in all its surroundings of place, society, popular life, and intellectual or religious development. This would form not only the frame in which to set the picture of the Christ, but the very background of the picture itself. It is, indeed most true that Christ spoke not only to the Jews, to Palestine and to that time, but to all men and to all times. Still he spoke first and directly to the Jews, and his words must have been intelligible to them. His teachings have reached upwards from their intellectual and religious standpoint. * * Nay, to explain the bearing of the religious leaders of Israel, from the first, towards Jesus, it seemed also necessary to trace the historical development of thought and religious belief, till it issued in the system of Traditionalism, which by an internal necessity, was irreconcilably antagonistic to the Christ of the Gospels."

It is a history of "the times of Jesus" as well as of "his life," for how can the life be properly represented and understood except in living connection with the features and circumstances and associations amid which Jesus daily moved and taught. The Jewish mind of that day was not a blank canvass upon which the life and thoughts of Jesus were projected, but there was a deep-rooted, well-defined faith, there were powerful social and re-

ligious factors to deal with, there was among the contemporaries of Jesus to whom his teachings was primarily addressed, and to whom his mission was primarily ordained, an unexampled moral and spiritual state which forms the essential setting, the historical background of all that he taught and did. What his contemporaries really were to understand by his utterances, and what interpretation they did give to them and why they did, are questions that form the alphabet indispensable to a true apprehension of Him whose life is the study of the ages. Jesus is a phenomenon of history, the greatest phenomenon of History, in whom all history centers; and he must be studied with the methods and appliances of history. The light of contemporaneous history and literature must be thrown upon his whole earthly career, the religious atmosphere of the day must be analyzed, the spirit of the age must be comprehended in order to have the true life-like portrait of Jesus, the Saviour of men. It is this object which the author proposes. The accomplishment of such an aim calls for prodigious industry and demands historical and critical faculties of the highest order. We are not surprised to learn that Dr. Edersheim devoted seven years of arduous labor to the collection and digestion of material, and every page attests the thoroughness of his erudition and the skill and force of a master in utilizing his vast acquisitions. His familiarity with rabbinical lore appears equal to that of Delitzsch. Like the latter, of Hebrew extraction, he seems to cherish a peculiar sympathywith all the ancient literature of that people. He revels in the realm of Mishna and Midrash and gathers from these musty volumes the material for painting a portrait of Israel's Prince, such as has hitherto never been surpassed, a portrait that not only shows all the features of an eminently human nature, but at the same time brings out the unmistakable lineaments of divinity.

The author does not content himself with researches in contemporaneous Jewish and Gentile literature and the representation of Jewish life and thought which prevailed in the days of Christ, but he goes back to the centuries immediately preceding his advent, and traces the formative forces in Jewish history which developed that peculiar compound of religion which prevailed in his time. The first book treats of this preparation for the Gospel.

The work was not intended for a defense of the faith, yet it is possessed of very great apologetic value. No candid reader can close these volumes with the conclusion that Jesus was the product of his age. The principle of evolution breaks down when applied to the appearance of Christ and Christianity in Palestine in the reign of Cæsar Augustus. Granted that it may bring forth the Universe, it cannot originate a character like that of Jesus from material then at hand. Between him and the regnant ideas and manners of the times the antagonism is inevitable and eternal. He is an exotic! It would require a greater miracle to produce him in that soil than to bring him from Heaven. The foot-notes reveal the author's intimate acquaintance with rationalistic objections and hypotheses and not a few

of their devices are effectually refuted. He does not follow the "critics" in their efforts to go behind the authorities. The gospel documents as they were quoted by the earliest Fathers and have been received by the Church ever since, are accepted without a question. They are received as the compositions of holy men who were moved by the Holy Ghost.

Not the least of the author's merits are his happy expositions of individual scripture passages. The conservatism of his views is strikingly illustrated by his reflections on the last supper. He cannot believe that it was intended as merely a sign for remembrance, nor that the copula "is" can be equivalent to "signifies." The outward elements are both the symbol and the vehicle of true inward, spiritual feeding on the very body and blood of Christ. He combines everywhere the stamp of orthodoxy with the spirit of liberality. A double index is added, one of subjects, one of quoted passages from the gospels, and there are nineteen appendices on topics that will prove of marked interest to students.

The rich and solid contents are embellished with a charming style, glowing with brilliant rhetoric that rises at times to true poetry, and such a fervent spiritual tone prevades the whole, that it becomes at once a manual of devotion and an incentive to profound study. The reviewer is supremely grateful for this addition to his library and he can do his readers no more important service than to urge them to procure this immense treasury of illustration and information on the greatest of all themes.

LUTHERISCHER CONCORDIA-VERLAG, ST. LOUIS.

Luther und seine Freunde. Erster Theil. Die Freunde Luthers bis zum Beginne der Reformation. Von August Emil Frey, evang-luth. Pastor zu St. Marcus, Brooklyn, N. Y. pp. 428. 1884.

The critic felt but one regret in reading these lively biographical sketches. This was that we do not possess such a work in the English tongue. To have something of an adequate conception of the character and work of Luther we need to know also his contemporaries, his friends and his enemies. He must be studied in comparison or in contrast with these, to perceive the extraordinary proportions of the Reformer.

Beginning with the parents and kindred, the author traces the friends of Luther at school in Mansfeld, Magdeburg, Eisenach and Erfurt, the humanists and jurists with whom he was associated at the latter place, the new circle of friends among the monks at Erfurt and later at Wittenberg, and his fellow-professors after he received the Doctorate at the University.

Not all, however, who are reckoned among the reformer's friends must be looked on as sustaining personal relations to him or as meeting with him often face to face. As his own elector, Frederick the Wise, never had a personal meeting with Luther, so the chivalrous knight Von Hutten, who tendered him his sword and who repeatedly declared his willingness to shed his blood for the cause Luther represented, never enjoyed a personal interview with him, although letters of encouragement and sympathy

were occasionly exchanged between them, and during 1511 they were both simultaneously for some time in Wittenberg. It is ever, too, of the greatest interest to see how, apart from Luther and before the knell of his hammer was heard, men like Hutten had perceived and denounced the oppressions and corruptions of Rome and had resolved to emancipate the German nation from the papal "robbers and the murderers," although indeed with other weapons.

Pastor Frey makes a qualified promise of another volume which shall portray the friends and colaborers of Luther in the cause of the Reformation, and expects to add even a third one on Luther's family life, the members of his household and table. We sincerely hope that these expectations may be realized. Historical studies of this character can never lose their interest.

Verhandlungen der Zehnten Versammlung der evangelish-lutherischen Synodal-Conference von Nord Amerika zu Cleveland, Ohio, vom 13. bis 19. August, 1884. pp. 100.

The proceedings of the Missourian Bodies are distinguished from those of American Synods by the extended space given to the discussion of doctrine. Of the 100 pages forming the brochure in hand 70 are taken up with Dr. Walther's discourse "in opposition to the principle of basing matters of faith on the writings of the Fathers and of attempting to bind consciences to their doctrinal definitions." This able and learned divine condemns this principle because, 1. It is contrary to the Scriptures. 2. It is a return to the papal Anti-Christ. 3. It is a departure from the fundamental principle of the Church of the Reformation. We consider this one of the most important papers ever issued from the Lutheran Church in this country, and if the reverend author consents, some portions of it in an English dress may, in course of time, be looked for in the pages of the QUARTERLY.

Können die unmündigen Kinder Glauben? An eight page tract in which an instructive dialogue on the capacity of faith in little children is carried on. The passage Matt. 18 : 16 is of course applied to children.

W. G. CORTHELL, BOSTON.

Pagoda Shadows. Studies from life in China. By Adele M. Fielde. Introduction by Joseph Cook. pp. 285. 1884.

Miss Fielde has resided ten years in China as a missionary. Her work has been especially among the women, a number of whom after instructing them she has sent from house to house in missionary activities and that with remarkable success. In a series of brief and vivid sketches she describes the life, customs and miseries of the 'Celestial' women and at times sickens the reader's heart with scenes of degradation and woe. A part of the book consists of Autobiographies of Chinese women to whom Miss Fielde had brought the light of the gospel. Of these Joseph Cook

says in his introduction: "I hope that a near view of China such as she gives, may affect others as it did me. I had read much of Chinese history and statistics; I had examined the best sources of information as to the Chinese religions and social life; but I found that the simple vivid autobiographies, written out by Miss Fielde from the actual dictation of Chinese women, brought me nearer to a clear view of Chinese wants than any thing else I had used as a guide."

There are numerous illustrations. That a lady of such capacity and culture as this little volume indicates should be passing her life among the degraded and the wretched antipodes in order to effect their improvement, is an unassailable argument for the divine character of the religion which inspires and sustains such a purpose.

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION, PHILADELPHIA.

Half Hours with the Lessons of 1885. Chapters on the Bible Texts Chosen for Sabbath-school Study during 1885 in connection with the International Lesson Series by Twenty-four Presbyterian Clergymen. pp. 467.

When it is known that among the eminent contributors to these expositions for the Sunday-school Lessons of 1885, are Drs. Hall, Cuyler, Crosby, Booth, Kittredge, Vincent, Herrick Johnson and Prof. Eells, enough is said to commend the work to all teachers and advanced pupils. Almost every man, in fact, of these twenty-four, is distinguished for his success as a pastor, as a preacher and as a writer for the religious press. Their expositions of the international text are accordingly not only learned, but uniformly plain, pithy and pointed. We know of nothing better in this line. Although bearing the impress of Presbyterianism and designed primarily for Presbyterian Sunday-schools, they are suitable for every branch of the Church and will be found very valuable to all who seek the true knowledge of scripture. Contributions from these authors in other spheres of literature are continually read with delight and profit by members of all Evangelical denominations, why should we have any fear of them as expositors of the Sunday-school lessons? True, when they come to the gracious provisions for universal salvation, some of these divines are in trepidation lest this truth might be so treated as to collide with any doctrine of limitation, and they flounder between God's preceptive will and his decretive will; but these metaphysical subtleties are harmless especially to Lutherans, who are more or less chargeable with historical sympathy with some of the doctrines that are claimed as distinctive of Calvinists. The book is gotten up in a cheap form, with paper cover, selling at the low figure of 85 cents, which makes it accessible to all. A work of such merit, deserves, we think to be bound in a more substantial and permanent form.

AMERICAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION, PHILADELPHIA.

How to do it. By Mrs. A. K. Dunning, author of "The Minister's Wife," "Ralph Waring's Money," etc. pp. 212.

This is the third and last volume of the "What to do series," the con-

tents of which pleases us much better than the title. We would also suggest that works of so much merit and likely to be read so extensively ought to be printed on better paper. Books like these ought to go into every Christian home and into every Sunday-school library, hence their mechanical execution ought to be at once attractive and durable. The heroine of the present volume is a young lady who is converted at a boarding school and whose cheerful self-denying and loving behavior after her return home, resulting in the conversion of her worldly sisters and her careless parents, is made to illustrate the diffusive energy of a pure and earnest Christianity. Mrs. Dunning's books are good, without being goodish. They stimulate a healthy spirituality and possess literary excellence as well as religious fervor.

Scholar's Hand-book on the International Lessons. Second Series—Sixth year. 1885. Studies in the Acts and Epistles and in the Old Testament. By Rev. Edwin W. Rice, D. D. pp. 196.

An immense amount of scholarly notes, exegetical, geographical, biographical and practical, in the briefest compass. So there are black-board outlines, colored maps, orders of service, selected hymns &c., and all for 15 cents or $12.00 per hundred.

H. L. HASTINGS, BOSTON.

The Corruptions of the New Testament. By H. L. Hastings, editor of "The Christian," Boston. pp. 80. 1884.

This neat pamplet, bound in stiff card covers belongs to the "Anti-Infidel Library" so ably edited by Mr. Hastings, and is intended for the use of such readers as have been disturbed by the hostile and ignorant clamor against the variations and supposed corruptions of the original text of the Scriptures. A brief history of the text is here given and a very conclusive argument is made out for the substantial purity of the text which we now possess. The author but sums up the testimony of the most candid and thorough scholars of our day when he declares all the talk about the corruptions of the New Testament and the uncertainty of the Greek text to be utter emptiness. No book on earth has ever stood the test of such searching criticism as the New Testament. And after all that has been said and done, this book has emerged from the flames of historic criticism scathless as the Hebrews from the burning fiery furnace.

Egypt in History and Prophecy, or Pharoah proclaiming God. By Robert Patterson, author of "Fables of Infidelity and Facts of Faith."

Another excellent volume of the same series. Uniform in style and appearance. Second only to the Sacred Record itself is the marvelous history of Egypt as a bulwark of the faith. As long as any traces of the culture, religion, monuments, civilization, glory and decline of that country remain, it is almost superfluous to look elsewhere for a confirmation of Moses and the prophets.

Mr. Patterson makes one thing very clear and telling. The theory of Evolution cannot be applied to the home of the Pharoahs. Its present wretchedness is far from an advance upon its ancient splendors.—A stretch of forty centuries in one of the most favored spots of the earth shows in comparing ancient monuments with birds and beasts of to-day that there has been in all that duration not a feather's weight of variation. The author appears to be at home with his subject. He writes earnestly and entertainingly and presents irresistible arguments against infidelity.

CONGREGATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL AND PUBLISHING SOCIETY, CONGREGATIONAL HOUSE, BOSTON.

The Divine Authority of the Bible. By G. Frederick Wright, Professor of the Language and Literature of the New Testament in Oberlin Theological Seminary; Author of "The Logic of the Christian Evidences," "Studies in Science and Religion," "Relation of Death to Probation," etc., etc. pp. 241.

"The Logic of the Christian Evidences," "Studies in Science and Religion" and his other productions, have put Prof. Wright in the rank of writers entitled to be heard on the questions agitating the thought of our times. Uniting scholarly ability with calm judgment, and conservative steadiness with love of progress, he shows himself ready to accept all new truth that the investigations of science and learning are bringing to view, without losing hold of the truth that has been long established and become the rich inheritance of our civilization and Christianity. The value of his labor consists largely in the clearness of his re-statement of the subjects which he discusses, in the light of the latest investigation and discussion.

This small volume is in the general line of work pursued in Prof. Wright's earlier volumes. Though less elaborate and of more popular cast, it will well sustain his reputation. Its purpose is to give a brief statement of the divine authority of the Scriptures, as established by the facts in the case according to the canons of the inductive method of evidence. Inspiration is looked at with reference to the results attained rather than as to the divine process itself, and this result is explained as constituting the Scriptures "an adequate and authoritative record of the divine revelation, * * the final appeal in all distinctive questions of Christian faith and practice." Prof. Wright's plan takes him through the chief topics that belong to the subject—the Promise of inspiration, the Claim of the apostles to the guidance pledged, the Canon of the Old Testament and the New, with notice of Textual Criticism, Interpretation, alleged Discrepancies, and erroneous Quotations in New Testament, the difficulties involved in the subject, and the substantial harmony of the Bible with science. The presentation of the matter is marked by great candor and clearness. We are glad to see that the author retains the ordinary evangelical terms; 'The Bible *is* the word of God,' 'The Bible *is* a revelation of God' rather than to adopt the ambiguous phrases: 'The Bible *contains* the word of

God,' 'The Bible *contains* a revelation.' We are glad, too, that he takes the occasion to correct some of the views and statements of Profs. Toy and Ladd. Altogether the volume is in the interest of sound teaching on the great subject which it presents. As an outline view, it is well adapted to the use both of students and of the general Christian public.

A few errors in the foot-note references have been observed. On p. 56, it should be to ¶, 29, p. 47. On p. 65, it should be *Prologus Galeatus.*

PORTER & COATES, PHILADELPHIA.

A Dictionary of the Bible: Comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, Natural History and Literature, with the last researches and references to the revised version of the New Testament, with eight colored Maps and four hundred and forty Illustrations. By William Smith, LL. D. Revised and edited by Rev. F. N. and M. A. Peloubet, authors of "Select notes on the International Lessons." pp. 818, large 12mo.

Dr. William Smith's Bible Dictionary still maintains its rank as that of the foremost work in this department of literature. The task of abridging this great body of biblical learning so as to adapt it to the present wants of Sunday-school Teachers could not have been entrusted to more faithful and competent hands than the Messrs. Peloubet, whose services on the international lessons have made their name a household word in this country.

The main body of the work has not been changed, the abridgments being mostly of such matter, as is not specially helpful to teachers. The proper names in the *New Revision*, which differ from those in the authorized version have been added and the significance of proper names has been inserted from the best authorities. So also the latest topographical researches have been embodied. A few subjects have been rearranged so as to make them clearer and sometimes fuller with the addition of valuable information. Important changes are marked "Ed" and their importance and judiciousness are easily recognized. The abounding illustrations, some of which are truly excellent, add much to the value of the work. The print is bright, the paper substantial and the binding quite unique and beautiful. No teacher can afford to do without an aid of this character and no Christian household ought to be without one.

From Greenland's Icy Mountains. By Reginald Heber. 20 Illustrations by Frederick B. Schell.

There is no better evidence of the earnestness and refinement of the Christian sentiment of our land than the popularity of these illustrated editions of the most fervid spiritual hymns. Different publishers vie with each other in supplying the demand for this elegant species of literature, and since the engravers art joined to Christian song adds very effectually to its capacity for edification, the demand for these holiday gems is likely to grow from year to year.

The popular missionary hymn of Bishop Heber set to elegant illustra-

tions kindles the missionary flame with almost greater power than when sung by the human voice. The "icy mountains," "the palmy plain" with its Arab tent and camels, the "ancient river" bordered with hoary monuments, the "lavish kindness" of God displayed in a peaceful cottage, luxuriant verdure, and teeming harvests, "Messiah's name" under an engraving after Guido's "Jesus with the crown of thorns," the "Souls lighted" in the Christian sanctuary and "the heathen in his blindness" prostrate before idols, all show the artist to have had a warm and true appreciation of the spirit of this glorious hymn. Would that our parlor tables were loaded with such aids to culture and devotion.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK AND LONDON.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia.

History of Gustavus Adolphus. By John L. Stevens, LL. D., recently United States Minister at Stockholm. pp. 427. 1884.

We heartily welcome this solid octavo on the devoted hero of Protestantism. The timeliness of the work commends it especially to those who have but recently studied the literature called forth by the Quarto-centennial of Luther. The brave champion of justification by faith had always firmly repudiated the use of the sword in defense of pure doctrine, yet in the course of a century Germany was doomed to a baptism of blood to save the cause of the reformation. What Luther had achieved in the university and with his pen Gustavus maintained on the field of battle and sealed with his heart's blood. English readers have known too little of this great Christian warrior, whose career of conquest entitles him to be ranked with Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon, while in personal character he was incomparably their superior, and in saving Europe from anarchy, from the Hapsburgers and the Jesuits he achieved results which were possibly as far-reaching and beneficial to mankind as the fruits of any other conflict of ancient or modern times.

Residing at Stockholm as United States Minister, Dr. Stevens possessed extraordinary facilities for gathering material at first hand and the volume indicates painstaking energy, sober discrimination, the spirit of fairness and a sincere aim at historic truth. He shows a just appreciation of the moral qualities and lofty purposes which characterized this military genius, and while not divesting him of personal ambition nor ignoring considerations of policy, he raises no question as to the sincerity of his religious motives and does not impugn the supreme concern that moved him to come to the rescue of his oppressed and helpless fellow-Protestants.

Brief sketches are given of earlier Swedish history, of the causes and beginning of the Thirty Year's War and of some of the chief men with whom the career of Gustavus was identified. This biography of the most famous personage in that conflict, forms an important supplement to Gindeleys excellent history of the Thirty Years War," recently published by PUTNAMS and noticed in the October issue of this QUARTERLY. The three volumes ought to go together and they deserve a place in the library of every student.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, NEW YORK.

Beasts and Birds of Prey. Four Quarto Volumes. pp. 256.

A very handsome little series devoted to interesting descriptions of the birds and beasts of America, Europe, Asia and Africa. They abound in elegant and striking illustrations, contain graphic accounts of the nature habits and haunts of these animals, narrate some thrilling adventures and frequently utilize the allusions of Scripture to these creatures in connection with religious truth. Older as well as younger people will read these pages with delight and profit. The bright illuminated cover makes a rich picture of a menagerie. The whole set put up in a very substantial form, costs but $1.

LEE & SHEPARD, BOSTON.

CHARLES T. DILLINGHAM, NEW YORK.

Home Sweet Home by John Howard Payne. With Designs by Miss L. B. Humphrey engraved by Andrew.

From Greenland's Icy Mountains. By Bishop Heber with Illustrations from designs by Thomas Guilfoye and Edmund H. Garret.

The Mountain Anthem. The Beatitudes in Rhythmic Echoes by William C. Richards, author of "The Lord is my Shepherd"—the twenty-third Psalm in Song and Sonnet. Illustrated by Miss L. B. Humphrey.

Whether it is the business enterprise of the publishers or their generous desire to gratify the Christian sentiment and refined taste of their patrons, which prompts the publication of this exquisite "Golden Floral" series, they certainly deserve the gratitude of the cultured public. The splendid, satin-fringed, illuminated covers, with the richest floral designs, are but an index of the sumptuous yet delicate feast which they enclose.

Beside the elegant drawings which illustrate the familiar stanzas of "Home Sweet Home," the reader will be interested in finding the lines as originally written by Mr. Payne, as well as the verses added by him to the sheet-music for his relative, Mrs. Bates. A brief sketch of the history of this immortal song is also given.

Bishop Heber's glorious missionary hymn offers peculiarly happy conceptions for the artist's designs. "Icy mountains" reflecting their cold splendor, "sunny fountains" and "ancient rivers" mirroring the Pagan temples and ancient palaces on their banks, heathen women, who are bedizened with silk and gold, bound in "errors chain," the "sea of glory" "from pole to pole," each drawn before the eye with the finest skill of the artist, kindle in the heart a mission flame with a force almost equal to the chorus of many voices chanting this most popular missionary hymn.

"The Mountain Anthem," which consists of Mr. Richard's very creditable rendering of the Beatitudes in rhythmic echoes, illustrated with striking designs of the meek, the spiritually hungry, the merciful, the pure in heart, and the martyr for righteousness whose prison proves a palace with Jesus, is a cluster of jewels, an admirable commentary in art of "the sermon on the mount."

A. C. ARMSTRONG & CO., NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Manual of Preaching. Lectures on Homiletics. By Franklin W. Fisk, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Chicago Theological Seminary. 1884. pp. 337.

We welcome another volume on Homiletics, especially one with the merit Prof. Fisk has put into this. It comes out of his work of twenty-five years in connection with the Chicago Seminary, and is meant for the use of theological students and young ministers. The compact form into which the discussion of homiletical principles is here condensed, is a result of the author's experience, as a professor, that the best success in teaching these principles is through practical exercises. "From year to year, the lectures in this department have been abbreviated, and the practical exercises increased." Under this principle the most advanced ministers still find themselves learners in this high art—not in forgetfulness of the scientific part of the subject, but in concurrent and deeper study of homiletical laws illuminated by the teaching of their own experience in sermonizing.

Prof. Fisk's method begins in an analytic view of the qualities and parts of a sermon, and after a discussion of the points thus brought out, proceeds to show how they are to be brought together in the unity of a good sermon. The sermon is conceived of with direct reference to the preacher's great function, to set forth the truths of the gospel so as to lead man to faith and salvation. Hence the author spends but little time or attention on collateral topics of logic and rhetoric—assuming, probably, that theological students have been already trained, as they should, in these studies—but goes right forward with the application and use of accepted logical and rhetorical principles in handling God's word and producing clear, strong, and effective sermons. And the principles and rules presented, it seems to us, are, taken together, eminently sound and practical. The adoption of the ideas of a sermon here given, and of the homiletical method set forth, would work a great improvement in the preaching of the American pulpit, displacing the cold essay and the ill-digested harangue as well as the wishy-washy sensationalism so often heard. The volume deserves to be made a textbook for instruction in Homiletics.

G. W. FREDERICK, 117 N. 6TH ST. PHILADELPHIA.

Tributes to the Memory of Martin Luther. Compiled and Edited by Rev. P. C. Croll, A. M. pp. 317.

This book is an outgrowth of the quarto-centennial celebration of Luther's birth. It was a happy thought of Rev. C. to collect these tributes to the great Reformer, and he has done it with careful discrimination. Out of the great mass of material which he industriously gathered he has culled and classified what we find in this attractive volume, and a credit it is to his taste and judgment.

The whole collection is put into three groups: (1) Tributes by men of

note from the days of Luther to the present; (2) Editorial tributes during the memorial year (1883); (3) Tributes by eminent divines (all American except Spurgeon) and other speakers on the 400th anniversary (Nov. 10th, 1883) of Luther's birth,

Whatever task there was in preparing this work consisted not in getting material enough but in selecting from the large mass accumulated. It makes a volume not only pleasing to the eye but delightful in contents to every admirer of the great Christian hero, and especially to those professing the Lutheran faith. During the memorial festivities the swelling crowds not only did not grow tired of the story of the man and his work, but the more they heard the more they wanted to hear. This ought to be an indication of a large demand for these 'tributes,' and we hope they will find it.

PHILLIPS & HUNT, NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. The Text in the Authorized Translation: with a Commentary and Critical notes by Adam Clarke, LL. D., F. S. A., etc. A New Edition Condensed, and Supplemented from the best modern Authorities, by Daniel Curry, LL. D. Vol. I—The Gospels and Acts. Vol. II—The Epistles and Revelation. pp. 541, 638.

During the greater part of the last half century Clarke's Commentary was considered almost a *sine qua non* in every clergyman's library. The final revision by the author was made in 1832 and, for the three decades immediately following, its circulation was exceptionally great. This was fully justified by its unquestioned merits. Even during the last twenty years it has been in rather large demand, notwithstanding the publication of other commentaries containing the results of more recent biblical criticism, made in the better light of later years. Its hold on the student of the Scriptures has, indeed, been remarkable, testifying to its excellences and justifying its revision and publication in its present form.

The commentary has been greatly condensed by Dr. Curry, but with rare discrimination and entirely in harmony with the spirit of the original work. But, as mere condensation would not have been sufficient, in view of the progress made in biblical learning, the condensed work has been supplemented by the views of the best later writers, thus bringing it abreast with the works of biblical scholars of to-day. An examination shows that the editor has both condensed and supplemented with great care and excellent judgment, and the commentary, as it now appears, will prove a most convenient help in studying the Scriptures. The prefaces and introductions to the several gospels and epistles are brief but scholarly, and would do credit to works much more pretentious.

My Missionary Apprenticeship. By Rev. J. M. Thoburn, D. D. pp. 386. 1884.

As a source of information on missionary work in the foreign fields—its importance, difficulties, discouragements, failures, methods, encouragements, successes, etc.—there is nothing better than the story of a missionary's own work and experiences such as the one here of Dr. Thoburn. His life in India extends over a period of twenty-five years, and the account he gives of it is not only full of interest but full also of useful lessons to the Christian reader, which will give him a clearer apprehension of the nature of the work and lead to more intelligent and successful methods in accomplishing it.

He is perfectly frank in speaking of the mistakes he made during his first years in India, which may serve as waymarks of caution to future laborers in the same field; and he is free, too, in speaking of the comparative comfort of the missionary's life, indicating that there is much sympathy wasted so far as his personal comfort is concerned. Apart from his separation from friends and native land, his sacrifices and trials come from other sources than of mode of living or conveniences in domestic life.

Much light is thrown on the wide-reaching influences of mission schools and of woman's work among the women of India. All divisions of the Church are becoming more and more awake to both these features of foreign mission work, and they will find in Dr. Thoburn's experience an impulse to quicken and a light to guide them.

We are sorry to see that he is disposed to disregard the rule of "non-interference." Much harm is done and a most unfavorable impression is made on the heathen mind by the workers of different denominations entering one another's territory. The field is wide enough for all. The work will only be retarded by any display of partisan effort. What but disastrous must be the effect on the heathen mind of this clashing of interests among denominations ostensibly engaged in the same good cause?

Our Missionary Heroes and Heroines; or Heroic Deeds done in Methodist Missionary Fields. By Daniel Wise, D. D., author of "Heroic Methodists," "Sketches and Anecdotes of American Methodists, etc. pp. 291. 1884.

If any one is indifferent to mission work or his missionary spirit is dull, let him read this book. It will surely quicken his interest, and likely lead him to activity in the cause. He will see what others have done and suffered for the spread of the "glorious gospel," and will be spurred up to doing and perhaps suffering something himself for it. William Carey was not a Methodist, but he is very properly introduced among the earliest missionaries from America, and with the same propriety is the origin of the American Board given. The Methodist Church has been very active in missionary work and has had its heroes and heroines all over the globe. This book gives a good view of its field of operations. We are pleased to notice among its heroines Miss Carrie L. McMillan, of Gettysburg, who

went out from this community seven or eight years ago. Much, however, as we admire the efforts of the Methodists in mission work, we cannot appreciate the zeal that leads them to send their men among Christians of the Lutheran faith, whether in our own country or abroad. Of the Germans in Cincinnati we are told, "Those of them who belonged to the Lutheran Church, were mere formalists, who regarded spiritual religion as fanaticism." Very questionable statement, Dr. Wise, unless you have a peculiar definition for "spiritual religion." Converting the heathen is better than proselyting the Lutherans.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

Where is Heaven? By Hedwig Prohl. Translated from the German by M. P. Butcher. pp. 230. 1884.

A pure, healthy story, well sustaining the reputation already gained by the "Fatherland Series." The question, "Where is Heaven?" does not apply to the abode of the blessed hereafter, but is answered by showing how grace and benevolence in the heart and a life unselfishly devoted to making others happy may make a heaven here on earth. As a mere story it has intense interest which is well sustained throughout, and for its useful lessons it can well be recommended for the Sunday-school library. Children will find it profitable; so will men and women of mature years.

The Red Mantle. From the German of Louisa Pichler. By K. E. Heyser. pp. 124.

Another addition to the "Fatherland Series." It is a story based upon an incident of the Thirty Years' War in Germany—an incident that occurred some years after the death of Gustavus Adolphus. The boy of the story, nine years old, was named Gustavus after the Christian hero. The story itself is thrilling and pathetic, and teaches the lesson of implicit trust in God as one who doeth all things well.

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., CHICAGO, ILL.

Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway; or stories of the Locomotive in Every Land. By William Sloane Kennedy, author of "John Greenleaf Whittier: His Life, Genius, and Writings," etc. pp. 254. 1884.

Here we have the rise, growth, and progress of the Railway, full of curious and interesting facts so skillfully interwoven that it makes one of the most fascinating volumes we have read for some time. The information is valuable, and hitherto much of it has been inaccessible to the general reader. It starts with the early struggles of Stephenson and his associates, and treats of the progress of the Railway to its present and influential position in the commerce and civilization of the age. It describes the electric locomotives of Edison and Daft, the mountain railways of the Alps, the submarine, atmospheric, elevated, vertical, and cable railways, from India to the Andes and the Golden Gate. It contains a sketch also of the railway postal service and railway telegraphy, and abounds with ludicrous

sketches of travel in all lands, and witn exciting descriptions of railway accidents, train robberies, etc. All classes of readers will find the book one of absorbing interest.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

The Old Theology Re-Stated in Sermons. By Henry H. Tucker. pp. 452.

If any one should take up this book with the expectation of finding it a work on Systematic Theology, or a sysytematic work on Theoiogy, he would be disappointed. He, however, would need but read the half-page preface to discover his mistake. The author does not claim that it is a "book of divinity" but simply a series of sermons containing "most of his theological views." He calls it "The Old Theology" because it is more in accord with the "sounder doctrines of centuries ago" than with the many new views that have crept in during these latter days. He seeks "the old paths wherein our fathers walked."

The reader, however, must not expect, in view of this, to find here the lamentations of a croaker or the dry-as-dust discussions of a non-progressive. On the contrary, these pages are full of fresh and vigorous elucidation of the Scriptures, so far as the subjects treated are concerned, and everywhere betray a sincerity and earnestness of conviction truly refreshing. We may not accept his Calvinism or his views on the mode of Baptism, but this will not keep us from responding, in full sympathy, to most of what he says. He holds tenaciously to the old landmarks of the theological system of which he is a representative, but presents his thoughts with the freshness and vigor of to-day.

Brief Notes on the New Testament. The Gospels by Geo. W. Clark, D. D.; The Acts, Epistles, and Revelation by J. M. Pendleton, D. D. pp. 748.

Here in one volume we have the whole of the New Testament with notes and reflections. The "notes" are comparatively full and succinctly given, and the "reflections" at the close of each chapter are pointed, suggestive, and eminently practical. Baptism by immersion is inculcated, of course. It is a commentary intended specially for Sunday-school teachers, Bible classes, and the family, and is well adapted for them.

JAMES R. OSGOOD & CO., BOSTON.

A History of Presidential Elections. By Edward Stanwood. pp. 407.

After a brief but satisfactory explanation of the Electoral System, Mr. Stanwood gives the history of the presidential elections from Washington down to Garfield. The appendix gives the nominating conventions of 1884. He gathered his materials from a great variety of sources, chief among them, Nile's "Register," the political almanacs, Greely's "Political Text Book," McPherson's "Political Hand Book" (published biennially), and the newspapers. He has been careful, however, in verifying facts and correcting the text of documents, particularly of party platforms.

We are impressed with the author's painstaking care and his success in

laying aside his partisan bias. In giving the salient features of a presidential administration and the issues brought to the surface at the beginning of a campaign for a successor, he is thoroughly fair, ceasing to be a partisan in becoming an historian. He has thus furnished a work of great value, containing not only a history of our presidential elections but embracing incidentally the chief points of our political history from the adoption of the constitution down to the present year.

ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

Life in the Eagle's Nest. A tale of Afghanistan, and *Mahala the Jewish Slave.* By A. L. O. E., author of "The Claremont Tales," "Giant Killer," etc. pp. 330. 1884.

We give a hearty welcome to another volume from this popular authoress. For a combination of graphic style, pathetic coloring and spiritual fervor she has in our judgment no superior. Her writings show that a pious book is not necessarily a dull one. Nor has her present occupation in zenana work among the Hindoos in any way impaired the brightness of her literary power. One of the stories follows into Afghanistan the brave young son of a deceased missionary; the scene of the other is laid in Palestine and like the former gives glimpses of the trials endured by heathen converts. Bound together they form a neat little volume, which in a family of children or in a Sunday-school is worth its weight in gold. That the profits derived from the sale of her publications are devoted to the support of A. L. O. E's. school for Mohammedan and heathen boys in Batala will be to Christians an additional though a superfluous incentive for purchasing whatever she writes.

John De Wycliffe the First of the Reformers, and what he did for England. By Emily S. Holt, author of "Mistress Margery," "Sister Rose," etc. pp. 217.

Just as the Evangelical Churches have completed their grand celebration of the birth of the Great Reformer they are called upon to commemorate the death of his most distinguished predecessor. On the last day of this present year five centuries will have elapsed since the brave English reformer before the Reformation breathed his last. Miss Holt presents in very readable style a brief review of the principal incidents of his public career. We should have been glad to have more of Wycliffe and less of political history, but as the authoress truly remarks "his reformation as has always been the case in this country, was political first and religious afterwards."

We have never known a successful attempt to compare other reformers with Luther. Miss Holt's effort in instituting such a comparison between Wycliffe and Luther must strike intelligent readers as a superlative botch. Such statements as "there is a sense in which Wycliffe was the greater reformer of the two;" "he made fewer blunders;" "he did not give hasty

slashes to gordian knots and then find that he had made a mistake and that the knot could not be tied again," indicate, to put it mildly, a singular lack of critical acumen or an amazing want of historical veracity. That the authoress is destitute of the latter is confirmed by her declaration that up to the seventh General Council, held at Nice in 787, it had never occurred to any Christian to doubt that when Christ said "This is my body" he meant nothing but "This represents my body." Had she said that up to the appearance of Zwingli it never occurred to any Christian teacher to maintain such a mere symbolical interpretation of these words, she would have been very much nearer telling the truth.

A Red Wallflower. By the author of "The Wide, Wide World." pp. 650. 1884.

Few books are more widely read than Miss Warner's and it is a gratifying index of popular taste that such is the case. Her stories are not only warm with pathos, bright with descriptions of real life, but deeply religious. The present tale, it is claimed, like its predecessors, is in its whole chain of facts a true story. The scene is laid in New England in the early part of the present century and its characters are mostly members of English families who had recently emigrated and who still continued in close intercourse with their friends in the mother country. The picture drawn of a family that adhered devotedly to the forms of the Church and presumed upon the possession thereby of a saving religion, while they were personally examples of a detestable disposition and of the grossest worldliness and heartily despised an earnest godliness, reads like a terrific caricature of a well-known type of Churchliness, and it is worthy of Dickens, but as truth is even stranger than fiction we believe the author's statement that this is no invention of hers but part of the essential truth of the story. The elegant binding and large, bright letterpress are as pleasing to the eye as the contents are entertaining to the mind.

Bible Promises. Sermons to Children. By Rev. Richard Newton, D. D., author of "Jewel Case," "Wonder Case," etc. pp. 348. 1884.

A helpful, interesting, good book. With a full appreciation of what children specially need, Dr. Newton here exhibits a remarkable facility in presenting the truth in the most simple, yet attractive and telling style. His illustrative stories are to the point and effective. Children will read the book with interest and find it most profitable.

The Shoes of Peace. By Anna B. Warren, author of "The Melody of the Twenty-third Psalm." pp. 136.

A little book tastefully gotten up by the printer and binder, and bristling with good points and skillful home-thrusts at the negligent and complaining Christian. It takes its title from Eph. 6 : 15, "Your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace," and chides the careless for drifting away from such preparation. We have less religious services

than our fathers had, and yet we want to make even those we do have shorter. Family prayers are crowded out by pressure of business or social diversions. Thus it goes on reminding us that we slight too many duties, that we must be careful to follow the great exemplar in all things, that present duties call the loudest, that we are in this world for work, that each has his own special sphere though in many cases a very humble one, and that we must endure to the end. It is full of good counsel supported by many passages of scripture, aptly chosen and pointedly applied.

Ministering Children. A Tale, by Maria Louisa Charlesworth, Author of "England's Yeoman," "Oliver of the Mill," and "Dorothy Cope." pp. 279.

A Sequel to Ministering Children. By Maria Louisa Charlesworth, Author, &c. Complete in one Volume. pp. 270.

Of the first of these books, with its exquisite story, full of rich interest and instruction, one hundred and seventy-nine thousand copies have been sold in England. It is familiar, too, in another form, to American readers. It is intended and suited to develop in the young the kind, unselfish and generous side of their nature, and lead to the blessedness of Christian giving.

The "Sequel", though an independent story and complete in itself, is written in the same spirit and with the same fine quality. They are bright, attractive volumes, and will charm and profit the children.

Shadows; Scenes and Incidents in the Life of An Old Arm Chair. By Mrs. O. F. Walton, Author of "Christie's Old Organ," "A Peep behind the Scenes," etc. pp. 362. 1884.

In this neat volume we listen to the story which an old arm chair tells of what it has seen and heard in its strange experiences—an arm chair *very* old, passed through many families, covered and covered again, used by old and young, now become infirm and shaky. The experiences of human life that gather around such an old chair, must necessarily present a series of events, whose complexity and diversity, hope and fear, joys and sorrows and outcome furnish points of deep interest and impressive instruction. Mrs. Walton shows that she knows how to weave the story together, and throw its light and shadows and instruction on the mind.

PORTER & COATES, PHILADELPHIA.

Elements of Meteorology. For Schools and Households. By Pliny Earle Chase, LL. D., Professor of Philosophy in Haverford College, Vice President of the American Philosophical Society, etc. Two Volumes. pp. 128, 256.

Professor Chase has long since gained an enviable reputation for skill in preparing text-books by the work he has done in the Latin classics. He and Professor Stuart have put classical students under a great debt of

gratitude by preparing the "Chase and Stuart Series," much of the labor being done directly by themselves, and the rest under their supervision. The books before us, although belonging to quite a different sphere, sustain Professor Chase's reputation, and will prove excellent text-books for beginners in the study of meteorology. The volumes are distinguished as Part I. and Part II. The first consists of "Practical Instructions," and the second, of "Principles and Scholia."

The subject of meteorology is considered so mysterious and as having reached such meagre scientific accuracy, that it is deemed scarcely worth while for any but specialists to give it any study. But we feel confident that a child of a dozen years, given to observation and assisted by the suggestions and principles laid down in these books, will attain a high degree of accuracy in weather forecasts. It would be well to have them introduced into our schools and used in the way suggested by the author.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO., BOSTON.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Some Heretics of Yesterday. By S. E. Herrick, D. D., Minister of Mt. Vernon Church, Boston. pp. 320. 1885.

Under this title the author has given in a fresh and intensely entertaining form sketches of Tauler, Wicklif, Hus, Savanorola, Latimer, Cranmer, Melanchthon, Knox, Calvin, Coligny, Brewster and Wesley. Originally prepared as a course of Sunday Evening Lectures to his congregation, the author yielded at the close of the series to the strenuous entreaty of his people to have them published. The omission of Luther's name is doubtless due to the fact that it was the Luther Celebrations of last Autumn that gave the impetus to the study of the life and labors of other reformers. This volume may accordingly be regarded as a supplement to the Luther Literature called forth by that occasion. It is more than intimated, too, especially in the comparisons instituted between Melanchthon and Luther, that the latter falls somewhat below the author's standard of a good heretic.

This peculiar title given to those renowned reformers is the key on which the whole volume is pitched. These heroic men who headed "the great revolt against traditionalism and authority" are evidently to be viewed as the forerunners of those doughty reformers who to day repudiate the creeds of the Church and assail vital doctrines of Christianity. With this object before him the author's judgment shows no little bias and his representation of the views and doctrines of these "Heretics" is very faulty. Such of their teachings are seized upon and set forth as will serve for water on the Liberal mill, whereas if all their teachings were brought forth they would make such a current as would wash away the whole Liberal mill, foundation and all.

Thus Melanchthon's great concessions to the Romanists on the one side and to the Calvinists on the other are made to do full duty, while his en-

tire doctrinal accord with Luther is so far from being clearly presented as to be distorted into a summary formulating of three points in which the difference between the two, it is alleged, may be seen.

1. Melanchthon thought that the ancient form of ecclesiastical government might be retained on condition of not annulling the authority of Scripture.

2. Melanchthon thought that Luther carried his doctrine of justification by faith to the extent of nullifying the importance and obligation of good work.s

3. Melanchthon differed in respect to the Sacrament, thinking that Luther's doctrine of Consubstantiation differed nothing from the Romish idea of a corporeal presence.

It is of course not necessary to demonstrate to our readers the falsity of these astounding statements, but it is to be greatly lamented that such gross historical errors should be spread abroad in a work whose literary merits ensure for it a wide circulation.

The Viking Bodleys. An Excursion into Norway and Denmark. By Horace E. Scudder, Author of the Bodley Books. With Illustrations. pp. 190. 1885.

We are glad to follow the Bodleys through one more journey and are sorry that this is the last one. This time they set sail from Hull and passing over the North Sea to Christiania they fancy themselves on a visit to the scene of their Viking ancestors. For, while the Bodleys are of Puritan stock, did not the Norsemen invade and conquer England and establish permanent settlements especially along the eastern sea-coast whence the Pilgrim Fathers first set sail for this country? Their journey takes them to the farthest accessible point in the North, where they enjoy the vision of the Midnight Sun.

Many quaint scenes strike the eyes of these tourists, famous haunts are visited, which call up interesting historical events and bring to mind famous characters such as Ole Bull, Andersen and Thorwaldsen. Denmark is taken in on their return and all enjoy their rambles through Copenhagen. The volume abounds in beautiful and striking illustrations and is a charming sample of book-making. For a combination of instruction and pleasure there are few better books than the Bodley Series. There are now eight of them and while each is independent of the others, the possession of the entire series would be a treasure indeed to any bright boy or girl.

The Algonquin Legends of New England, or Myths and Folklore of the Micmac, Passamquoddy, and Penobscot Tribes. By Charles G. Leland. pp. 379. 1884.

The Aborigines, too, have their folklore, their fables and fairy tales. Mr. Leland who has quite a knack for studies of this character has uncovered a vast store-house of quaint tales and traditions among the survivors of

the great Algonquin race, especially the Passamquoddies, the Penobscot, and the Micmacs of Maine and New Brunswick. The material was gathered directly from Indian narrators, some by a few friends, but the greater part by the author himself who can give the name of the aboriginal authority for every tale except one. The whole conception and coloring of these myths are therefore exclusively Indian and there is no doubt of their great antiquity. The old people, whom Mr. Leland visited, declared that they had heard from their progenitors that all these stories were once sung; that they themselves remembered when many of them were poems. This has been fully proved by the discovery of manifest traces of poetry in many, and finally by finding a long Micmac tale which had been sung by an Indian.

Most interesting material is thus furnished to the students of Ethnology and comparative religion. The author refrains, as a rule, from speculations and comments, though in a few instances he starts questions, the answers to which are almost unmistakably supplied by the character of the legends related. There is, he thinks, an undeniable affinity between the myths and legends of these North Eastern Indians and those of the Eskimo, while those of the Eskimo are claimed to be identical with those of the Finns, Laplanders, and Samoyedes. Glooskap, "who is by far the grandest and most Aryan-like character ever evolved from a savage mind," has much in common with the famous Norse deities, Thor and Woden. There seems to be a bond, made visble by the quaint mythology of the Algonquins, between our North Eastern Indians, the mediæval Norsemen, and the original Indo-German stock of Northern Asia.

Ralph Waldo Emerson. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. American Men of Letters. pp. 441. 1885.

Such a theme! By such an author! When did literature furnish a better example of the fitness of things! Surely Mr. Emerson is to be congratulated on having Mr. Holmes for his biographer. The writer is indeed forgotten in the engrossing interest with which he fascinates you to his subject, but in a calm retrospect of the faithful and charming portrait he has drawn, the critic can but exclaim, well done. It is something also, indeed, to have such a subject for a biography, a name which represents the most original mind this country has produced and which deserves a lofty eminence among the sweetest, purest and most refined characters that have adorned humanity.

In this age of evolutionary thinking one inevitably inquires whence came such a spirit? Out of what genial spheres and atmospheres was this rare nature evolved? What was the intellectual and moral parentage, and what the educational environments, that produced this saintly sage?

Any one familiar with the history of our most distinguished scholars and statesmen might venture a guess. A clerical lineage, a Christian home is almost sure to be found, in this country, the taproot of a great

and noble mind. That the divine source and moulding force of that which gave them their being and their distinction, should sometimes be denied by these favorites of providence, is only another indication of the inborn perversity of human hearts, the readiness to forget the rock whence they were hewn. The biographer recognizes this all-potent factor in the development of Mr. Emerson. Looking back at the striking record of the family made historic by his birth, he says: "It was remarkable for the long succession of clergymen in its genealogy, and for the large number of college graduates it counted on its rolls." After tracing Emerson's descent through some six generations of preachers he adds, "If the ideas of parents survive as impressions or tendencies in their descendants, no man had a better right to an inheritance of theological instincts than this representative of a long line of ministers." And again, "So far as hereditary and family influences can account for the character and intellect of Ralph Waldo Emerson, we could hardly ask for a better inborn inheritance, or better counsels and examples." Ah! Mr. Holmes, "You are building better than you know."

Theologians will find very much throughout this work of especial interest to them. Mr. Emerson began his public career as a minister, having pursued his divinity studies mostly under the direction of Dr. Channing. Having been excused from examination in view of trouble with his eyes he said afterward respecting his instructors: "If they had examined me they probably would not have let me preach at all." He was first settled as the colleague of the Rev. Henry Ware, in Boston, very soon succeeding him as sole pastor. After six years of service he resigned his pastoral charge in view of his conscientious scruples against administering the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. His discourse on this question is the only sermon from him that ever appeared in print, a sermon that "heralded a movement in New England theology which has never stopped from that day to this." He argues that it was not intended to be a permanent institution, that Paul's statement in Corinthians "ought not to alter our opinion derived from the Evangelists," and that if even the primitive Church "believed the institution to be permanent, their belief does not settle the question for us." It confused the idea of God by transferring the worship of Him to Christ. In the least petition to God "the soul stands alone with God, and Jesus is no more present to your mind than your brother or child." How complete was his abnegation of Christianity and how cheerless his philosophy, may be seen from a letter on the death of "a sweet and wonderful boy" of five years and three months: "I dare not fathom the Invisible and Untold to inquire what relations to my departed ones I yet sustain."

The Transcendentalists of whom Emerson was a conspicuous leader cut a rather sorry figure. Whether they could have fared any better from some other biographer may be questioned, since it is Emerson's own portrait of them that brings out their whimsical and extravagant ideas and shows

what a set of lazy "cranks" they were. "They are not good citizens, not good members of society: Unwillingly they bear their part of the public and private burdens; they do not willingly share in the public charities, in the public religious rites, in the enterprise of education, of missions, foreign and domestic, in the abolition of the slave-trade or in the temperance society. They do not even like to vote." Dr. Holmes comments but briefly on their ridiculous pretensions "as if they had taken out a patent for some knowing machine which was to give them a monopoly of its products." "The chimney-corner is the arena for this class of philosophers, and the pipe and mug furnish their all-sufficient panoply." Luscious extracts from Mr. Emerson's best writings abound throughout this volume, exciting the keenest appetite for that mental feast which only these writings themselves can satisfy. For cultured and conservative minds we know of nothing in the range of literature that is more stimulating. A genius who confesses that he is only an experimenter, who avowedly unsettles all things, to whom no facts are either sacred or profane, who confesses himself an endless seeker, with no Past at his back, can indeed not be trusted as a guide, and woe to the weakling who allows him to be his master, but one feels in critically studying Emerson, that he possessed something like a divine calling to supply impulses to more sluggish minds.

The Continuity of Christian Thought. A story of Modern Theology in the Light of its History. By Alexander V. G. Allen, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. 1884. pp. 438. Price $2.

This book was written as a course of lectures in Philadelphia on the John Bohlen foundation in 1883. This foundation, in its aims and terms, is modeled after the English Bampton Lectureship, and the lecturer is appointed annually by designated officials in the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.

The object of the lecturer was to present the outlines of the early Christian theology as formulated by thinkers in whose minds the divine *immanence* was the underlying and determining thought. The conception of the relation of God to the world, and especially to humanity, found in the general Hellenic culture and life, the early Greek theologians carried over into their Christian thinking, "holding it to be a divine gift to the Greek people—a divinely ordered course of preparation for the 'fullness of time.'" Prof. Allen's plan has been to emphasize this theology of the divine immanence as the true Christian theology, characterized by "a genuine catholicity, spiritual depth and freedom, a marked rationality, and a lofty ethical tone," and to trace its course through its obscuration by the Augustinian and Latin theology based on the transcendence of Deity, until its emergence again and increasing ascendancy in modern religious thought. Beginning, therefore, with the Greek theology, taken as the true type of religious thought, he makes six divisions of the historical development,

passing on through the Latin theology, the theology of the Middle Ages, the theology of the Age of the Reformation, the conflict of the traditional theology with Rationalism, to the Renaissance of theology in the nineteenth century. He has handled the affluent material which this course offered to his hand with a vigorous analytic and constructive power, presenting a volume of much interest and full of suggestive thought.

While rightly emphasizing, however, the great truth of the divine immanance, into which Christian theology is framed, Prof. Allen pushes this idea to an extreme that becomes almost oblivious of the equal truth of the divine transcendence, and turns this 'indwelling Deity' in the race into a human "consciousness" which is to be taken as the supreme ethical and religious authority for men. It is, indeed, difficult sometimes to discriminate the author's conception from the pantheistic Hagelian idea of an essential unity of the divine and the human and a *continuous* incarnation of God in the race as a whole. Under this view revelation becomes simply a natural process everywhere and always going on, appearing in heathen religions as well as in the Christian. Inspiration becomes only a high and pure spiritual insight dependent on no special divine aid. He gives full emphasis to Justin Martyr's "idea of the spiritual essential Christ," "the Word of whom every race of men are partakers," "the divine reason universally diffused." He seems to adopt throughout, as the standard of correct thought, the Alexandrian Clement's asserted identification of "the highest products of reason" and the fruit of divine revelation: "He makes no distinction between natural and revealed religion, between what man discovers and what God reveals. All that is true and well said in Greek philosophy was as truly given by divine revelation as was the moral truth proclaimed by Jewish legislators and prophets." The weight Prof. Allen insists on giving not only to "the Christian consciousness," but to the common consciousness of the non-Christian part of mankind, in his doctrine of immanent Deity, as authority and criterion for religious truth, is not only untrue to the Protestant principle of the Bible as the rule of faith, but full of danger to theological thought. The effect of it, whenever adopted becomes apparent in loosening the hold on the supernatural verities of Christianity and reducing it to a system little above a simple humanism.

This standpoint of semi-rationalism, with its undue assertion of the human element in deciding the contents of articles of Christian faith, has seriously impaired the trustworthiness of the views of this volume. Though it correctly exalts some of the features of the Greek theology over against some phases of the Augustinian and Latin theology, it sacrifices more of scripture teaching than it gains—and teaching, too, quite as fundamental as that of the divine immanence. Some phases of the Latin theology are, indeed, justly condemned with great severity, and its mistaken guiding in many things clearly shown, but when the author comes to the Reforma-

tion, his extreme position prevents him from a fair estimate of the development of Protestantism.

The value of Prof. Allen's work, marked all through by signs of large reading and fine culture, is in its suggestiveness as a "study"—bringing together, under the special view afforded by his standpoint, the leading tendencies which have appeared in the history of the Church. It is to be regretted that the value is diminished by the extreme theological tendencies which show themselves all through it.

The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin. By John Fiske. 1884. pp. 121.

In this small volume, every page of which is marked by fine intellectuality and culture, Prof. Fiske becomes the prophet of Darwinian humanity. From the action of the processes that have created man, and are lifting him up on the progress of history, he forecasts the characteristics of his ultimate future on the earth, and the probability of a future life.

Prof. Fiske exhibits the production and perfection of man as the final aim of the world's evolution—an evolution not by accident or purposeless, but divinely directed to this result. He rejects an atheistic evolution in terms of intense repudiation. With the skillful manipulation for which Darwinian scientists are noted, he shows that from the dawn and control of the physical element in the race it became impossible that any creature zoölogically distinct from Man and superior to him should ever at any future time exists upon the earth. "Not the production of any higher creature, but the perfecting of Humanity, is to be the glorious consummation of Nature's long and tedious work." The growing predominance of the physical life, the overthrow of the law of survival through physical strength by the developments of altruistic sentiment and morality, is to result in throwing off the brute-inheritance: "Man is slowly passing from a primitive social state in which he was little better than a brute, toward an ultimate social state in which his character shall have become so transformed that nothing of the brute can be detected in it. The ape and the tiger in human nature will become extinct. * * The original sin is neither more nor less than the brute-inheritance which every man carries with him, and the process of evolution is an advance toward true salvation." With the experiences of this advancing supremacy of the higher nature over the lower, the author connects St. Paul's conception of the conflict which the Christian finds between the flesh and the spirit. The triumph of the latter is the goal of humanity—in this world. As to a future life, Prof. Fiske is hopeful. He holds that what we call 'soul' cannot possibly be the product of any cunning arrangement of material particles, and is to be viewed as a "spiritual substance, an effluence from Godhead, which under certain conditions becomes incarnated in perishable forms of matter." He believes in the immortality of the soul, "as a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work."

This little volume is admirably suited for those who wish in outline a clear exhibit of the very best hope that pure evolutionism offers to humanity. But the contrast between this pale, faint hope and the sure, rich faith of the Christian is very great. The gospel of Darwinism does no add to Christian assurance.

Occident. With Preludes on Current Events. By Joseph Cook. 1884. pp. 382.

This is the ninth volume of the "Boston Monday Lectures," and like all the earlier ones is made up of discussions of great living questions of our day, and marked throughout by the vigorous intellectuality and brilliant rhetoric for which Mr. Cook is famed. The lectures are on the subjects: Advanced Thought in England; Advanced Thought in Germany; Delitzsch on the New Criticism of the Old Testament; Prof. Zöllner's Views on Spiritualism; Advanced Thought in Italy and Greece. Preludes: New Departures in and from Orthodoxy; Does Death end Probation? The future of Civil Service Reform; The Vanguards of Christian Missions; American and Foreign Temperance Creeds; Probation at Death. Beyond these, Appendixes are added, giving a Lecture on the Decline of Rationalism in the German Universities, delivered before the students of Andover Theological Seminary and of the Yale Divinity School, and repeated in Boston, Concord, etc.; a paper on Theodore Christlieb and German Church Life; a Lecture at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, London, on "The New House and its Battlement, or The Relations of the Temperance Reform to civil Liberty and Church Life; and a Reply to Professor Smyth, of Andover, February 12.

It will be seen that the volume contains the addresses that, in the early part of last winter, made such a sensation in theological circles by their criticism of Dorner's Eschatology and the favor said to be given it at Andover—also Mr. Cook's unfortunate theory of moral decision in the act of dying. However, even apart from the matter involved in that controversy—of great moment to all Christian theology—the lectures of this volume are of high value for the compressed account they give of the progress and trend of religious thought in the Christian world. Their oratorical vigor and dash keep up the reader's interest, and their incisive criticism of various erroneous tendencies make them in general helpful to sound views and the triumph of right.

Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor. Edited by Maria Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, in two Volumes. 1884. pp. 900.

Bayard Taylor well and fairly won an honorable place among American men of letters, and we have in these two neat volumes a fitting memorial of his personal and literary career. That career was indeed remarkable. It exhibits a strong personality pressing on and up, by great force of will and worthy ambition, from humble conditions and through manifold obstacles, until he stood at last a prominent figure in his country,

and his counsel and help were sought, not only in the world of letters, but in the service of the government. He reached his honorable place, not by the favor of others, but by the aim and energy of his own high purpose, climbing up through patient and tireless endeavor. Rarely has eminence been enjoyed where so little was owing to circumstances, and so much to manly determination. His success may well be pointed to for inspiration of the young.

This biography is one of great interest not only because of the subject of it, but from its happy success in giving a vivid and lifelike picture of the man and his work. It traces his entire history from his birth and childhood's home in Kennett Square, through his education, early literary efforts and successes, his struggles and trials, his travels and lectures, his maturer labors in the midst of his wide and established reputation, to the close of his life in Berlin, where he was representing our government as minister to Germany. Much of the story is made to tell itself by a felicitous use of the correspondence in which the progress of his work and fame marked itself. Taylor's own letters furnish the truest soundings of the depth of his nature, while those received from others, in all the relations in which they stood to him, disclose the estimate formed of him and of his genius by those who knew him best. The insertion of the letters between him and Mary Agnew during the long period of their engagement, forms a unique feature of the work. Their insertion is not only justifiable, but adds to the value and completeness of the whole view. Fiction itself could hardly present a finer portraiture of true and faithful love than is given in these letters, written under the shadow of her inevitable and fast approaching death.

But it is unnecessary to specify any further the features of this work. It is sufficient to say that as the story of a man of rich endowments, who has a high and permanent rank among the honored names in our country's literature, it will take its place, as it deserves to, among our standard biographies.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO., PHILADELPHIA.

The Wagoner of the Alleghenies. A Poem of the Days of Seventy-five. By T. Buchanan Read. Illustrated from Drawings by Hovenden, Fenn, Gaul, and Low. pp. 74. 1885.

This poem of Buchanan Read, made famous, in some of its parts, even before its publication, by the recitation of the great elocutionist, James E. Murdock, is in itself most charming. But printed on fine heavy paper as here and illustrated by these six speaking engravings, it is made still more attractive. The scene of "The Wagoner of the Alleghenies," as will be remembered by those who have read it, is laid on the banks of the Schuylkill between Philadelphia and Valley Forge, in the time of our Revolutionary war. The descriptions abound in passages suitable to the artists' work, and the publishers have made the volume one of the most beautiful of the gift-books of the season.

A Review of the Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. By Edward B. Latch. pp. 568. 1885.

The main ideas in this large volume, shaping all its Biblical explanation, are that there were four distinct races of men, from four successive creations, all but the latest being Pre-Adamic, that by the sin of Adam and blending of the blood of the races all men are under sin, that the Son of God entered on His work of redemption in the days of Melchizedek in an invisible but continuous incarnation through the Old Testament history as the "Seed" of Abraham, was at last born into visible manifestation as the Child of the Virgin, and in his death atoned for all sins. We know no better way to indicate the method of interpretation and the quality of the work, than by giving a few extracts taken at random from portions which set forth the author's leading conceptions. On the command: "Be fruitful, multiply, and replenish the earth," he explains:

"Would the command have been given to the very first man to 'replenish' the earth? It is not at all likely that such would have been the case; for to replenish means to restock, and how can the earth be restocked unless a generation had passed away or nearly so? By ordinary induction it cannot be so. What is to be inferred, then, from the passage? that it is an erroneous choice of words, or that it is truly an implication of the existence of a race of men created before the one to whom this command was given. The latter view is the most correct."

On the river that went out of Eden to water it, parting into four heads, he says:

"The river of Eden is representative of the whole human family; of every race, kindred, nation, and tongue. This great river is divided into four heads, which are typical of four separate creations, not evolutions, of men, the oldest of which is the river Euphrates, corresponding to the first seal of the revelation of St. John, and is the White or Euphratic race. The second creation is the river Hiddekel, corresponding to the second seal of the revelation of St. John, and is the Red or Heddekelic race. The third creation is the river Gihon, corresponding to the third seal, and is the Black or Gihonic race. The fourth river is Pison, corresponding to the fourth seal of the revelation of St. John, and is the Pale or Pisonic race, the race of the present day. By the vison of St. John, the first four seals typify the four creations of men; and these have an aggregate existence of about thirty-three thousand five hundred years, from which is derived the minimum length of the sixth day of creation—a period somewhat over twenty-five thousand years.;'

On the First Promise, he says: "The commandment for the overthrow of evil bears with it the commandment for the restoration and rebuilding of the fabric thrown down by the wiles of the serpent. This great fabric is Jerusalem, typified as the river of Eden with its four heads. The commandment for the rebuilding of the great city Jerusalem is given forth in the decree that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head.

On the interview between Abram and Melchizedek, we have: "With these verses commences the grandest epoch of all our known or imagined history in which Melchizedek bears the Seed to Abram. In the previous chapter the near approach of the coming of the Seed was indicated; the promise having been given to Abraham and to his Seed, therefore during the lifetime of Abram must this promise be fulfilled, and in accordance with it Melchizedek brought forth bread and wine. This bread was the Seed, the bread which came down from heaven, the bread of life, the Seed, the Son to whom was given the land forever. Abraham partook of this bread and wine, and Melchizedek blessed him and said, 'Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth.' The Bread has now become the Seed of Abraham, and to Abram and his Seed are given all things; for Melchizedek calls him 'possessor of heaven and earth.' The Messiah has now made his advent."

We pass over and open at the beginning of the Song of Solomon, v. 1: "According to the interpretation of these pages, the daughters of Jerusalem are the representatives of the four creations of man. The great river of Eden is typical of Jerusalem, and this stream, which was parted from thence into four heads, becomes the daughters of Jerusalem. Hence the Song of Solomon, like Ps. 45, relates to the four great ages or customs of man."

But we have no room for further display of these feats of exegetical ingenuity and originality. If our readers are desirous of more, they can find them anywhere in the full pages of the volume itself.

Young Folks' Ideas. A story by Uncle Lawrence, Author of "Young Folks Whys and Wherefores," etc. pp. 243. 1885.

To those who were so fortunate as to get for their children the "Whys and Wherefores" it will be enough to say that here is another work by the same author, aiming at the same object, namely to convey important instruction on subjects of common science in an attractive and delightful form. Our juveniles will derive from a volume of this character more knowledge of practical scientific and industrial matters than from the study of many weeks in the stiff and dry methods of the average text-book. Very interesting colloquial discussions are presented on gold from the mine to the mint, bread from the field to its appearance on the table, the manufacture of glass, paper, iron, steel, copper, wool and silk, linen and cotton goods, etc., etc. The volume is profusely and beautifully illustrated.

The author does not claim originality for this work but credits much of its literary and scientific substance as well as many of its illustrations to a French source. The two scenes from a dining room in which there is a conspicuous display of wine, and of little children having their glasses filled with it, is a little too Frenchy for the temperance sentiment of this country. So is the chapter on "Grapes and Wine Making," where the little ones show great familiarity with the taste of wine, drinking to one's

health, etc. Many will regard this as a serious blemish to an otherwise useful and healthy book.

The Story of the Resurrection of Christ Told Once More. With Remarks upon the Character of Christ, and the Historical Claims of the Four Gospels. By Wiliam H. Furness, D. D. 1885. pp. 151.

The peculiarity of the story of the Resurrection as here told is that it is all adjusted to the opinion that the 'angel' seen by the women at the sepulchre was no other than Jesus Himself. This idea came to the author's mind as a suggestion in reading the account more than fifty years ago, and he here develops the view and endeavors to show its correctness. Dr. Furness admits that this was not at all the understanding of the matter by the Evangelists in writing their accounts of the event. But he has no hesitation in saying that they were mistaken; and this volume is written to prove it. The *näivté* of the discussion is inimitable, as the author goes on to show, over against the statements of all four of the Evangelists, what were the real facts in the case. But he has thoroughly adopted the theory that the Gospels are simply human history, abounding in misconceptions and errors. But as the Evangelists were thoroughly honest men, and have told the story of Jesus' life and acts as they were impressed by them, we are to read the real history "between the lines" of their account. This plan, followed by so many, of rejecting the lines, to read between them what the writers ought to have reported, but did not, enables every man to make his own gospel. The trouble is that it generally results in making "another gospel" than the apostles preached.

The Story of the Resurrection is followed by a running discussion of the character of Christ and the claims of the four Gospels. He presents a beautiful picture of Christ as a mere man—maintaining that "while He differed from other men greatly, the difference was not in kind, but in degree. He was no otherwise than all men are." But not many will be satisfied to take this merely human Christ, pictured to us from "between the lines," and in *contradiction* of the lines of those whom Providence chose to "bear witness of Him."

The Divine Law as to Wines. Established by the Testimony of Sages, Physicians and Legislators against the use of Fermented and Intoxicating Wines, Confirmed by Egyptian, Greek, and Roman Methods of Preparing Unfermented Wines for Festal, Medicinal and Sacramental Uses. By. Dr. G. W. Samson, Former President of Columbian University, Washington, D. C. 1885. pp. 613.

Dr. Samson's work, which is here republished with supplemental matter, has been for some time before the public. Like every work that proposes explanations, or views other than the traditional ones on any important subject, it has been received with different feelings and been made the subject of some very bitter criticisms. These criticisms have led to a first and second supplement, which make up nearly half of the present

volume, and which have been meant to fortify the positions originally taken with further testimonies and arguments.

An immense amount of matter is here brought together on the question of unfermented wine and the character of the wines spoken of in the Bible. As with the earlier portions of the book, so with respect to the supplements, some errors have been pointed out in Dr. Samson's quotations—enough to impair full confidence in their accuracy. At the same time much of his argument has not been satisfactorily refuted by his opponents in the discussion. The question of the existence and use of unfermented wine is a pure question of fact, and ought to be discussed in free and candid spirit. It is not a point where dogmatism should find place. One of the first things that ought to be looked on as settled in the present work of temperance reform, is that this question of Bible wines is not at all the vital point. The reform needs and has the earnest, whole-souled coöperation of men who hold differing views on that point—all agreeing that the liquor curse of our age and land ought to be abolished. That should be enough for coöperation, and the cause should not be weakened and retarded by bitter disputes about ancient wines. It is eminently unwise when those who hold to the view that some of the wines mentioned in the Bible were unintoxicating break the harmony of the temperance work by denunciation of those who think otherwise. And just as unwise, it certainly is, to denounce and sneer at this investigation as to the fact in question. Often enough it has been shown that exegesis and facts furnish a better Biblical interpretation, Many of us remember what wonderful views were gotten from the Bible before the exegetical atmosphere of our country was cleared by the abolition of slavery. May not the drinking usages of Christendom have left some prejudices that still affect the exegetical mind on this point? At any rate, this, like every other question, should be left open to free and candid investigation, in quiet confidence in the truth, while all unite for the overthrow of the liquor curse by every available method for its repression and destruction. Dr. Samson's book will be found, even by those who reject his theory of wines, to contain an immense collection of impressive testimony, showing reasons for earnest temperance work.

Our Young Folk's Josephus. The Antiquities of the Jews and the Jewish Wars, of Flavius Josephus. Simplified by William Shepard. Illustrated. 1884. pp. 478.

This simplification of the Josephus has been well executed, and will open to the young the substantial information of that great History. The natural simplicity of the style in the usual full English translation has evidently facilitated this condensation and adaptation, without necessitating any very great change of the style. The volume is beautifully gotten up by the enterprising publishers, with good illustrations—except that the child Moses in the bulrushes is a remarkably mature looking boy for

his age—making the reading of Josephus a real delight to the young. It will doubtless have, as it certainly deserves, an extensive circulation.

The Gospel in the Stars; or Primeval Astronomy. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D., LL. D. New and Enlarged Edition. pp. 521. 1885.

We gave this book an extended notice when it first appeared, several years ago. A new edition has been issued, with a supplement devoted mainly to replies to criticisms on the original work and to further explanations, arguments, etc. Widely as we differ from Dr. Seiss as to his conclusions, we give him the large credit that is due him for his familiarity with astronomical literature, his ingenious analogical reasoning, and his attractive style of writing. It is a readable book, notwithstanding the fanciful conclusions drawn from overstrained analogy.

HARPER AND BROTHERS, FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK.

Universal History. The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks. By Leopold Von Ranke. Edited by G. W. Prothero, Fellow and Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. 1885. pp. 507.

It would be superfluous to commend any of the histories this well-known author has given to the public. His "History of the Roman and German People" and that of "The Popes," have taken their place as high standard works. The volume before us is a part of Von Ranke's latest work—a Universal History. This Universal History is written with the view, beginning at the remotest period at which reliable historical data appear, to present the progress of the race, not as a mere collection of national histories in disregard of the general connection of things, but especially as nations are linked together under the connections that develop them and determine their destinies. "My point of view throughout," he says in the Preface, "has been the following: In the course of ages the human race has won for itself a sort of heirloom in the material and social advance which it has made, but still more in its religious development. One portion of this heritage, the most precious jewel of the whole, consists of those immortal works of genius in poetry and literature, in science and art, which, while modified by the local conditions under which they were produced, yet represent what is common to all mankind. With this possession are inseparably combined the memories of events, of ancient institutions, and of great men who have passed away. One generation hands on this tradition to another, and it may from time to time be revived and recalled to the minds of men." This History, in the German edition, already extends to about the end of the sixth century of our era, occupying altogether a space equal to four volumes similar to the one here given to the public in English. The author intends to complete the work by bringing it down to our own day, and when so finished will probably form some six or seven such volumes. This volume, as indicated in the title, covers "the oldest historical group of nations and the Greeks, pre-

senting ancient Egypt, Israel, Tyre and Assur, the Medo-Persian Kingdom, ancient Hellas, the encounter between the Greeks and the Persian Empire, the Athenian Democracy and its Leaders, the Antagonism and Growth of Religious Ideas in Greek literature, the relation of Persia and Greece during the first half of the 4th century B. C., the Universal Monarchy of Makedonia, Origin of the Græco-Makedonian Kingdoms, with a glance at Carthage and Syracuse.

In view of the high character and importance of this work it is sincerely to be hoped that the encouragement given the reception of this first volume, will be such as to enable the enterprising publishers to see their way clear to give it all to the American English-reading public.

The Voyage of the "Vivian" to the North Pole and Beyond, by Thomas W. Knox, author of "The Boy Travelers in the East," "The Young Nimrods," etc. Illustrated. pp. 297. 1885.

The contents of this volume will prove to the young for whom it is intended as captivating as the title. In describing the adventures of two youths in the open Polar Sea Mr. Knox manages to impart stores of information on geography, natural history and arctic exploration, beguiling as well as instructing the youthful mind. He has gathered rich material from the famous arctic expeditions, and by his striking narratives and profuse illustrations he gives one a good idea of polar seas, icebergs, glaciers, volcanoes, auroral lights, villages of snow, whale fisheries, reindeers, sledgedogs, grizzly bears, seals and arctic wolves, with an occasional scene of peril and heroic adventure interspersed to kindle the imagination. Give your boys books of this character and they will be in no danger of contracting the depraved appetite for vicious dime novels.

Nature's Serial Story, by Edward P. Roe, author of "Barriers Burned Away," "A Young Girl's Wooing," etc., etc. Illustrated by W. Hamilton Gibson and F. Dielman. pp. 430. 1885.

To most of our readers it is sufficient to say that this is the same serial which they have recently read in *Harper's Monthly* and which a number have pronounced the most charming romance of the season. It is now brought out in very attractive binding, printed on stiff calendered paper, making in its contents and execution a superb holiday present. Picturesque scenery, natural history and the ingenuous life and simple love of the country, make a delightful combination, even without the engraver's art, but the author's creations and descriptions form only half the beauty and charm of the volume. The artist vies with him in the delineations of nature, and the success with which he has embodied the spirit of nature in visible forms is such as to raise the question whether the illustrations were executed for the story or the story composed as an ideal chain to string together a series of Mr. Gibson's unrivalled illustrations. The touch of genius is revealed alike in pen and pencil. Appreciation of the beautiful world that surrounds us, knowledge of its birds, fruits and flowers, admi-

ration of exalted personal attributes and love of the purity and sweetness of home-life are the fruitage sure to result in any ordinary mind from the study of these captivating pages.

The Adventures of Prince Lazybones, and other stories, by Mrs. W. J. Hays, author of "Princess Idleways," etc. Illustrated. pp. 1885.

Beautiful tales from the realm of enchantment, introducing the reader to faries, elves and ogres, and conducting him through shady groves, along crystal lakes and rippling streams, into blooming gardens and lovely palaces, among the music of birds, the soft splashing of the waves on the shore and the dripping of fountains. As life in these days grows very soon sadly real and very stern it is well to let our bright innocents now and then peer into the fairy realms and nurture the scenes of an ideal world.

FUNK & WAGNALLS, NEW YORK.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts, being Extracts Covering a Comprehensive Circle of Religious and Allied Topics. Edited by Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, M. A., Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M. A., Rev. Charles Neil, M. A., with an Introduction by Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D. D., Dean of Chester. Vols. I. and II. pp. 539, 501.

The above gives a very inadequate impression of the value of this comprehensive and excellent work. A better idea can be obtained from the table of contents, and yet even this will come far short of what it really is. The first volume treats of the following: Section I., "Christian Evidences," covering 288 pages, double column; II., "Titles of the Holy Spirit," 53 pages; III., "The Beatitudes," 29 pages; IV., "The Lord's Prayer," 120 pages; V., "Man and His Traits of Character," 42 pages. The second volume has the following: Section I., "Man's Nature and Constitution," 218 pages; II., "The Laws by Which Man is Conditioned," 28 pages; III., "The Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia," 48 pages; IV., "The Seven Savings on the Cross," 112 pages; "Virtues including Excellences" (First Part), 92 pages.

The extracts on these subjects are gathered from the "best available sources, of all ages and all schools of thought, with suggestive and seminal headings, and homiletical and illuminative framework: the whole arranged upon a scientific basis." There are also valuable comparative tables and elaborate indexes—alphabetical, topical, textual and scriptural. No difficulty is found in turning to any point one may wish to examine.

When it is remembered that these are only two volumes of the seven that will compose the whole work, it will be seen how comprehensive it will be. Thousands of volumes have been laid under contribution for material, and thus in comparatively small compass one will have a whole library well arranged on the important subjects treated. The Church Fathers, the Puritans, scientific and classical books and magazines, biographical and historical works, theology and philosophy—all are made to bear tribute by the laborious and painstaking editors and their co-workers.

It is a monument of careful labor and discriminating judgment, and will prove an invaluable work of reference. The remaining volumes will be issued, each after an interval of three months.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-book to the Gospel of Matthew. By Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, Th. D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. Translated from the Sixth Edition of the German by Rev. Peter Christie. The translation revised and edited by Frederick Crombie, D. D., Professor of Biblical Criticism, St. Andrews, and William Stewart, D. D., Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow. With a preface and supplementary notes to the American Edition by George R. Crooks, D. D., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary Madison N. J. pp. 539. 1884.

The praise of Meyer's exegetical work has not been stinted in this journal. The more we consult his interpretations of the sacred text the more confirmed is our high appreciation of his genius as an expositor. We have just made a study of the "Sermon on the Mount" with the aid of DeWette, Tholuck, Olshausen and others, and we feel willing to part with all other aids accessible to us before we shall give up Meyer. For actual light on an obscure passage no other compares with him. Yet we cannot recommend his work, as we see some others doing, without any qualification. First of all, only earnest and thoroughly educated students of the Scriptures will find in him a true helper. Those who use commentaries as lazy or imbecile collegians employ translations of the classics, and those who go to their commentaries for practical reflections and spiritual exhortations, need not consult our author. Let them keep to Barnes, Matthew Henry or Adam Clarke.

Again, in his views of the origin, inspiration and credibility of the record Meyer is thoroughly rationalistic, and his Isagogics will prove very ensnaring to such as are not familiar with and thoroughly fortified in this department of Biblical science.

While the determination of the truth of the record is a very different thing from the interpretation of the record as it stands, and while Meyer's extraordinary capacity is found in the latter sphere, his errors and false assumptions affecting inspiration, sometimes seriously prejudice his interpretations. His expositions are sometimes made to bolster his loose position in the former domain—and that in a way that is simply preposterous.

For instance, Matthew and Mark both record the angel's ministry to our Lord on the occasion of his temptation in the wilderness. They describe the fact with the identical terms: *ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.* What possible pretext, then, can there be for holding that with Matthew these words, used in the very same connection, mean one thing, with Mark another. Yet on the passage in Matthew the author says of *διακόνειν ministered* to him: "The remark of Bengel is correct 'without doubt even as then there was need, sc. *food being brought.*'"

On the same words in Mark he says: "There is no occasion at all, from the connection in Mark, to understand this of the ministering *with food*, as in Matthew; nor does the expression presuppose the representation of Matthew. On the contrary we must simply abide by the view that, according to Mark, is meant *the help which gives protection against Satan and the wild beasts.*" To allow the two Evangelists entire agreement, when they even describe the same scene with the same terms, might conflict with one's assumptions about their errors of memory, their imperfect information and the unhistorical character of Matthew. Hence the Scriptures must be wrested. Their plainest utterances must be made to square with unproved and untenable hypotheses. We prefer to believe that both wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and hence understand them to have used language in the same sense when employed in the same connection. Any other theory degrades the holy task of the expositor to exegetical juggling. The American editor has in his Preface done some good service in counteracting some of these dangerous assumptions and opinions of the great exegete, thereby giving them a very valuable feature over the Clark's edition which contain Meyers exclusively.

Stories in Rhyme for Holiday Time. By Edward Jewitt Wheeler. Illustrated by Walter Satterlee. Quarto. pp. 102. 1884.

Such is the demand for these holiday Juvenile gems that the publishers of the most solid theological and scientific works join in offering their contributions to this popular species of literature. These stories will prove interesting to the young, and the rhymes in which they are set are not without merit. Those who have not forgotten John Gilpin's famous ride will be much amused by the story of his modern counterpart, a lad who made for himself a bicycle to be run by a huge spring and who in his first and only ride created quite a sensation as

> "He sped through the town and was soon out of sight,
> Unable to stop and in terrible fright."

Pastoral Theology. By James M. Hoppin, D. D., Professor of the History of Art, and late of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology in Yale College. 1884. pp. 595.

Prof. Hoppin unquestionably possessed a genuine vocation for the work he has performed in the writing of this volume. The book itself is the evidence of it. There was a real need—almost an aching void—calling for a work on this great branch of the minister's function. The literature in the English tongue on this part of Practical Theology has been meagre indeed—except in incidental and passing discussions. But there has been a growing impression that in proportion to the interest and discussion in matters of doctrine, there has been too little attention given to the question how the ministry can best do its *work* among the people in the way of personal effort, in connection with the official proclamation of the gospel. Too often the ministry becomes simply a preaching ministry, delivering,

faithfully it may be, the gospel message to those who come to hear, but a pastoral ministry no further than, on summons, visiting the sick, burying the dead, and a few other official acts as they may be called for. Although Prof. Hoppin does not restrict his discussion to the distinctly pastoral function as supplementary to the pulpit labors, but views the pastor in the broad character of the Christian Minister, yet his book is well adapted to magnify the importance of his extra pulpit life and work. His whole office is sought to be brought under the power of a great consecration, aglow with zeal and effort for the spiritual welfare of men.

The Professor lays out the general order: "Our method will be, from the discussion of the office itself, and its foundations in nature and Scripture, or the absolute view of the subject, to pass on to the actual embodiment of the ministerial office in the fit personal instrument; and from that to discuss the pastor's general relations to society and the world around him; and then advancing from this step, to come to his more special, profound, and enduring work in the care of souls, the realm of spirit, the service of the Church of God, and the extension of Christ's eternal kingdom. As to Church polity, and especially as to the constitution of the ministry, the author, as might be expected, is congregationalist. The terms ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος are understood to be used as convertible terms, designating the same office. Only a few leading principles of Church organization are made essential. "While a regular and permanent office of the Christian ministry was divinely instituted, and its fundamental principles were laid down for all time, yet its outward historical form was left in great measure to be decided upon and shaped by the wisdom of the Church, according to the pressure of circumstances." The discussion of the Pastor as a Man, lays stress especially upon his spiritual qualifications, while intellectual, scientific and moral culture are properly insisted on. In considering the Pastor in his relations to Public Worship, Prof. Hoppin is led to speak of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. He places high practical value on these two sacraments, and holds them to more than empty signs, expressing views which are quite in advance of the Zwinglian teaching. His views, however, fail to reach the fullness of the Lutheran conception. Under the Care of Souls, in the narrower sense, attention is called to the peculiar qualifications that fit the minister for this part of his service, pastoral visiting, care of the sick and afflicted, adaptation to the needs of various classes, and the general subject of revivals of religion. In the last division, the Pastor's Relation to the Church, in addition to a discussion of the conditions of Church-membership, and the need of discipline in certain cases, Prof. Hoppin lays stress upon tne Christian nurture of the young, holding that the baptized children of the Church should grow up as "believing disciples," under Christ's renewing and saving grace. Catechisation is commended, and the Sunday-school, —the latter not allowed to be independent, but maintained as belonging to the "essential organization and working system of the church."

Dr. Hoppin's style is fresh, clear and strong. His long experience from his work as a professor has given him a great wealth of material, and his handling of it is marked by independence and freshness. He has given a volume that must rank among the very best on this important subject and which must stimulate interest and prove very helpful in the direction of the pastoral function. Not only theological students, but ministers in the midst of the active duties of their sacred calling, will be greatly profited, not only by its many valuable suggestions, but by the earnest glowing spirit that breathes through it.

We feel obliged to take exception, however, to the author's representation of Luther's attitude toward the Christian Sabbath—or rather, perhaps to the incorrect impression which his representation is likely to make. This impression is likely to be that Luther asserted an abrogation of *all* the Old Testament Sabbatic law—leaving no divine obligation for it from the earlier dispensation for the Christian life. But Luther's view, as well as the view of the early Lutheran theologians, recognized the Sabbatic law of one sacred rest-day in seven from the creation, and maintained that the only ceremonial and temporary element in the third commandment was the specification of the *seventh* day as the time on which the sabbath should be observed by the Jews. This distinctively *Jewish* designation, Luther maintained, has ceased, the apostles having *transferred* the Sabbath to Sunday. So the early Lutheran theologians taught that the Sabbath, in its generic principle of one day in every seven as holy, is of divine and perpetual obligation and "was made for man"—not for the Jews only. Dr. Hoppin seems himself to hold this view, though his statement of it might be more explicit.

Hindu Philosophy. Popularly Explained. The Orthodox Systems. By Ram Chandra Bose, A. M., of Lucknow, India, Author of "Brahmoism," etc. pp. 420. 1884.

It is a great satisfaction to have an exposition of the Hindu philosophy from one who has a native and direct acquaintance with it, and in every way competent to understand and unfold its intricacies and mysteries. Such a one is the author of this book. He is a very learned and high caste Hindu who has been converted to Christianity. As a master in the philosophy of his own country, he speaks with authority. He has done excellent service in an earlier work on Brahmoism, in which he traces the rise and progress of the Brahmo Somaj, the religious association and reform with which the late Keshub Chunder Sen mainly has made us familiar. In the present volume he takes up the original Hindu philosophy and traces it through its various phases of development as far as regards orthodox forms of the system. He begins with the sources of this philosophy, or the teaching of the Major and Minor Upanishads; and treats successively of the Age of the Hindu Philosophy; The Sankhya Philosophy or the Hindu theory of evolution; the Yoga Philosophy, or Hindu asceti-

cism; Nyaya Philosophy, or Hindu logic, and so on, closing with a contrast between Hindu and Christian Philosophy.

The feature of special value in this exposition is its constant and copious use of quotations of the original Hindu writings. This greatly aids readers, who cannot examine the immense and difficult literature of the subject, in getting an intelligent conception of the system and its special teachings on particular points,

The author presents the Hindu system as, from the earliest sources, a thorough Pantheism, not belonging simply to the philosophical few, but made the common faith and sentiment of the entire people. It is a hoary system, that has thoroughly permeated the thought and life of India. In these pages, with their apposite extracts from the sources, we see the laborious struggle of the Hindu mind, to penetrate the mystery of the world and the origin and first-principle of things. And we see the failure. One of the effects of reading this exposition is to make Christian thinkers feel the unspeakable superiority of the account of things given in the Bible—the immense chasm by which these Hindu philosophies and cosmogonies at their best, are separated from the majestic, clear, and rational view of the origin and relation of things in the Christian Scriptures.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

For Sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The Reality of Faith. By Newman Smyth, Author of "Old Faith in New Light," "Orthodox Theology of To-day," etc, pp. 315. 1884.

Dr. Smyth, by his bold and vigorous assertion of what is called "new theology," has opened for himself a wide door of hearing whenever he speaks. The present tendencies in New England congregationalism are enlarging his audience. On account of the force and suggestiveness of his writings, moreover, he has many readers among those who utterly reject his theological methods and tendencies. The volume before us is a collection of sermons taken from those which he has preached to his congregation during the last two years. The object, therefore, has not been to construct any complete or closed system of divinity. The aim has been a practical one. The discourses, nevertheless, are moulded after the so-called "advanced views," and are meant to develop their bearings on personal faith and Christian living. The fundamental conception under which all the twenty sermons given are unified is that which Dr. Smyth has taken for the title of the volume, the Reality of Faith—the fact of a revelation of God in Jesus Christ and the certainty and power of a divine life for men in Him.

Apart from the special theology of the book, with various features of which we cannot sympathize, the sermons are of high ability, full of originality, rich suggestions and quickening thought. They are generally short, direct and clear, with no tameness or dullness about them. The only damaging quality that marks them in general grows out of the questioning temperament and habit of Dr. Smyth's mind. In his seeming as-

sumption that criticism is compelling a re-adjustment of the fundamental ideas of historical Christianity, his method of defense, so full of reminders of the Church's supposed mistakes, tends unnecessarily to unsettle men and to sow doubt in the hearts of those whom he aims to strengthen. Whatever may be said about the right of every interrogation point which can be raised to stand up before our pulpits, it is probably not the wisest or best way for the preacher to take all the interrogation points of his own speculative doubting, though now turned into faith, into the sacred desk.

The Lost Found, and the Wanderer Welcomed. By William M. Taylor, D. D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York. 1884. pp. 170.

This small volume is made up of discourses on the parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Prodigal Son. The aim throughout is the practical one which fits the true idea of the Christian pulpit. The discussions are marked by the earnestness, vigor, and rich spiritual force, that are the well-known features of the eminent author's thought. They are fresh, suggestive, and in general quickening to Christian principles and spiritual life.

We must dissent, however, from Dr. Taylor's method of pressing incidental parts of the parables into spiritual meaning. Parables usually have one distinct object, and it is time to abandon the absurd method of spiritualizing the incidental elements into spiritual lessons apart from that object. Dr. Taylor himself says that these three parables were "designed to rebuke the cold-hearted and self-righteous exclusiveness of the Scribes and Pharisees, and to show that in despising Jesus for receiving sinners and eating with them, they were out of harmony with Him who rejoiced over one sinner that repenteth." Their purpose was to show God's desire to recover the lost and the joy that should be felt in their recovery. And yet, after the parables have served this purpose, throwing God's desire and joy into rebuking contrast with the wrong temper of the Pharisees, Dr. Taylor is not satisfied without proceeding to spiritualize to the utmost the various qualities of the sheep and the coin. The coin, for example, is said to "depict the man who has fallen so low as to have lost the stamp of his Creator." This may seem ingenious, but it is a pure conceit, interpreted into the meaning of the parable. The idea of losing and recovering the divine image in man is utterly apart from the aim of the parable—as the idea of losing and restoring the impression on a coin is not at all expressed or even implied. This straining the particulars of the parables, to find hidden spiritual meanings, is a vicious method of exegesis and to be bravely avoided. Whatever good lessons we get out of Scripture in this way, by first interpreting our own suggestions into it, will never pay for the injury the method does in weakening respect in thoughtful men for pulpit interpretation. Nothing else than the perverting and misguiding influence of this method, in trying to find an intended particular reference

in the elder son, can account for Dr. Taylor's terms, in common with many other writers, in making an odious comparison of that son with the prodigal. Instead of making the parable turn on the duty of joy over the return of the prodigal, it is used to commend a course of life that goes down and around by the way of the swineherds above remaining a true son, though not without fault, in his father's service. "Even in his wanderings and sins," says Dr. Taylor, "the younger son was more lovable than he, his industry and sobriety notwithstanding." Surely this is not the highest ethical teaching—nor the safest in view of the readiness of thousands of the young to break out of their place in the Church and their Father's service where their birth and baptism place them, to "sow their wild oats." And how ill it accords with the place and assurance which the father, while tenderly correcting his want of joy at the recovery of the wanderer, gave to the elder son: "Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine."

Biographical Essays. By F. Max Müller, K. M., Member of the French Institute. 1884. pp. 282.

The biographical Sketches, making up this volume, are of Rammohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayananda Sarasvati, Bunyiu Nanjio, Kenjiu Kasawara, Julius Mohl, and Charles Kingsley. The first, Rammohun Roy, was a religious reformer of India, who aimed at a restoration of the ancient religion of his country, antagonizing the idolatry that had superseded its earlier theism and laboring to suppress the rite of suttee, and who died in England in 1833. The second, Keshub Chunder Sen, a devoted follower as well as successor of the first in the effort of reform in the religion of India, whose death occurred early last year, has been in various ways made known to us in this country. The third, Dayananda Sarasvati, was the founder of the Arya-Samaj, one of the most influential of the modern sects of India. Bunyiu Nanjio is a young Buddhist priest from Japan, who having spent several years as a student at Oxford, and having received there the degree of A. M. *honoris causa*, has returned to his own country. Kenjiu Kasawara was also a young Buddhist priest, a fellow-student with Bunyiu Nanjio, that has died since his return to Japan. Julius Mohl is known to scholars by his labors as an orientalist while a professor of Persian at the College de France, Paris. where he died in 1876. These sketches, for the preparation of which no man was more competent than the author, are full of interest to such as desire to understand the style and tendencies of thought outside of Christianity. The paper on Charles Kingley is a review of *The Letters and Memories of Kingsley* by his wife, and is a sympathetic tribute to this prominent and graceful English writer.

The Reality of Religion. By Henry J. Vandyke, Jr., D. D., Pastor of the Brick Church, New York. pp. 146. 1884.

This small volume is shaped in the mold of evangelical Christianity. It takes the Bible as indeed the word of God, revealing in Jesus Christ a full answer and supply to the religious nature and needs of the race. The teaching of the Scriptures is not diluted into a weak sentimentality, either as to the state of human nature or the necessary consequences of continued sin. The supernatural character of revelation and of the remedy for sin is obscured by no concessions to theologies which urge "another gospel" than that which the apostles preached.

Dr. Vandyke finds the starting point for these chapters in the fact of man's religious nature, its deep cravings and inextinguishable sense of need of God—the truth so well put by Augustine: "O God, thou has made us for thyself, and our heart is restless till it finds rest in thee." Under the head of "A real Religion necessary," "The Living God," "The Living Soul," "The Living Word," "The Living Sacrifice," and "The Living Christ," he shows how truly the great demand of our nature finds its right supply and life in the gospel. These views of truth, clear, positive, and strong, are tonic to the mind and heart and inspiration to the Christian life.

The Ancient Empires of the East. By A. H. Sayce, Deputy-Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford, Honorary LL. D., Dublin. pp. 301. 1884.

This work, which was written to accompany the first three books of Herodotus, has been called for by the rapid discoveries in the oriental world opening fuller and better view than was before had of the true history of the ancient East. Much in the earlier accounts of Egypt, Assyria and Chaldea needs to be modified, and the part played by the Hittite race calls for recognition. The author's aim has been to make the needed revision of these histories and put them in harmony with the latest and fullest knowledge, especially that supplied by the monuments which those ancient civilizations have left to us. Many of the details given are here published for the first time, and most of them out of the author's own investigation or acquaintance.

Prof. Sayce is quite severe on Herodotus. He believes that the new information thoroughly unsettles the trustworthiness of this so-called 'Father of History': "Even the most stiff-necked opponents of Eastern learning have been forced to admit that the authority of Herodotus as an historian of the Orient is but small, though in spite of this admission, they still not unfrequently make use of his unsupported assertions, or even oppose them to the revelations of the native records. Nevertheless, part of the accusation brought against him by ancient writers has been confessedly substantiated; the early history of the East, based on his version of it, has needed to be re-written." Prof. Sayce goes on to show that Herodotus was not only mistaken, but dishonest—pretending to write from first-hand

knowledge, when he was actually only reporting second-hand information. Herodotus, however, in his judgment, is not without value, though unreliable for the great facts of history. "If we cannot extract oriental history from his pages, we can extract from them what is quite as valuable, since we cannot find it elsewhere. He has given us a collection of delightful folk-tales, which constitute almost the only record we have of the folk-lore of the eastern Mediterranean in the fifth century before our era." The conclusion is added: "We are thus compelled to turn from the great writers of Greece and Rome as from unsafe guides. The literary value of their works can never be depreciated, and for Western history their authority is supreme. But the Orientalist can never again go to them for instruction and argument with the faith of former generations; living witnesses, as it were, have started out of the grave of centuries to convict them of error and deceit."

Students of history will desire to read anew the story of these Eastern peoples, in the new light in which it is here traced.

The Native Religions of Mexico and Peru. By Albert Reville, D. D., Professor of the Science of Religions at the College de France. Translated by Philip H. Wicksteed, M. A. (The Hibbert Lectures, 1884). pp. 223.

This is another contribution to the comparative study of religions, which has been so zealously pursued during the last several decades. The study is one of very great importance and deserves to be prosecuted with even still intenser earnestness. For it cannot fail to make more abundantly manifest the fundamentally religious constitution of humanity, and thus also the necessary existence of the great Being whom all religions are feeling after. We cannot but think, however, that there is a fault in the method of much of this study—the fault of starting out on the assumption that *all* religions, including the Christian, are equally human and equally divine, except in the degree in which evolving humanity in different conditions has, of its own powers, made discovery of God. Whether or not God has supernaturally revealed Himself is, apparently, adversely prejudged; and so supernaturalism is at once often sweepingly ruled out, and the whole domain of religion is handed over to the place of a natural science. This method can hardly be vindicated, as it is sometimes claimed, as the truly scientific method; for while the scientific method requires a consideration of all the facts involved, this at once shuts its eyes to all the great historical facts and features on which it is claimed to stand outside of the category of merely natural religions. This method has, apparently at least, shaped Prof. Reville's discussion. He is moreover lacking in some other qualities necessary to inspire confidence in his conclusions—notably that of careful judgment and cautious generalization. With his capacity for drawing inferences and his facile logic, he can reach any conclusion he may fancy. As an illustration, among many that might be mentioned,

of his easy way, we may instance his conclusion from the traces of the sacrifice of human victims found everywhere in connection with idolatry, "that cannibalism was once universal to our race."

Nevertheless, this outline view and explanation of the religions of Mexico and Peru, is not only interesting, but serves to remind the reader how the religious instinct, left without revelation, shows everywhere some common tendencies. The author, in his concluding statements, is indeed eloquent in his exaltation of the sacred power of the religious side of humanity, but the religion glorified is apparently only natural religion. Indeed, if the Hibbert Lectureship is ever to answer its design of directly promoting the *Christian* faith, it will be necessary to call into its service a different class of lecturers from those who, however eminent, have heretofore been called to fill it.

A Criticism of the Critical Philosophy. By James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., D. L., President of Princeton College, Author of "Intuitions of the Mind," "Laws of Discursive Thought," "Emotions," etc.

This brief monogram is the seventh of the "Philosophic Series," and is one of the best. The errors of Kant's philosophical system have been so widely circulated, and used as if they were the whole of his contribution to metaphysical thought, that a brief discussion like this is needed, to give a truer conception of his aggregate teaching, pointing out his evident mistakes and giving a just estimate of his work.

THOMAS WHITTAKER, NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Alone with God. Studies and Meditations of a Sick Room. By the Rev. Joseph Cross, D. D., LL. D., Author of "Evangel," "Knight Banneret," "Coals from the Altar," "Pauline Charity," "Edens of Italy," etc. pp. 324. 1884.

Dr. Cross, in adding another to the volumes that have lately been so rapidly appearing from his pen, has, to some extent, entered a different field of writing. We have here, not sermons, but short popular discussions of leading theistic and Christian truths, mingled with glowing devotional meditations. They are the product of a season of cessation from the active work of the ministry, on account of impaired health—the expression of an earnest, strong mind and a devout heart on leading themes of truth and personal experience. The first part of the book consists of studies concerning God, recalling some of the evidences of His existence, His manifestation in conscience and the cosmos, and that He may be known. The second part recalls some of the precious characteristics of Christ. The last part opens various views of practical duty in the Christian life. While the volume presents nothing very new or very remarkakle, it is pervaded by such an earnest piety and is so full of the great truths of the gospel, that it deserves to be heartily welcomed.

We hardly expected, however, to see Dr. Cross yield to the claim of in-

spiration or divine authority for the mythology of the signs of the Zodiac and the figures of other starry constellations. But he gives one section of meditation to Christ as "Symbolized by Agnarius." He has read Dr. Seiss, and really believes that "The story told in the New Testament is told also in the frescoing of the sky; and these magnificent pictures hung out in heaven, to be known and read of all men, are but the divine fore-showing of our world's redemption."

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., CHICAGO.

Words; Their Use and Abuse. By William Mathews, LL. D., Author of "Getting on in the World," "Oratory and Orators," etc. New Edition from New Plates. Revised and Greatly Enlarged. pp. 494.

We commended this volume years ago, when it first appeared, and we now repeat that commendation with pleasure. In its revised and enlarged form it has been made better than the excellent thing it was before. To anyone wishing to use the English language well, it will prove a valuable help. Its own delightful style of composition and the excellence of the printer's work added to the merit of its contents make it an exceedingly attractive and desirable book.

PAMPHLETS.

The Law of Marriage and Divorce by Rev. Wm. Hull. Reprinted from the QUARTERLY, Oct. 1884.

Minutes of the 64th Convention of the Tennessee Synod, held near Mt. Jackson, Va., Sept. 27 to Oct. 2, 1884.

Stall's Lutheran Year-Book for 1885. By Sylvanus Stall, A. M., Lancaster, Pa. pp. 194.

The Lutheran Almanac and Year-Book for 1885. Lutheran Publication Society, No. 42 North Ninth St., Philadelphia.

Church Almanac, 1885. Lutheran Book Store, No. 117 North Sixth St., Philadelphia.

Der Lutherische Kalender, 1885. Brobst, Diehl & Co., Allentown, Pa.

Der Lutherische Kirchen-Kalender, 1885. German Publication House, 448 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago.

☞BOOKS received too late for notice in this number:

FROM D. APPLETON & COMPANY, NEW YORK.

The Historical Reference Book, Comprising a Chronological Table of Universal History, a Chronological Dictionary of Universal History, a Biographical Dictionary. By Louis Heilprin. pp. 569.

A Naturalist's Rambles About Home. By Charles C. Abbot. pp. 485.

FROM HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO., BOSTON.

Lamps and Paths. By Theodore T. Munger, Author of "On the Threshold." pp. 231.

FROM FUNK AND WAGNALLS, NEW YORK.

The Theocratic Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus, the Christ, as Covenanted in the Old Testament, and Presented in the New Testament. By Rev. Geo. N. H. Peters, A. M., in Three Volumes.

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

APRIL, 1885.

ARTICLE I.

CHRISTIAN CERTITUDE.

By PROF. SAMUEL SPRECHER, D. D., LL. D., Springfield, Ohio.

You might as well ask the Christian to doubt the reality of the natural environment by which he has natural life, as to require him to doubt the reality of the spiritual environment through which he has his spiritual life. He recognizes a realism in Christianity, a living Saviour, present with his Church and dealing personally with men in the work of their salvation. He experiences the power of the resurrection of Christ, and regards him as coming into actual contact with us in the exercise and manifestation of his saving power. The certitude in his faith rests not upon a mere ideal conception, nor is it the result of mere inference and reflection, but it is the spiritual perception of a reality, the objective validity of which is as certain to his consciousness as is that of the material objects which he perceives. It is not an abstract conception merely but an actual intuition of reality made possible by an actual divine impression. Certitude in religion, as in nature, begins not in science, but in experience. There is real knowledge in the one case as in the other, but in neither case is it scientific knowledge which is first. Certitude comes in the order, not of science but of experience—of an experience the validity of

which does not depend upon the results of an unbelieving criticism or a skeptical science. This certitude is inseparable from experimental faith—from the faith wrought in the obedient subject of Christendom by the objective power of Christianity as a living reality in actual contact with men. Christ has thus produced a living faith in the minds of men—a testifying church in the world. Through his word and sacraments he comes into actual contact with the souls that cease to resist his grace, producing in them the assurance of his power to save them.

In the profoundest repose of soul and the firmest certitude of faith, he enters upon the discussion of the ideas resulting from this belief. The intellectual element involved in it is inseparable from "these strokes of reality" made upon us by the power of Christianity. As the outer world "impinges itself upon us," and thus gives experience of reality and assurance of faith; so in Christendom divine and spiritual things impress themselves upon the souls of men. And in the latter as in the former the intuition of reality may be ascertained to be perfectly consistent with the highest rational activity, and to be fully corroborated by the best conceptions of the universe of being. It may be seen that it is involved in the true principles of thought, and that if we reject this idea we must abandon all belief in the practicability of attaining the true good of our souls, that we cannot think satisfactorily without it, that science confirms the declaration of religion that, if we know divine realities at all, they must first have come in contact with us; that it is "through God that we know God." True religious experience results from real contact with him in his revelation of himself to man, and true rational thought proceeds from mental laws of which he is the author. When we once have this idea we can show that the belief of it includes the enjoyment of the Highest Good, and that the rejection of it leads to the abandonment of the most precious hopes—to the subjection of the mind to all the gloom and debasement of an atheistic pessimism.

The Christian idea is not an inference but an intuition, not the result of a mere subjective operation, not merely the effect of a reaction in thought upon ourselves, but of a reaction upon

an objective reality which acts upon us. It is an insight of the reason inseparable from experience under divine revelation, and as it is attained through an ethico-religious process involving feeling under volition as well as thought, its certainty is not produced by any mere intellectual action, and consequently it is independent of all mere intellectual criticism of the historical proof of Christianity, and of all merely speculative examinations of the rational foundations of knowledge. It has been correctly said, "that the senses must precede the logical discursive thinking, not simply as sensation, but as the feeling associated with it, as the actual contact of our existence with things —as a direct perception of the object in its deepest point, as an intuition of the divine manifesting itself therein. The *sensus communis* is the universal feeling of life. The substance of it is derived *in concreto* from the two great books of the revelation of God which are really written for the sensus communis, that is, from nature and the natural life of man, as the scene in which the omniscient wisdom operates, and from the Holy Scriptures. There is in men an irrepressible feeling of invisible powers which animate nature, there is also a secret yea and amen in us. Wisdom utters her voice and calls loudly even by the institutions of society which God secretly governs, as he does the languages of nations. * * In the New Testament living operations proceed out of the Spirit. They have a miraculous power and an indescribable beauty, not only, when possible, to represent life, but to kindle in the hearts of others a similar susceptibility." Another, truthfully, says: "We are not satisfied simply with our own inference that there must be a God; we believe not in an inferential Deity, but in the living God. We find ourselves personally present in the omnipresence of God. We want a philosophy, not of our inferences up towards God, but of God's impression of his own being upon our being, and his revelation of himself in the life of man." "Soul-contact with God is something more and better than inferential belief in a God, and it imparts reality to our human idea of God. Our belief in God arising from personal contact with God's being is thus regarded as the reaction of our minds upon the Divine Reality which encompasses us, and is always acting in divers

ways upon us." * * "Knowledge must be received and developed according to the capacity and mode of existence of the percipient being, but in all cases, however limited and finite may be our percipient capacity for the impression upon us of things, knowledge has its source and ground in the real relation of the percipient being to the being and system of beings in which it exists and by which it is acted upon. This beginning of knowledge in the felt contact with things is generally admitted by the defenders of theism in their view of our knowledge of the external world. It is the doctrine of real perception." * * "It is the theory of presentative intuition, and hence real knowledge, so far as the external world presented to our senses is concerned. Theism has to raise and answer the further question: Whether there is any corresponding presentation, and any consequent reality in our spiritual consciousness?" Whatever may be the doubts attending an affirmative answer to this question, so far as mere general revelation is concerned, it may be given without hesitancy in regard to the special revelation which has been given to us in Christianity. The latter is not a mere idea, but a living power always present to all within the bounds of Christendom and unto the end of the world. It is not a revelation merely of the laws of moral and spiritual being, but the manifestation of the realities themselves. It is not only more real than any manifestation in any general revelation of "the eternal power and Godhead," but more real in its personal application and impression than the special revelation in the Old Testament dispensation. "The law (the requirement of the divine life in the soul) came by Moses, but grace and truth (the realization of it) came by Jesus Christ." He is the real and adequate revelation of the divine life in humanity—the eternal life manifested in the forms of time—the centre of the reality and goodness of being—the unity of the eternal idea and the eternal reality revealed unto men. In him God is manifested in adequate human form, eternal truth has a historical movement, and the eternal reality has become a living power in the world. "The Eternal Word was made flesh and dwelt among men exhibiting his glory as the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. He could say with truth: "He that hath

seen me hath seen the Father; no man at any time hath seen God, but the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath revealed Him." "The things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, God hath revealed unto us by his Spirit." The Gospel came not unto men in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance." And this manifestation of truth and grace, of the divine reality and love was not temporary and evanescent. It not only came, but it came to stay. It is present in the gift of the Spirit which is to abide with us forever. In Christ men have received all good gifts—"all things pertaining to life and godliness, and exceeding great and precious promises whereby we become partakers of the divine nature." He died, but he rose again. He went away but he came again unto us. He not only dwelt in humanity and with men at a past time, but "He abideth forever," a present, living Saviour in actual contact with men through his word and Spirit, and showing his power to save "to the uttermost all who come unto God through him." He has established a witnessing Church, and produced Inspired Scriptures, and as Luther has truthfully said, "Wherever his Gospel is, there will always be believers." He always has had, has now, and ever will have a believing people—a people professing his name, experiencing the reality of his present power to save, and proclaiming it to others by preaching his word and administering his sacraments. He is actually present, and really dealing with men through these instrumentalities, and by the influence of his Holy Spirit, he is calling them to Himself and saving them from sin and death. When men do not resist the impressions which he really makes upon them and yield themselves to his control and government, they have satisfactory experience of the reality of his presence and of his saving power. He is operating personally upon men and fully proving to the conscience that "if any man will do the will of the Father, he shall know of this doctrine whether it be of God."

As Christianity is a spiritual *reality*, as it is not merely a fact in the past but a present, living power, it does not, for the evidence of its certainty, depend upon the course of the examina-

tion of its historical proof or upon the results of the science of biblical criticism. And as it involves movements of the feelings and of the will as well as of the intellect—mental operations which are independent of all scientific apprehensions—it is beyond the reach of mere speculative determination. It is not dependent for the evidence of its certainty upon mere intellectual apprehensions; it has a source of certain knowledge independently of all scientific deductions—a basis of truth back of all mere intellectual demonstrations. The Christian's faith is not, in the first instance, the result of his reasoning upon observations which he has made, but of the reaction of his soul upon an objective reality operating upon him. The Christian idea is not first the effect of the mind operating upon itself, but of an intuition inseparable from the experience of impressions made upon him by divine realities. Christianity is neither mere history nor mere idea; it is both historical and ideal. It is both an objective historical fact and a subjective process. In it the divine idea, in living but adequate form, comes in contact with us producing a subjective experience of its objective validity, and consequently, a living faith—a faith resting not merely on examination of testimony or on scientific reasoning, but upon conscious knowledge of its object—upon an intuition involved necessarily in this experience. Thus Luther could say that he was as sure of the reality of Christ as he was of his own existence, and Calvin that he was as certain of the truth of Christianity as he was of the existence of the sun. And this Christian certitude they regarded as produced in the same way as that of self or that of the sun, that is, through actual impression. To this witness of the Spirit all the Reformers confidently appealed. It is a certitude which exists independently of all possible results of historical criticism on the one hand, and of all possible conclusions of speculative thought on the other. It is the declaration of a deep thinker that "the Christian man will say: 'I know him whom I have believed,' not the idea of him, or a proposition about him, but HIM." The Christian rests in calm repose, assured that his faith will, at last, be sustained by the best results of historical criticism and the most complete determinations of scientific research. Men do not first come to

Christ, but he first comes to them; they do not first find him, but he first finds them. He comes into actual contact with them. He first acts upon them through his word and Spirit, and then they react upon his impressions; and thus they come to him and find him—become conscious of his gracious presence. Hence he can say: "I am known of mine," and his followers can respond: "I know whom I have believed." Just as he is forced by the law of causality to assume the actual existence of the objects of sense though it is possible that his "ideas only correspond with and are not an absolutely equivalent image of their objects," so here he is obliged to assume the reality of the spiritual object though his idea may not be an absolutely equivalent image of it. He cannot prove to others the reality of this object of his spiritual perception any more than he can his intuitive cognition of the valid being apprehended through the senses. If in the latter case he can appeal to the common sense of men, he can, in the former, refer to the consciousness of the most earnest men and of the best portion of society with the assurance that a favorable response can be hindered only by the neglect or resistance of the impression which he consciously recognizes. And the fact that all are not so conscious of the reality of a supernatural environment in Christendom as they are of the natural surroundings of a physical world, may be accounted for by the consideration that men are acknowledged to be sinful, and consequently alienated from spiritual realities, and thus will naturally fail to react upon spiritual influence more frequently and generally than they do upon impressions of natural objects. Hence the Sacred Scriptures add to the declaration that "the fool hath said in his heart there is no God," the representation that "men are corrupt, that they have done abominable works, there is none that doeth good." They refer to "the glory of God" declared by "the heavens" and to the "eternal power and Godhead" manifested even in nature, as obscured only by moral stupidity; the depraved disposition of men, and not the absence of evidence, leading them to neglect the impressions of God's manifestations of himself; "so that they are without excuse." This source of skepticism is manifest in a letter of the great philosopher and poet, Goethe,

which has just been given to the public though he wrote it at the age of twenty-nine in answer to a communication informing him of the happy and hopeful death of a young friend. Fully sensible of the sincerity in this case of the profession of communion with God and the hope of eternal life, he says: "Although I do indeed personally incline more or less to the doctrine of Lucretius, and enclose all my pretensions within the circle of life, yet I am always very much rejoiced and refreshed, when I see that the all-material nature allows for more tender souls also more tender tones and chords, to sound quietly in the modulations of their harmonies, and affords to finite man in such divers ways a sympathy of the eternal and the infinite." Herein lies the secret of the personal insensibility to religion of even a Goethe and other great intellects. They are Epicureans, or at least in some form seek their good only in earthly things. Nature is to them the universal mother, the only source of good, they "enclose" their "pretensions within the circle of this life," and thus "the eyes of their understanding" are so "blinded" that they see not the glory of God either as "declared by the heavens" or as manifested in the face of Jesus Christ." They recognize only a difference in degrees of susceptibility for "the tones and chords" of nature between the cases of indifference to supernatural things, and the instances in which there is realized "in divers ways a sympathy of the eternal and the infinite." They regard our belief in the supernatural as the result of "tones and chords" merely of universal nature striking upon "finite man" instead of a "belief arising from personal contact with God's being," and thus to be regarded as the reaction of our minds upon the Divine Reality which encompasses us through the revelation of God in Christ Jesus. Every man fails to react properly upon all the impressions even of the sense. Thus we may be so absorbed in thought, or so insensible through enjoyment that we may be perfectly unconscious of the sounds of a clock distinctly striking the number of every hour of the day in our presence. So men in different callings are very differently affected by the objects and occurrences in the same environment, and men may by habit become entirely callous to whole classes of impressions to which others are perfectly sen-

sible. Attention to religious influences, as in all other cases of conscious experience, is indeed a condition necessary to a proper reaction of the soul upon them. But whenever proper attention is given to these operations they do produce a faith which has in it an element of real knowledge—an assurance of salvation which cannot be disturbed by questions of biblical criticism, difficulties of speculative philosophy, or negations of natural science. It is a certitude like the certainty which characterizes consciousness in all our real knowledge. It is the evidence not only of newness of heart, of holiness of life, of peace of conscience, but the actual illumination of the mind through divine light—the witness of the Holy Spirit to our spirit.

In created, finite life, fact must precede thought; reality must be before idea. There must be an impression made upon us and a reaction of our mind upon that impression, before we can have a positive idea of any reality. And this is the only way in which certainty of faith and assurance of salvation are attainable. As Christianity is not only past history, but present living agency, it produces not merely a belief and an idea concerning a past event, but a certain belief and idea of a present salvation; as it is a real fact the Christian's idea is not his own thought, attained first by a mere subjective speculative process of reasoning, but it is the result of a mental reaction upon an actual objective impression made upon us; and as the influence of Christianity is a supernatural power and produces a supernatural salvation, as it is the manifestation of the infinite personal excellence, the revelation of the absolute personal good, its appropriation involves both intellect and will in an ethico-religious process, a reciprocal action of the personal, intelligent Divine Will, and the personal intelligent human will—a real divine act and a real human reaction.

If men in Christendom, under the educating and training influence of the Church professing faith in Christ, are led by the impressions made through the divine word and Spirit to a divine faith in Christianity, and not merely to a human and historical belief, they have a faith, which however much it may, at times, be puzzled and grieved, will yet never be diminished

in its feeling of certitude by even the severest criticism of the historical documents of Christianty or the most searching examination of the foundations of the Christian Church. But if they have been led by this Christian authority and culture to a mere intellectual conception of the Saviour and to a mere historical belief in the facts of Christianity, and not to personal reaction upon the actual impressions of the necessity and suitableness of this Saviour to their wants, and to yield themselves to the saving power which He is exercising through his word and spirit; if they have not acceded to the claims of this divine revelation upon the conscience and heart, nor accepted the "repentance and forgiveness of sin"—the offers of renewal and peace which it makes, their mere intellectual apprehension of Christianity, their mere historical faith (being a dead faith) will sooner or later be staggered by historical doubts and philosophical skepticism.

Mere historical faith can never be carried beyond the bounds of probable evidence, even though it attain the highest probability. It can never reach true Christian certitude—the Christian's absolute confidence in Christ, and his absolute assurance of salvation in him. The great facts of biblical history will no doubt come safely out of every trial to which an unbelieving criticism may hold them, and pass unscathed through every ordeal to which the enemies of Christ may subject them in the future as they have in the past. But still historical faith can only have probable certainty, even though it have the highest probable evidence which history can give. The attempt to rest satisfied with it alone will always be liable to doubts inconsistent with full assurance of faith. The certitude of the Christian's faith does involve a historical element, but when the attempt is made—irrespective of the living self authenticating power of Christianity, irrespective of the peculiar nature of its contents and practical relations to the consciences and hearts of men—to enter upon the discussion of its history the result of scientific investigation may be doubt and skepticism. No mere historical testimony can produce that feeling of perfect certainty of truth which Christianity always requires—that inner assurance of faith which it always can bestow. This certainty of

faith comes only in connection with that ethico-religious process through which, under conditions and wants of mankind, the contents of Holy Writ find access and acceptance in the human soul. When men neglect this basis of the claims of faith, and attempt to make the divine authority of the sacred Scriptures purely a historical question—a question to be determined merely by intellectual research and historical criticism, independently of the self-evidencing power of the truths revealed in them, they may originate doubt as well as confirmation of their faith; at least, they will fail to attain true certitude. The historical, though an essential element of Christianity, is still not the whole Christian faith. It does not fully embrace the great object of Christianity, and has not in itself complete certitude; for the subject of such mere historical faith would be dependent upon, or would be obliged to wait for, certainty until the words of criticism were completely done. But Christian certitude is independent of this.

The same results follow from the effort to attain certitude of faith through a mere speculative process to apprehend and prove the truth of Christianity by mere speculative reasoning in the discursive understanding. Such efforts fail to apprehend the true Christian idea and to produce religious certainty. Christianity has indeed an ideal element, but it has also a historical element, and consequently, it must not be treated as merely ideal, any more than as merely historical. As it is not merely past history but present, living reality, so it is not merely an abstract idea, but real fact, an actual power. Its reality must be experienced in order to be clearly apprehended and fully expounded. Faith which is certain includes movements of feeling and acts of will as well as cognitions of intellect, impressions of feeling and acts of volition as well as movements of thought. As it involves the sense of duty, of moral obligation, of "the categorical imperative," not merely as a postulate of "the practical reason," as Kant would regard it, not a mere "moral order of the world or of the objectification of the regulative order of our own thoughts," as Fichte would make it, but the actual cognition of a personal moral governor, that union of idea and reality which gives real certainty to faith is to be apprehended

only in personal experience of the Gospel as "the power of God unto salvation." The certitude of faith is the result not of our own self-originated idea, but of an intuition connected inseparably with actual impressions made upon us by Christianity. Faith is a duty as well as a privilege; it has a moral as well as an intellectual aspect; it is a choice of the will, a feeling of the heart, a satisfaction of religious want, as well as an intelligent thought. As in other cases, so in this, a real object through actual contact with the mind produces the consciousness of its reality. God is envisaged in the consciousness through the reaction of conscience upon his claims. And as certainly as in the common consciousness through the external sense there is a reality corresponding to the inner state; as certainly as in the self-consciousness there is a real self which really manifests itself to the consciousness, so certainly is there in the contact of the great content of the Gospel with men, a real being asserting an indisputable claim, an imperative authority through the conscience. And faith in him, unless he be resisted, becomes, through an ethico-religious process necessarily involved. It becomes the highest duty as well as the greatest blessing. When Christianity proclaims the guilt and necessity of man and the divine retribution and grace of God in Christ, it establishes, through the reaction of conscience, the premonitions and longings of the soul, a claim to faith in its reality as certainly as do external objects through the corporeal senses. When this is not realized there must have been an inexcusable want of attention and a consequent indifference of the intellect, a perversion of the will, a hardening of the heart resulting in obtuseness to all just claims of moral reality. Whenever these facts are ignored, all mere philosophical discussion must consistently end and actually always has ended—when carried to its complete logical results—in some form of absolute idealism or absolute materialism which is atheistic. To the scientist who expects faith to be not only agreeable to the rational idea but to be produced by it, to the man who demands not only that faith shall be consistent with science but based upon it, and comprehended by it, such a fact as Christianity claims to be, will necessarily appear

to be inconceivable and impossible, and he must consequently reject it as absurd.

But divine revelation is self-evidencing. Saving truth is not discoverable, nor is it demonstrable by any process in mere abstract conceptions or speculative reasonings. It is self-authenticating. It makes men conscious of its reality by actual contact of the object with the subject. The certainty of the Christian's faith is not the result of an ideal, rational process merely, but of a real divine impression. It is not, in the first instance, an inference from a past history, nor a deduction from his own observations of things; nor is it the necessary postulate of his practical reason *merely*, but in addition to, and in connection with all these, is the intuition, the perception of the reality of the object of saving faith, made possible by divine revelation, and connected inseparably with the saving truth of the gospel, so that in his experience there is, for the Christian, practicable the consciousness of the union of the Saviour with him and of the bestowment upon him of eternal life.

Thus he finds himself in the midst of a physical universe of objects and their relations. He does not find it by any searching of his mind; it presents itself to his consciousness by acting upon him. It is not the mere reflection of his thought, not any deduction from an *a priori* conception, not an inference from any discursive reasoning. He immediately beholds it—intuitively perceives its objects. They have so acted upon his being that he has become conscious of their reality. They are a real environment and not the mere objectification of his thought, not simply objects of his affirmation. They exist not merely as he affirms their existence, but he affirms their reality because they really exist and reveal that existence to him. He may notice the correspondence of their relations to the laws of thought, but independently of all speculations or proofs favorable or unfavorable to the belief of their reality outside of the regulatives of the thinking mind, his consciousness is that things and their relations exist for him not because he affirms their reality, but that he affirms their existence because they actually do exist, and that he would not have this consciousness of their reality if they did not actually exist. And he knows that this

certainty of his has not been produced by arguments and that it cannot be destroyed by any reasoning against it. It results from actual contact of objects and their relations with us. The certainty of this faith is not shaken by any doubts of an objective agnosticism or by any difficulties of a subjective idealism, because it is the result of an actual perception.

So he finds himself in the midst of moral realities and their relations, in the midst of a moral universe and under moral law which he did not originate and which are not the result of his thought. He did not first find it by any searching for it; it manifests itself and throws its imperative claim over him; imposes its authority upon him, and makes him feel himself the subject of absolute moral obligation, possessed of an existence exalted because of moral capacity above all mere animal life, and capable of a blessedness different in kind and infinitely more excellent than any enjoyment of a mere world of sense. He is conscious of a moral worth and a spiritual destiny; and this necessary belief in the reality of the spiritual world is not a purely subjective thought without any positive cognition of real objective reality. It is not an abstract idea, but a spiritual perception. Though the problem involved in the conception of the possibility of the existence of free, moral responsible being may never be speculatively solved, the common consciousness is that it is real. It is not the mere subjective moral order of our being, but a real objective existence. God is not a mere postulate of the practical reason, his existence is not merely the affirmation of the human mind in view of its practical interests, as required by the possibility of unity of thought and connected moral action, but the belief in his existence results from his actual contact with us. His existence is an affirmation resulting not merely from a necessity of our thought, but we affirm his existence, because he really exists and manifests himself to the spiritual perception of man. The cognition of self involves the cognition of God. In the feeling of its absolute dependence he is recognized as the cause of its being, and in the sense of its spiritual freedom and its moral obligation and its high destination, he is felt to be the final cause, the sovereign good, the infinite end of its existence. This spiritual perception is insep-

arable from spiritual experience. In both the self-consciousness and the God-consciousness, there is a spiritual contact of subject and object, and consequently spiritual experience and together with this, a spiritual intuition of the reality of the object in its spiritual attributes and qualities. In self-knowledge the spirit has acted upon itself; in the cognition of God, he has acted upon the spirit. As the material world mirrors itself in the consciousness through the outer sense—through sensuous organs; as the self envisages itself in the consciousness through the moral nature—the inner-spiritual sense; so God mirrors himself in the consciousness through the religious nature—the religious susceptibility—the conscience—the capacity for the good. If man were not a fallen being, if men were not alienated from the life of God through sin, this spiritual perception would be universal. Now he produces it by the manifestations of his power and wisdom, his justice and grace in providence, but especially by personal union with humanity in the incarnation of the Son of God and by the word and spirit of the incarnate word.

The Gospel reveals a Saviour who is the author of eternal salvation, a living present Saviour who is a life-giver bringing life and immortality to light and enabling his followers to lay hold on eternal life. And just as the knowledge of sin against God and the necessity of a spiritual renewal and the absolute obligation to live for infinite moral perfection can be darkened; so the cognition of the good which is beyond the power of time, of the everlasting portion of the soul, can be obscured only by neglect and perverseness. This conscious union with him who is the eternal life is practicable and attainable for every sincere and earnest subject of Christendom. Likeness to God and immortality, can be known by experience to be the proper end of our being. Our existence will be felt to have a goal which transcends the sphere of the physical universe. The subject of moral law will recognize his life as reaching beyond all laws and forces of mere physical nature. His existence has an absolute worth and its end is infinite moral worthiness. In mere animal life the individual may perish while the species survives, but in human life the individual lives though the race should perish. The individual has his own peculiar ideal, and his own personal

goal. His end is not the development merely of the highest temporal life, but the highest attainment of his being in an eternal life. Union with God and with the individuals of whom his kingdom consists, is the end, and to the requirement of Jesus that we shall "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness" is inseparably attached the assurance that all other "things shall be added"—all other ends be attained. And there is a response in the moral nature which only a sinful perversity can suppress, and which, when obeyed, is attended by a certainty of truth which is independent of all scientific proofs and indestructible by any adverse speculations.

There can be no substitute for this which will long be satisfactory to the earnest mind. No sensuous pleasure, no intellectual attainments, no moral culture, can satisfy the entire nature of man, meet the premonitions of conscience, the longings of the soul, the yearnings of the heart. There is in man a thirst which can be slaked by no mere abstract principles of a moral life any more than by the sensuous enjoyment of an animal existence. "He that drinketh of this water shall thirst again." After all that these sources of satisfaction can afford there is still a thirst for the good, the only true portion—for God, for the living God. Only he that drinketh of the water which Christ gives, "shall never thirst," and he will be satisfied for "it shall be in him a well of water springing up unto eternal life." No mere natural object whether material or ideal can ever assert such a claim or give such a satisfaction, none can ever establish such authority or produce such certitude.

The sincere and earnest man, under the influence and effects which the Gospel has exerted upon men and produced in the human consciousness, will feel that he cannot with any true inner satisfaction dispense with Christianity, but that it is necessarily involved in the attainment of the great end of his being. He cannot satisfy himself with any substitute for the moral excellence and the spiritual blessedness which it offers and bestows. No achievement in intellectual culture, no advancement in general civilization, no attainments in fine art, no progress in science, no increase in wealth or power, or honor, or pleasure, can satisfy the claims of his ethical nature. No

improvement of his own life, no amelioration of the condition of society, can fulfill the behests of conscience or appease the cravings of the heart. Nothing but Christianity can sustain any enduring optimistic views of existence, any well-grounded hope of the attainment of the ends which men pursue or any true satisfaction in the things which they possess. This was realized in the ancient heathen world in which, as Ulhorn beautifully says: "The view of life as a whole became more and more pessimistic. Such tones were not unfamiliar to Greece even in its palmiest days. From Homer on, a low, yet distinct lamentation sounds through all its splendor, testifying to a misgiving that something was wanting, that the solution of the riddle of the world believed to have been found, could not be the right one. How Homer sighs over the frailty of men. They fade like leaves, no being is more miserable. Like shadows, says Pindar, like a dream says Æschylus, they pass away. Ever recurs the thought: it were best never to have been born; the next best to die early, and with profound sadness, Sophocles gives expression to this sentiment in the Œdipus et Colonus:

> 'Happiest beyond compare
> Never to taste of life;
> Happiest in order next,
> Being born, with quickest speed
> Thither again to turn
> From whence we came.'

"These tones became unmistakably stronger, and the lamentation louder and louder, the resignation greater. * * "Happiness was no longer the goal of Philosophy. Men despaired of attaining it. 'The aim of all Philosophy,' says Seneca,' is to despise life.' Here, too, Heathenism ended in barrenness and sheer despair, and at last the only comfort was that men are free to leave this miserable world by suicide." What was thus realized in the absence of Christianity is sooner or later experienced when men attempt to dispense with it or to find a substitute for it. Thus the noblest man among the modern skeptics, James Stuart Mill, fully confesses his utter dissatisfaction in life. It is said that the great natural scientist, Du Bois Raymond, at the close of his view of the evolution and destiny of the world comes to so sad, so hopeless a conclusion, that he supposes we

will ask what we shall do in the sense of this despondency, and he can only answer by telling us to bid farewell to all hope of satisfaction and make ourselves as insensible as possible to all craving for happiness by the most incessant labor, by the most ceaseless activity; he can only cry, "*work*, WORK, WORK." M. Renan, the most distinguished author in modern literary skepticism, is said in his youth to have enjoyed the blessedness in some degree of religious faith. What an impressive view does he give us of the sadness involved in the loss of this good when he says: "We are living on the perfume of an empty vase. Our children will have to live in the shadow of a shadow. Their children, I fear will have to subsist on something less." How deep must have been the gloom into which the brilliant Professor Clifford was brought by his professed atheism when he exclaimed: "We have seen the spring sun shine out of an empty heaven to light up a soulless earth; we have felt with utter loneliness that the great companion is dead." Skepticism must, in the end, lead to prevailing sadness and despair, as is being daily more and more manifested in the restless and despondent state of society—in the restlessness of the wealthy and the despondency of the poor in this age and country. Notwithstanding the progress of men in science and civilization the most hopeless views of life and being prevail, and all the greatest thinkers among the skeptics of the day are tending toward a dark and hopeless pessimism. And as no philosophy, science or art in civilized Christendom can be a satisfactory substitute for Christianity, so no form of religion outside of its bounds can make any such claim; for no heathen religion has ever afforded to its devotees the inner satisfaction and the deep repose, the present peace and the joyful hope which Christianity has enabled multitudes in every age and under all circumstances to enjoy.

Nor can the man who acts sincerely in his contact with the gospel say that Christian certitude is impracticable, that the subject of religious certainty transcends all human capacity, that God is unknowable, that no religious knowledge is attainable, and that intellectual difficulties necessarily produce such doubts as must destroy all grounds of certainty; for whatever

may be the difficulties of philosophical thought, the practical reason—the conscience—does recognize the supernatural. God has not left us to depend alone upon speculative apprehensions; he has revealed himself, has come into contact with man in Christ. "The categorical imperative" in us involves a knowledge of God. It is not a mere postulate, but a positive cognition. To the man who makes earnest work of the realities of life as it is affected by the influence of the Christian revelation, religion is not impossible, true certitude is not unattainable, real satisfaction not impracticable. None but a pure naturalist or down-right atheist, none but the man who ignores conscience, can say that religious realities are too high for us. The man who feels that he cannot follow skepticism to this—its legitimately logical—result, must conclude that in a system of things which has its source in a supernatural and conscious Author, that in a world of intelligence and design, every want implies a provision for its supply—as eyes imply a provision for light, lungs for air, stomachs for food; so the religious want implies a provision for its satisfaction. Now Christianity offers this provision, and proposes to bring men into possession of it by actual contact through means suitable to their nature and capacity. And such is the suitableness of this provision and such the adaptedness of these means that, in a question of such a practical character, the ethical element in our nature will, if duly heeded, prevent all mere philosophical doubts from hindering the certitude of faith.

Christianity comes to us with credible historical records. And even in this age of historical skepticism some of the most important of these books—notwithstanding the fierce fires of criticism to which they have all been subjected—have remained unscathed. These are sufficient to give us an authentic account of the great facts and the fundamental doctrines of the Saviour's life and teaching. They are sufficient to sustain unshaken a justifiable historical faith, a rational belief in the reality of these great facts; to show that the Church did not produce the Christ, but that Jesus of Nazareth who is the Christ produced the Church; that the idea of the Christ was not the result of the imagination of the early Church, but that the Church could only

have that idea because the life of Jesus was the reality which we have recorded in the New Testament, and that the Christian faith, the Christian idea, must have been the result of the actual facts and teachings of Jesus. A sufficient number of these books is acknowledged to be authentic by the greatest critics, even of the skeptical school, to make the Christian's certitude impregnable, to sustain, even in the midst of all the historical doubts which may be raised, the confident expectation that a true science of historical criticism will, in the great central fact of the person of Christ, see a light which shall explain, in due time all the difficulties in the other books of the Sacred History. The books acknowledged to be genuine contain a sufficient account of the great scheme of Christianity, and enables the believer, in the firm composure of his Christian peace, the abiding certitude of his faith, to await the day of the expulsion of all skeptical criticism and the dissipation of all false presuppositions against the credibility of the sacred history.

But Christian certitude is not destitute of all rational satisfaction. All skepticism, historical as well as philosophical, has arisen from false speculative deductions from the results of science. It is not from lack of historical evidence in the Sacred Scriptures, but from atheistic and pantheistic world-views, that modern skepticism has originated; and these naturalistic ideas of being and existence are so repugnant to the dictates of consciousness that the man who recognizes the reality of conscience, knows that they must be erroneous; and though he may not be able to expose their fallacy, he feels assured that in due time, the idea of God and the world revealed in the Bible, will be found to be in agreement with the best conclusions of science and philosophy. For though it does not claim to be demonstrable, it is still so consistent with reason, that the most complete apprehensions of it, will harmonize with the final results of all that is really attainable in science and philosophy. Though it does not pretend to fathom the mystery of being, it does give a solution so superior to that of all skeptical philosophy, that it will, under the imperishable influence of the practical principles of human nature, eventually displace and supersede it. For the former either ignores the problem or proposes a

solution which, to the common consciousness, is full of absurdity; while the latter gives an idea of God and the world which is so perfectly reasonable, and which so fully satisfies the mind and heart, that the man who has once apprehended it, desires nothing more, and feels that there is no room for any advance of thought beyond it, no possibility of any new discovery in regard to the real character of the relations and destiny of being. He intuitively cognizes the truth of this idea, and necessarily apprehends it as the highest and the best, and firmly believes that it cannot be overthrown or transcended, and that all true thoughts will, at last, be found to be only elements or illustrations of its reality.

Hence Christianity produces this certitude in the mind of its obedient subject in the midst of all historical doubts and of all philosophical skepticism. It is self-evidencing; it carries its own evidence with it to the mind and heart of the sincere and earnest man. As it is not a mere idea but a living reality, not merely a fact of the past but a present power, it impresses itself upon the conscientious man by its very nature. As it is not merely doctrine concerning divine truth, but the actual revelation of the truth itself; as it is the divine reality personally manifested by the living, present Saviour of men, it is not dependent upon the conclusions of any processes of reasoning in a discursive understanding, or upon the ever progressive movements of science. As it is not a mere inference from a past historical fact, but a living, present, abiding power operating on human nature, and becoming, wherever and whenever men yield to its impressions, a matter of experience in consciousness, it produces, in addition to the historical faith, in which there may be many doubts, an experimental faith which shuts out all further question of reality, and produces inner certitude of truth. It has historical faith, but it is not dependent upon the removal of all historical doubts, does not need, for the validity of its claim, to wait and see what historical criticism may accomplish. If Christianity like other religions were separable from the person of its founder, it might be obliged to rest entirely upon such grounds, might have to be proved, beyond all possible doubt, from historical evidence, might have to meet all claims of science

and philosophy, before it could produce living certainty in the soul. But Christ is not the mere founder of a religion. He is that religion itself. Christianity is inseparable from his person. He is the present, living reality in our religion. It is only because *he is*. It *is* not only because he *once was*, but because he *is now*. It *lives* only because he *lives*. It lives not only because he *once lived*, but because he *now lives*. It *will* be always only because *he will ever* be—because "he was, and is, and is to come." Other religions might exist even if their founders were unknown, or after they had been forgotten, but Christianity is nothing without Christ. And as it is Christ himself in contact with men through his word and spirit, and is thus a living reality actually operating upon them, they may have actual experience of his saving power, a real consciousness of his gracious presence, and consequenty the knowledge which is inseparable from conscious experience, and this is certitude of faith.

When the writer, bidding farewell to his friends on leaving the Seminary for his first charge, that great man, Thaddeus Stevens, said to him: "Young man if I were going out to preach as you are, I would not try to *prove* the gospel, I would just try to *preach* it." The writer thought at the time that possibly this might be a sneer. But the experience of nearly half a century has taught him, that that astute mind more probably meant to express the great truth that the gospel does not need to be proved—that it is self-evidencing, proves itself; and that he meant just what Luther indicates when he declares that "where the gospel is preached there will be believers." The writer has become so deeply impressed with the truth and importance of the recognition of this self-authenticating power of Christianity that he would say, as the result of nearly fifty years of experience, to every young minister, do not be too much concerned about the fate of the gospel; it will take care of itself and maintain its existence. Don't spend your time and strength in finding proofs and erecting guarantees for the gospel; but *preach* it, preach it with personal certitude of its saving power and with perfect confidence in its efficacy, and you will not fail to lead many souls to faith in Christianity—to experience its power and to realize the certainty of its truth.

ARTICLE II.

GERMAN HYMNOLOGY BEFORE LUTHER.

By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D., Allegheny, Pa.

Poetry and its twin sister, music, are the most sublime and spiritual arts, and are much more akin to the genius of Christianity, and minister far more copiously to the purpose of devotion and edification than architecture, painting and sculpture. They employ word and tone, and can speak thereby more directly to the spirit than the plastic arts by stone and color and give more adequate expression to the whole wealth of the world of thought and feeling. In the Old Testament, as is well known, they were essential parts of divine worship; and so they have been in all ages and in almost all branches of the Christian Church. Of the various species of religious poetry, the hymn is the earliest and most important. It has a rich history in which the deepest experiences of Christian life are stored. But it attained full bloom in the Evangelical Church of the German and English tongue, where it, like the Bible, became for the first time truly the possession of the people, instead of being restricted to priest, or choir.*

The history of German hymnology in its strict sense, commences with the Reformation period; for although it is well known that the German race was very fond of singing,† yet the introduction of Christianity stifled the early literature of Germany, and the Latin language came to be that of the Church, the court and the law. Glancing at the condition of the Church in those days, we find that the priests and monks were not only the learned, but also the privileged singers of the Church. Congregational singing had been almost abandoned, and the hymns formed part of the liturgical service performed by the priests and canonical singers. The days when St. Augustine in his "Confessions," testified to the effect of the hymns and music

*Schaff, Church History, §245. †Tacitus, Annals II., 86, Germ. 2.

introduced into the Church of Milan by St. Ambrose, his spiritual father—"how do I weep in thy hymns and canticles, touched to the quick by the voices of thy sweet-attuned Church! The voices flowed into my ears and the truth distilled into my heart, whence the affections of my devotion overflowed and tears ran down, and happy was I therein," were fast gone by, and only here and there the people continued "the practice of uttering the response, *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison,* at certain intervals during the singing of the Latin hymns and psalms, which finally degenerated into a confused clamor of voices." To remedy this, soon after *Notker* (†1022), who originated the Latin sequence or prose, a few German rhymes were added to the *Kyrie eleison* from the last syllable of which these earliest German hymns were called *leisen* or *leiche.* The real employment of these *leisen* or *leiche* did not begin before the twelfth century, since they were not used in mass service, but were confined to popular festivals, pilgrimages and the like. The most ancient *leich* is one on St. Peter, dating from the beginning of the tenth century, which we give in Miss Winkworth's imitation:

ST. PETER.

Our dear Lord of grace hath given
To St. Peter power in heaven,
That he may uphold alway,
All who hope in him and say
Kyrie eleison!
Christe eleison!

Therefore must he stand before
The heavenly kingdom's mighty door;
There will he an entrance give
To those who shall be bid to live:
Kyrie eleison!
Christe eleison!

Let us to God's servant pray,
All, with loudest voice to-day,
That our souls which else were lost,
May dwell among the heavenly host.
Kyrie eleison!
Christe eleison!*

*Christian Singers of Germany (London 1869) p. 28. The original is found in Koch, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes* I., p. 174.

The eleventh century was a time of darkness, of which hardly any literary vestiges exist in German. During that time, and in the opening of the twelfth century, a transition was made from the Old to the Middle High German. In this language *Frau Ava* (†1127)—the first German authoress of whom we have any knowledge—wrote a "Life of Jesus." But during the next two centuries, viz: from 1100–1300 a wonderful change came over Germany. The Old High German had become a literary language chiefly through the efforts of the clergy, and its character was preëminently clerical. The crusades, commencing in the year 1060 put an end to the preponderance of the clerical element in the literature of Germany. The chivalrous emperors of the Hohenstaufen dynasty formed a new rallying point for all national sympathies, and the interest of the people was with the knight, not with the priest. Poetry changed hands, and the royal courts and castles offered a new and more genial home to the poets of Germany, than the monasteries of Fulda and St. Gall. Middle High German became the language of poetry, and very soon a whole large class of lyrical poets sprang up, who are known to us as the "minne-singers." In the church, too, the voice of native song was now heard. The German sequences "leisen" or "leichen," had now become the common property of the German people, and hymns in the vernacular were freely produced, among others, the oldest German Easter hymn, "*Christus ist erstanden,*" which we meet with in many various forms, and one for Whitsuntide, which have descended to the present day as the first verses of two of Luther's best known hymns:

"Christ the Lord is risen,
Out of Death's dark prison.
Let us all rejoice to-day,
Christ shall be our hope and stay:
Kyrie eleison
Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia!
Let us all rejoice to-day;
Christ shall be our hope and stay.
Kyrie eleison."

Or in other forms:

"Christ hath risen again,
Broken every chain."

or:

"Christ is risen again,
Out of all that pain."

And for Whitsuntide, "here singeth the whole church," as an old manuscript says:

"Now let us pray the Holy Ghost
For that true faith we need the most,
And that he may keep us when death shall come,
And from this ill world we travel home.
Kyrie eleison."*

These sequences were attributed to *Spervogel*, a writer of the twelfth century, the author of the following sequence, "the praise of God," commencing "*Wurze des waldes*," and which runs thus in English:

"All growth of the forest,
The deep-hidden gold,
All secret abysses,
Thine eye doth behold."

In thy hand all things lie,
All the hosts of the heavens
Cannot fill up the meed of Thy praises on high."†

Another of his hymns is a Christmas-hymn, "er ist gewaltic unde starc," given in the original by Wackernagel‡ and by Hoffmann von Fallersleben,§ and which runs thus in the English of Miss Winkworth, (l. c., p. 39.)

"He is full of power and might
Who was born on Christmas night,
The Holy Christ is He;
Praised of all things that be,
Save the devil, whose lothely pride
Brooked not once to bow the knee,
So must he in hell abide.

In that hell is mickle woe,
Well doth he who dwells there know:

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*The translation of these and the following sequences is taken from Miss Winkworth's *Christian Singers*, pp. 37, 38.

†The original is also found in Koch, l. c., p. 178.

‡*Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*, II., p. 41.

§*Geschichte des Deutschen Kirchenliedes*, p. 36 sq.

Shineth not the sun so bright,
Helpeth not the moon by night,
Not a star he there may see,
Foul is all that meets his sight,
Ah, how fain in heaven were he!

But in heaven there stands a home,
A golden way thereto doth come,
The pillars are of marble fair,
Set about with jewels rare,
That our Lord for it doth win;
But no man may enter there;
Save that he be pure from sin.

He who goeth to church full fain,
Pure from envy and from stain,
Gladsome life he well may have;
Him await beyond the grave,
Angel friends and blithsome morn,
Heavenly life so fair and brave;
Well for him that he was born!

Alas! that I have served so long
A lord that is both fell and strong;
Evil wage from him I win,
Ah, I rue me of my sin!
Holy Ghost, now succor me
Ere my woes in hell begin,
Break his bonds and set me free."

Several of the great Latin hymns were also translated into German at this time, and although their use in the church was more or less restricted, and was always regarded with suspicion by the more papal of the clergy, yet there were many occasions in life on which they were employed. So St. Francis of Asissi, in an address to his monks in the year 1221, says: "There is a certain country called Germany, wherein dwell Christians, and of a truth, very pious ones, who as you know often come as pilgrims into our land, with their long staves and great boots; and amid the most sultry heat and bathed in sweat, yet visit all the thresholds of the holy shrines, and sing hymns of praise to God and all his saints."

Experience teaches that the more a thing is forbidden the more it is liked, according to the old adage "*Nitimur in vetitum, semper cupimusque negata.*" This must be truly said of German

hymnology of our period. As we have stated already, the more papal of the clergy regarded with suspicion the singing of hymns in the vernacular. But this was all. The people favored this new kind of sacred poetry, and we may get an idea of the quantity of the poetry written from this time onward when we open Wackernagel's great collection of religious poetry—*Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*—especially the second volume, which, treating of the religious poetry prior to the Reformation, exhibits nearly 1500 specimens and the names of no less than eighty-five different poets, with many anonymous writers. Among the writers named we find not a few of the celebrated knightly minne-singers, as Hartmann von der Aue, Reinmar von Hagenau, Gottfried von Strassburg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Walther von der Vogelweide, and others. But the German sacred songs of this time, like the old Latin hymns, were confined to addressing the saints, and, above all, the Virgin Mary. "The former class is not very important, either as to number or to quality, but the *Marien Lieder*, and, in a minor degree, *Annen Lieder* (hymns to Mary and Anne) constitute a very large and well-known class among the poems of the ante-Reformation times in Germany. They form a sort of spiritual counterpart to the minne-songs or love-songs addressed to his earthly lady by the knight. It was easy to transfer the turn of expression and tone of thought from the earthly object to the heavenly one, and the degree to which this is done is to us very often startling. The honors and titles belonging to our Lord Jesus Christ are attributed to his mother; God is said to have created the world by her, and to have rested in her on the seventh day; she is said to have risen from the grave on the third day and ascended into heaven, she is addressed, not only as a persuasive mediator with her son, but as herself the chief source of mercy and help, especially in the hour of death, and at the day of judgment. By degrees, her mother is invested with some of her own attributes; for it is said, if Christ would obey his own mother, ought not she much more to obey hers? So a set of hymns to Anne sprang up, in which she is entreated to afford aid in death, and obtain pardon for the sinners from Christ and Mary, who will refuse her nothing." (*Christ. Singers*, pp. 96, 97). It is no wonder that in the

face of such extravagances, Wackernagel is constrained to say that "the existence of so many godless hymns addressed to the Virgin, and the saints, or teaching the whole doctrine of indulgences, is a perfectly irrefragable testimony to that degeneracy of the nation which rendered the Reformation necessary; the existence of so many breathing an unstained Christianity is a witness to the preservation of so much true religion as made the Reformation possible."*

The use of German hymns was taken up by the heretical sects that began to spring up under the persecuting influence of Rome. The German Flagellants, the Bohemians, the Waldenses, and the Mystics, who all encouraged the study of the Scriptures, of course favored the singing of hymns, and they contributed not a few sacred songs themselves to those already existing.

The most famous hymn writer of the Mystics was *John Tauler*, (1294–1361), styled the *Doctor sublimis et illuminatus.* But his as well as the other Mystics' hymns, of which we have yet about forty left, were rather more for the retired people of the country. But a greater influence was exercised by the spiritual songs of the *Flagellants.* Towards the end of the year 1260 and the beginning of the following year, public associations sprang up for the purpose of discipline, under the name of Flagellants. They came to Germany from Italy, where they had found many friends especially among the Guelphs, who associated themselves with them for political purposes. For a while they disappeared. Under the alarm of the plague of the following century, the Flagellants revived again. The plague reached Italy in 1347, and carried off throughout Europe millions of persons; 1,200,000 in Germany, where, in 1349, the Flagellants "arose afresh, with increased enthusiasm. They wandered through several provinces, whipping themselves, and propagating the most extravagant doctrines, namely, that flagellation was of equal virtue with the sacraments; that the forgiveness of all sins was to be obtained by it, exclusive of the merits of Christ; that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and

*L. c. II., Pref. p. 23.

that a new law, enjoining the baptism of blood, to be administered by whipping, was to be substituted in its place." The following is a description of the grand procession of the Flagellants, which took place in 1349, as given by *Fritzsche Closener*, a canon of Strassburg, who died in 1384, and a chronicler of that period. "In the same year, (1349), two hundred brethren of the scourge came to Strassburg. They marched into the town, two and two abreast, chanting a lamentation, and carrying banners and lighted candles, while, as they came into the town, the bells of the cathedral were tolled. When they entered a church, they first all kneeled down and chanted a hymn beginning thus:

For drink they gave to Jesu gall:
Here, fellow-sinners, let us fall * * *

Then, extending their arms, and making themselves so many likenesses of the cross, they fell all at once, with a loud clapping sound, flat on the pavement. After a little while, one of their singers commenced a hymn beginning with the lines:

"Now raise your hands to God, and cry
That this great death may pass us by.
Now raise your arms to God, and call
That he have mercy on us all."

Twice a day, early and late, they publicly scourged themselves with knotted cords, and this was their fashion of doing it: The bells of the cathedral were tolled as they marched two and two abreast out of the town into the open fields. There, having stripped themselves down to the waist, they lay down on the grass, so as to form a wide circle, and each brother, by his mode of lying down, confessed the chief sin of which he had been guilty. Thus one guilty of perjury lay on one side and raised his hand, with three fingers extended. * * Then at their master's bidding, they arose in succession, and some of their best singers sang a hymn beginning with the lines—

"Come hither all who would not dwell
For ever in the flames of hell!" * * *

And while they were singing, the brethren went round about in a ring and scourged their naked backs until the blood flowed freely from many of them. Then they fell again to the earth,

and remained lying there, with arms extended in the fashion of a cross, until the singing men began a hymn on the crucifixion:

"Maria stood, with anguish sighing
While on the cross her son was dying." * * *

Whereupon the flagellants arose, and repeated their scourging of themselves; and this was done again and again.† * * Clement VI. issued a bull against them (Oct. 20, 1349) in order to suppress them, but it is certainly a fact that the use of hymns in the vernacular became much more common from this time onward, no doubt partly from their being thus introduced into many places and parts hitherto unacquainted with them. Although the Latin language remained still in use in the Church, many ministers took pains to propagate among the people, hymns in the vernacular. Thus the Benedictine Herman or John, called the monk of *Salzburg* was called upon in the year 1366 by the Archbishop of Salzburg to translate Latin hymns and sequences into the vernacular. To this time also belongs the following hymn:

DU LENZE GUT, DES JARES TIURSTE QUARTE,

an Easter-hymn by *Conrad of Queinfurt.* He was a priest at Steinkirchen on-the-Queis, and died in 1382 at Lowenberg in Silesia. It is written quite in the style of the Minne-singers both in thought and the carefully varied metre, and is entitled the Spring (Wackernagel, II., p. 388, Fallersleben, p. 78sq.), which we give in the translation of Miss Winkworth (Christian Singers," p. 88).

Fair Spring, thou dearest season of the year,
Thou art brimful of sweet delights;
The creatures robbed of joy by winter drear
Thou dost repay for cold and gloomy nights.
I feel thy airs are soft and mild,
Thy winds are balmy and not wild,
O how unlike the wintry blast!
What frost had bound in fetters fast,

†Comp. Hoffmann v. Fallersleben, *das deutsche Kirchenlied*, etc., §7. *Lieder der geissler*, pp. 130 sq., and J. P. Lange's lecture *über die religiösen Geissler—und Tänzerzüge des Mittelalters*, in the Vorträge für das gebildete Publicum, 2d series, Elberfeld, 1862.

Now feels the prison-time gone by,
For 'tis unbound and free;
Whether it climb or swim or fly,
Whatever kind it be,
Whether of water, earth or sky,
'Tis happy now we see.
The sun smiles with his lovely rays,
And sing, dear little birds, sing out your Maker's praise!

So many joys hath Spring, but most of all
She hath one day above the rest,
That Christendom with one glad voice doth call
Of all bright days the first and best.
We hail thee, then, O chosen day.
With many a loud and gladsome lay,
Thou art the day that God hath made,
Well may our joy be now displayed!
Thou art the Pascha to the Greek,
And still we hear the Jew
Of thee as Passover doth speak,
And Latins know thee too
As Transitus, that crowns the Holy Week;
But thou, where'er is heard the German tongue
Art holy Easter-tide, when life from death hath sprung.

We hail thee, blessed day, we greet thee well,
We praise thee ever, we adore
The Christ who triumphed over death and hell,
Whose death slew Death for evermore.
O sweetest day, that saw'st thee rise,
Our Paschal Lamb, our Sacrifice,
Our brother who has won for us
A heritage most glorious!
Forest and foliage, corn and grass and flowers,
Would show their love to Thee!
The birds sing in the greening bowers,
Christ, they are praising Thee!
Thou wouldst not lack, had they our powers,
A song more worthy Thee!
For Thou art conqueror, O Christ to-day,
Who madest Death's great power itself give way.

* * * * *

So Christians triumph as your heart desires;
In chorus sweet and clear and strong,
Ye laymen in the church, ye priests in choirs
Answer each other in your song.

Sing, "Christ the Lord is risen again,
Christ hath broken every chain."
The year of jubilee He bringeth in,
True freedom for all faithful hearts to win;
So to His table go thou solemnly,
Where in His flesh and blood
The Paschal Lamb itself is offered thee—
The Lamb slain on the rood.
Praise the true Christ with happy hearts and free,
Praise Him, for He is good!
Thus, Spring, thou well may'st speak of joy to man,
Thou hast the Easter Day that ended Death's dark ban.

Another favorite song, or we might almost call it a ballad for Easter, that belongs to this period, was the one entitled: *die drei Marien* (the three Maries), which in part has been translated by Miss Winkworth, "*Christian Singers*" p. 85 sq.

In this century we also find a new kind of hymnology consisting of mixed Latin and German. The best known of these hymns, is the Christmas carol:

"IN DULCI JUBILO"

which has erroneously been attributed to Peter Dresdensis, who died in 1440 (Compare Hoffmann v. Fallersleben "in dulci jubilo," Hannover 1861). The following is a translation or imitation of this carol, which we subjoin from "Christian Singers" p. 94:

In dulci·jubilo	*In sweet joy*
Sing and shout all below!	
He for whom we're pining	
Lies *in praesepio*	*In a manger*
Like the sun is shining	
Matris in gremio	*In his mother's lap.*
Qui est A et O	*Who is Alpha and Omega*
Qui est A et O.	
O Jesu parvule,	*O infant Jesus*
How my heart longs for thee?	
Soothe the sad and ailing,	
O Puer optime,	*Child most excellent,*
With thy love unfailing!	
O Princeps gloriae	*O Prince of glory,*
Trahe me post Te	*Draw me after thee!*
Trahe me post Te!	

Mater et filia	*Mother and daughter*
O Mary, virgin aye,	
Hadst thou not gained for us	
Cœlorum gaudia	*The joys of heaven*
Death still had reigned o'er us	
Per nostra crimina	*For our sins*
Quanta gratia!	*How great the grace!*
Quanta gratia!	
Ubi sunt gaudia	*Where are those joys?*
Only there where alway	
Stand the angels singing	
Nova cantica	*New songs,*
Their sweet voices ringing	
In regis curia	*In the King's court.*
Would we were there to-day!	
Would we were there to-day!	

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, German hymnology developed itself more fully. At the head of the century stands *John Huss*, the Bohemian reformer. The Bohemians were converted from heathenism by two Greek monks, Methodius and Cyril; but the power of the Germans, coupled with the influence of the Roman see, secured their adhesion to the Latin Church. In the middle ages, however, a struggle took place between the vernacular and the Latin ritual. An application for leave to use the former was denied in a peremptory manner by Gregory XIII. Underlying the movement of which Huss (born July 6, 1369) was the principal author, was a national and a religious movement. In 1398 Huss was appointed a professor in the University of Prague. In 1401 he became dean of its theological faculty, and in 1402 its rector. At the same time he was pastor of the Bethlehem chapel at Prague, erected by John de Milheim (1391), in order to give the people an opportunity of hearing the gospel in their native tongue, and in this position he exerted great influence. From his pulpit he urged the necessity, that in all churches of Prague, divine service should be held in the vernacular, and for this purpose composed many hymns, which were adopted by the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, and, moreover, he carefully revised the old Bohemian version of the Bible, which had been translated as early as the thirteenth century. One of his hymns, "Jesus Christus nostra

salus," has be translated into German by Luther. The fate of Huss is known, and without going into any historical details, we would only state, that in 1467 the followers of Huss formed themselves into a separate and organized Church, known as that of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, one of the distinctive peculiarities of which was the free use of hymns and prayers in their mother tongue. Many such hymns were already in existence, and others were soon written, and in 1504 they were collected and published by their archbishop Lucas,—the *first example of a hymn-book composed of original compositions in the vernacular* to be found in any Western nation which had once owned the supremacy of Rome.

The example given by the Hussites in Bohemia could not be without any influence on Germany, especially in a time, when the cries for a reformation in the Church became louder and louder. The Latin hymn retained still its domain, but not exclusively. The ancient sequences "Leisen," or "Leiche" became now more and more common and at the highest festivals they were sung, even at the service of the mass itself. Besides new "Leisen," which were added to the old ones, already in use, a great number of new songs belong to this period. The so called "Volkslied" or popular song, which furnished "the type, that in Luther's hands, was refined and strengthened into the congregational hymn, which became so powerful an instrument in the spread of the Reformed religion." One of these popular songs is a Christmas carol, entitled "The Rose of Sharon," and which runs thus in Miss Winkwork's translation, (*Christian Singers*, p. 85):

ES IST EIN REIS ENTSPRUNGEN.

A spotless rose is blowing
Sprung from a tender root,
Of ancient seer foreshowing,
Of Jesse promised fruit.
The fairest bud unfolds to light
Amid the cold, cold Winter,
And in the dark midnight.

The Rose which I am singing,
Whereof Isaiah said,
Is from its sweet root springing

In Mary, Purest Maid;
For through our God's great love and might
The Blessed Babe she bare us
In a cold, cold winter's night.

The Easter and Whitsuntide sequences which were introduced in the previous period were now expanded into longer hymns, of which many variations are still preserved. One of the best is the old Easter hymn:

NU FREUE DICH LIEBE CHRISTENHEIT.

"Christ. Singers," p. 87.

Rejoice, dear Christendom, to-day,
For Christ hath overcome,
His bitter pains have passed away,
And empty stands his tomb.
Those bitter pains had been our lot,
If Christ for us had borne them not,
Great bliss hath risen on us to-day:
Alleluia.

O Easter Day, our voices ne'er,
Can praise the fittingly,
Since God, whose power all things declare,
Such glory puts on thee;
But let us keep thee as we can,
Angels to-day rejoice with man,
When rose that Sun so wondrous fair.
Alleluia.

O Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord,
We share thy joy to-day!
All those who hear and keep Thy Word
Are glad with Thee to-day!
All Christian people now rejoice,
With freshened hearts and gladsome voice,
Glory to Thee our Blessed Lord:
Alleluia.

Praise to the Father and the Son,
And to the Holy Ghost;
For all the sins that we have done.
To-day forgive us most;
And give us peace and unity,
From now to all eternity,
So sing we as the ages run:
Alleluia.

Of the men who did most for *the introduction of German hymns* into the Church and exercised their influence upon its development, only a few are known. These are *Peter Dresdensis*, who died in 1440 at Prague. Like Huss, with whom he was acquainted, and whose assistant he had been there, his efforts were to introduce hymns in the vernacular more freely into public worship, especially into the service of the mass.

Henry of Loufenberg, of whose early life nothing is known, became in 1437 a priest at Freiburg, and afterwards a monk in the convent of St. John in Strassburg, where he probably died about 1459. He was very active in transforming secular into religious song, in translating many of the great Latin hymns into German, such as the "ave maris stella," "agnoscat omne seculum," "puer natus in Bethlehem," "Deus creator omnium," "veni redemptor gentium," "a solis ortus cardine," etc. Wackernagel gives no less than 97 specimens of his compositions. Some it is true are very graceful and sweet, but most are prolix and fantastic. With regard to his hymns it seems, that though they have been liked in the religious world of his own day, they scarcely bear transplanting to ours. Miss Winkworth gives two specimens, one of which well deserves to be called not only one of the best of his age, but one of the loveliest sacred songs that has ever been written, and which is entitled "cradle song," (kindessegen):

ACH LIEBER HERRE JHESU CHRIST.

Ah Jesu Christ, my Lord most dear,
As Thou wast once an infant here,
So give this little child, I pray,
Thy grace and blessing day by day:
    Ah Jesu, Lord Divine,
    Guard me this babe of mine!

Since in Thy heavenly kingdom, Lord,
All things obey Thy lightest word,
Do Thou Thy mighty succour give,
And shield my child by morn and eve:
    Ah Jesu, Lord Divine,
    Guard Thou this babe of mine!

Thy watch let angels round it keep,
Where'er it be, awake, asleep;

Thy holy Cross now let it bear,
That it Thy Crown with saints may wear:
Ah Jesu, Lord Divine,
Guard Thou this babe of mine!

Now sleep, O sleep, my little child,
Jesus will be thy playmate mild;
Sweet dreams He sendeth thee, I trow,
That full of goodness thou may'st grow:
Ah Jesu, Lord Divine,
Guard Thou this babe of mine!

So He who hath all love and might,
Bids thee good-morrow and good-night.
Blest in His name thou daily art,
My child, thou darling of my heart:
Ah Jesu, Lord Divine,
Guard me this babe of mine!

The other runs thus:

ICH WOLT DAZ ICH DAHEIME WAER.

Winkworth's "Christian Singers," p. 92.

I would I were at last at home,
And all earth's trials overcome:
At home in that calm, happy place,
Where I shall see God face to face!

Then thither, Heart, for refuge flee,
Where angel-hosts are waiting thee,
If earth for thee be only gloom,
Thou wilt but get the sooner home.

At home is Life that never dies,
And perfect joy unmixed with sighs;
And perfect health, untouched by pain,
That perfect ever shall remain.

A thousand years are as a day,
For weariness hath there no sway.
Rise thither, heart and soul of mine,
And seek that blessedness divine.

The treasure that is stored not there
Will only bring the woe and care.
Thou hast no resting-place below,
To-day; to-morrow, thou may'st go.

Then since it may not other be,
From earth's deluding phantoms flee:

Repent thy sins, prepare for home,
To-morrow may the Voice say, Come.

Farewell, O world, now home I fare;
God guide all true hearts safely there!

Loufenberg also wrote and widely introduced the use of many hymns in mixed Latin and German, a kind of verse which was the favorite amusement of the monks, and which had acquired considerable popularity at his time.

Besides Peter Dresdensis and Henry von Loufenberg, we must also mention

JOHANN BÖSCHENSTEIN.

Johann Böschenstein was born at Esslingen, 1472. On account of his knowledge of the Hebrew language, which he taught at Ingolstadt in 1489, where Andreas Osiander attended his lectures, some believed him to be a converted Jew. From Augsburg, the duke Frederick the Wise called him in 1518 as professor of Hebrew and Greek to Wittenberg, from thence he went to Nuremberg, Heidelberg, Antwerp, and Zurich, and finally returned again to Augsburg, where he died after 1539. Besides his writings in prose, he also wrote some hymns, the best of which is his *da Jesus an dem Kreutze stund*, which he made in 1515, and which was sung before the Reformation in some churches, in the passion-week. In the translation of Jacobi (*Psalmodia Germanica*, I., 17), it runs thus:

When Christ hung on the cursed tree,
A bloody sacrifice for thee,
Of God and Men forsaken,
The seven words our Savior spoke,
Be ne'er lost nor mistaken.

The first bespeaks the depth of love,
In which he prayed to God above,
For his embittered nation.
Father forgive our ignorance,
For Thy Son's intercession.

The second was the great relief
He promised the repenting thief,
With an asseveration;
Lord let us see Thy paradise,
Soon after our translation.

The third was his domestic care,
Towards his mother in despair,
And to his well-beloved;
Provide, O Father, for our own,
When we are hence removed.

The fourth was, when he cried: I thirst!
Alas! for whom, but for the curst,
And all mankind's redemption;
Lord true repentance grant, we may
Obtain thy blest intention.

The fifth the Lord in anguish spoke:
Why hast thou God my soul forsook,
Nor wilt afford one favor,
Lord grant our soul in thy distress
May find a healing savor.

'Tis finished: was the following word,
By which our great and dying Lord,
Retriev'd our lost salvation:
Ye mourning sinners! all rejoice
To hear this declaration.

The seventh was: Father in thy hand
My soul and spirit I commend;
This be my last expression,
Lord Jesu! when thou call'st me hence,
Take me to thy possession.

Whoever pays a deep regard,
To these expressions of our Lord,
And mourns their sad occasion,
Will lay to everlasting life
A well approved foundation.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, we find also two or three different collections of German versions of Latin hymns and sequences, but of such inferior merit, that they quite lose the grandeur of the original.

We have thus sketched the history of German hymnolgy from its very beginning through all its different stages down to that eventful period of Church History—the Reformation—which marks the real era of German Hymnology. Hitherto singing and praying was the privilege only of monks and priests. But Luther changed the tune. The voice of the people, which during the preceding centuries could only be heard like the rolling

of distant thunder, now became articulate and distinct. Luther taught the German people how to sing and pray by giving them their Bible and Hymns, and how well he effected this, especially the latter, we have shown in our "Luther as a Hymnist." "Luther," says Prof. Max Müller, "was but lending words to the silent soul of suffering Germany, and no one should call himself a Protestant, who is not a Lutheran at the Diet of Worms, and able to say with him in the face of princes and prelates, 'Here I stand, I can do no otherwise; God help me, Amen.!'"

ARTICLE III.

THE SALVATION OF THE HEATHEN, AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

By Rev. J. Hawkins, D. D., Prosperity, S. C.

Orthodoxy, in the main, claims to believe that, as "there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus," *all* who die without a knowledge of and faith in that name must be inevitably lost; that the *heathen* are in this class of unbelievers, and therefore *all* the heathen who die without faith in Christ will be punished forever; and they refer to the Scriptures as their authority for this belief. So revolting to our better feelings is this view that to avoid it various schemes have been suggested, such as *universal salvation, annihilation, post mortem probation, etc.*

It is not strange that these devices have been concocted, for the orthodox view is, to say the least, a very severe one, and one that puts the character of that God, whom orthodoxy is recommending to the world, in a rather unfavorable light, both to sinners in Christian lands, and to the heathen themselves.

Our object here is not to advocate any one of these views; for they all have their difficulties. We believe, however, with all due deference to the learning, piety, and *authority* of the Church, that any one of them is preferable to the sweeping theory that makes God take pleasure in sending thousands of

his creatures annually into an endless hell, because they do not believe in a Christ of whom they have never heard.

We propose to discuss this subject; for if it is true, its acceptence imposes such an overwhelming obligation upon Christians, such an immense responsibility on the Church, that every man, woman, and child in the little Christendom we have in this great heathen world of ours, should at once "forsake father and mother, houses and lands," and go "to earth's remotest bounds" to tell a dying world the "old, old story of Jesus and his love." If true, then the Church is immensely guilty of dereliction of duty, and the great wonder of the age, the standing wonder of the world is, how God, that God who sees unnumbered millions thus thrust into hell, can bless, or even for a moment tolerate a Church so unfaithful and so unprofitable as we are.

It must be remembered, in order to take in the immensity of this great subject, that this world of ours is a *heathen world*, ever has been, still is, and, to all human appearances, must continue for generations to come to be such. A large majority of the human race, ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel, have been heathen. The Church of Christ, even now, after eighteen hundred years of grace, and of mission work, and of Bible distribution, is like the oases in the Great Desert or mere light houses on the great ocean of humanity. An innumerable company of heathen, a number beyond all computation have already gone the way of all the earth and are numbered with the dead, millions are annually dying, and unnumbered millions will follow, without the Gospel. At the present rate at which the Gospel is being carried to them and Christianity is spreading, and has spread abroad since Christ was on earth, it will take many generations yet to convert the world to Christianity. In view of these facts, to say that no one can enter heaven except a believer in the historic Christ would need the strongest, most positive, and most irrefragable proof to justify it. To do justice to God, to his Word, to the Church, and to the heathen, a better basis for such a doctrine must be sought—our views on the subject must be revolutionized.

A study of the history of doctrine regarding the salvability of the heathen is interesting and instructive, and proves that

almost any theory may grow by common consent until, because it is believed, it is finally incorporated into the body of doctrines, even of creeds.

Our early teachers, the Reformers and their early expounders, are very reticent in regard to the condition of the heathen, who die without the Gospel. It is a little surprising that our dogmaticians and theologians say so little on the subject. Better, however, a thousand times, remain forever silent than to express the opinion so boldly asserted in the Westminster Confession, chap. x, §4. "Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come to Christ, and therefore cannot be saved; *much less* can men, *not* professing the Christian religion, be saved in any other way whatever, *be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, and the laws of that religion they do possess; and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested.*" This is positive and sweeping, and leaves no ground for doubt, or room for modification. It is clear that no heathen shall ever stand before the throne beside a subscriber to the venerable Westminster Confession. But with Lutherans it is not so clear. There is ground left in the Augsburg Confession for cherishing a reasonable doubt and cultivating a charitable hope; and for this we thank our beloved reformers.

We stop here to say that some allowance must be made for the old writers and framers of the creeds. We are all liable to be influenced in our judgment, even of God and spiritual things, by our surroundings. These stern characters of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, like David and the Prophets, were reared and educated under a monarchical government. They lived under kings and rulers, at times when it was tacitly acknowledged that such rulers had a divine right to do as they pleased, and one chief idea of royalty was that of exercising authority in such a manner as to make it felt by the people. It was believed that kings should exercise their wills and gratify their wishes regardless of the will, wishes, or rights of the governed. They were looked upon as incapable of being

influenced by the fortunes or misfortunes of their subjects. And the king who exercised the most arbitrary and the most absolute power was the model ruler, as far as mere ruling was concerned; and to allow the circumstances or misfortunes of his people to relax or modify the *absoluteness* of his right to do as he pleased, was to surrender the chief attribute of sovereignty. Such were their views of earthly rulers, and these ideas in a measure they transferred to the Almighty Sovereign, and holding such ideas of sovereignty, they could easily justify the destruction of all the heathen for the mere good pleasure of God. Luther, with that clear discrimination and judgment for which he was distinguished, was the first to break the fetters of the absolute rights of sovereigns, civil and religious, with the liberty of the Gospel, and transfer the great principles of enlightened liberty to the government of God, and interpret his character, will and law according to this Gospel. But even Luther lived in the dawn of the day of liberty, and of correct rules of interpretation, as the sentiments above quoted from the Westminster Confession, and others which might be made abundantly show.

With these preliminary observations, we are prepared to discuss the subject of the salvation of the heathen. We remark:

I. A LARGE MAJORITY OF THE HEATHEN ARE SAVED AT DEATH.

1. By this view, we think, is sustained *the history of doctrine.* The Jews believed that all the world, except themselves, were under the curse of Almighty God. In this we know that they were mistaken. Nor can it anywhere be shown that they derived this idea from God. It was conceived in that narrow bigotry for which they were noted. The special honor which God conferred upon them, in preference to other nations, in making them the depository of the true religion, and the nationality from which the blessed Saviour was to descend, and hence the special objects of his care, blessing and providence, so inflated them with national pride and vanity, that they at last concluded that "the temple of the Lord were they, and all beside were dogs." Indeed they cherished this opinion to such an extent that they were accustomed to call all else "the accursed heathen," and looked upon them as only fit for fuel for

the fires of hell. Nowhere and on no occasion did God authorize them to entertain any such notion, but often rebuked it. The case of Melchizedek, of Rahab, of Job, of Naaman, of Nineveh, of the Syro-Phenician woman, of Cornelius, were all calculated to disabuse their minds in regard to this matter. Take the New Testament, in its history and doctrine, and you find no trace of this exclusive doctrine; but on the contrary God everywhere reveals the blessed fact that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." To these bigoted Jews, and through them to exclusive bigots everywhere, he says: "Say not within yourselves we have Abraham to our father, for God is able to raise up of these stones children unto Abraham." While these Jews were crying out *extra ecclesiam non dari salutem*, God was telling them of the existence of his Church at Salem, long before the Jews were a people, and before the Temple stood on the same spot; and Abraham was blessed of the greater while yet the Jewish nation was not born.

Neither Mohammed, nor the Greeks, nor Confucius, nor the early Christians ever adopted this exclusive theory in regard to the bestowment of salvation. It grew, like all other errors of even good men, originating in Jewish bigotry and self-righteousness, and culminating in Romish intolerance. It is hierarchical error incorporarting itself on false ideas of sovereignty held by the Church in the Middle Ages. We argue the salvability of the heathen

2. *From the nature of the atonement.* The atonement was doubtless *universal* in its design, it was for *all men, every man—for the world.* While it is one in its design, it may be twofold in its application, just as Christ is twofold in his revelation. We, Christians, have a revelation of the historic Christ, as he is made known in the Gospel, but may he not reveal himself in some other way to those who have not the Gospel? He has nowhere said that he cannot, or that he would not. He has informed us that to those who have the Gospel he will make no other revelation of himself, in this world or the next; but he has not said what he can do, or will do, in regard to the heathen. St. Paul speaks of him as the Redeemer of *creation.* Rom. 8 : 19

–24. There is a revelation of the atonement to those who enjoy this knowledge which we have; may there not be an atonement, the revelation of which has not been made? or may not it be one feature of the atonement that it can be applied where the revelation has not come? The creation that Paul speaks of as groaning and travailing in pain to be delivered, and the creature that is waiting for the redemption of the body, and that shall be *delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God*, cannot be, as commentators usually believe, animals, or inanimate matter, for neither they nor it will come into the *glorious liberty* of God's children. And may we not claim that the "creature" and the "children of God" mentioned here are one and the same? Not Christians, but the other sheep of Christ "which are not of this fold, which he will bring with him, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd."

But be this as it may, there is nothing in the atonement, or God's revelation of it, to prevent Christ from applying it to the heathen, but much to encourage us to hope that it will be so applied.

To say that Christ died for the world, that God desires the salvation of all men, and then to find in point of fact that never since Christ established his Church, has more than one-fiftieth, or one out of every one hundred of the human race been saved, is certainly very discouraging; and we may well ask whether Mr. Frothingham is not right after all, in saying Christianity is a failure. For, is not the proportion of unbelievers and disbelievers, according to population, almost as great now as it was in the first century?

We are not intimating that we have lost faith in Christianity, or that it is, or ever will be, a failure. If it should never do anything more for the world than it has done, it should still be considered a great success, for it need not convert the world in order to be a success. It is already a glorious illustration of the love, mercy, and grace of God, and of the power and glory of Redemption; but if in addition to the victories it has gained over sin and evil, the blessings it has conferred on mankind, it is ascertained that, while souls are being saved from death and hell in Christian lands, the atoning blood of Christ is redeem-

ing and saving millions of those who, through the indolence and neglect of the Christian Church, have never heard of Christ; that Christ, in his infinite power, and mercy, and grace, has been bestowing salvation on those whom we mourned as lost, how much more honored and blessed is his holy name!

The atonement, with its benefits, is available, we all believe, for irresponsible idiots, infants and so forth, in a Christian land, why not then for the same kind of irresponsible persons elsewhere? And are not all those who have not the Gospel irresponsible in a measure? They cannot be held responsible for not *exercising faith in Christ*, however guilty they may be in other respects. We teach the necessity of faith only where it is possible to exercise it. We say, too, that no one will be lost "simply for original sin." It is true that "it works death in all who are not born again of Baptism and the Holy Spirit," but this refers and applies only to those within reach of the means. The Scriptures nowhere inform us that baptism is absolutely necessary to salvation, and it is the *contempt* of it and not the want that condemns. And we believe the Scriptures teach that the Holy Spirit is not confined to place or mode. We are not informed that he is confined to those alone who have the word of God. The heathen who have not the revealed law are a law unto themselves. Cannot the Holy Spirit, whose office it is to take of the things of Christ and reveal them, take of these things and reveal them to the heathen? If he comes to us through the revelation we have, may he not come to the heathen through the revelation they have? They cannot be required to exercise faith in Christ, as a condition of salvation, because to them there is no historic Christ; but may they not be required to exercise faith in God, as a condition of salvation, and their faith in God be the medium through which the Holy Spirit reveals a sacrifice for sin, even the great Sacrifice? And may not this revelation be indeed the Christ. If the rock from which the water flowed after the Israelites in the wilderness "was Christ," as Paul says, may not God's *mercy* to the heathen be Christ to them? If God is propitiated through the mediation of Christ in our behalf, and Christ intercedes with the Father at the throne of glory above, and the Holy Ghost inter-

cedes with man at the throne of grace below, and this is going on where the gospel has not come, may not the propitiated Father, the interceding Son, and the wooing Holy Spirit fix the terms of salvation? God's revealing of himself to us is of his own choice, and in his own time, and in his own way, and of his own mercy, why then should we say that because God has in mercy given us a way of escape, and the only way *for us*, and has bound us up to that way, therefore there is no other way?

3. We contend for the salvation of the heathen *on the ground of the nature of faith.* There are two expressions which describe a lack of faith and there is a wide difference between them. There is *unbelief* and *disbelief.* Unbelief is the absence of faith, disbelief is the denial of the object faith. "All such passages," says Knapp, "as Mark 16 : 16, do not refer to the heathen, who are innocently ignorant of the Gospel." Unbelief exists where there is no gospel, disbelief where it is. The original Scriptures always make this distinction. Unbelief may not necessarily imply guilt, disbelief always does. The heathen do not disbelieve Christ. Their unbelief is simply a want of faith, and the want of it is because of the absence of the Gospel, which is not their fault. They have no command to repent and believe the Gospel, and are therefore not guilty of disobedience to Christ. The Gospel must precede the obligation to obey. All its commands to repent and believe the Gospel apply to those who have the Gospel, and not to the heathen. They have a faith in God, believe in a supreme being, have a worship, pay divine honors to the gods they know, and many of them live up to the light that is in them. Those who do will be saved. Now, when all due allowance is made, just as we do in Christian lands, for the ignorance and degradation of the people, their limited opportunities, their temptations, and the few incentives to piety which they have, we must conclude that *most* of them will be saved.

We have referred to but few passages of Scripture in this argument, for the reason that by such a course men prove anything, and their opponents prove their side also. We have presented a few facts which we believe to be in accordance with

Scripture. We have laid down great principles as they are taught in the Bible, and these principles explain the meaning of Scripture. If we group them together according to the principles we have laid down, we will find that they prove no more of the heathen than that the Gospel is for them, that they are sinners and need the blessings of the Gospel, that they will be held accountable, but that accountability will be judged "according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not." The whole tenor of the Scripture proceeds on the *universality* of the atonement, its *adaptation* to the wants of the race; the fact that God is "no respecter of persons;" that he will hear the cry of want and the sigh of humanity anywhere; that man is not condemned for being a sinner, which is not his fault, but for rejecting the light he has; that at last Christ "shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied;" and that "every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." He has given us illustrative instances of the salvation of men under the influence of the Christian religion, and also instances of the salvation of those outside of that influence, to leave us without a reason to doubt his ability and his willingness to save to the uttermost. "Many shall come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God."

4. We further argue the salvation of the heathen *from the possibility of the offer of salvation after death.* We have but little faith in such a proposition, but others, and wiser heads than ours, have, and we therefore give it. The great Tholuck is quoted as teaching: "That the heathen who, without any fault of their own, remain ignorant of the plan of salvation, will have the Gospel preached to them in a future state; that if they embrace it, they will be saved, and if they reject it they will be doomed, like others, eternally and immutably." It is also said that the German theologians generally are *restorationists*, or at least believe that the offer of salvation will be made at some time to the heathen. It is claimed that Matthew 12:32 affords ground for a rational probability that a future probation

will be granted the heathen. Lange says: "One idea evidently laid down in the passage is that pardon may be accorded in the world to come as well as in this world." Dr. Schaff says: "The modern German Protestant opinion, in its evangelical form, starting from the idea of the absolute justice and universal love of God, maintains that Christ will ultimately be revealed to all human beings," and that life will be offered them on the same terms it is offered to us, in repentance and faith. Canon Farrar is the champion of this idea in our day. Whatever difficulties this theory may present, it yet proves that the old orthodox view of the wholesale damnation of all heathen, is an offense to the sensibilities of mankind.

5. We argue the salvation of the heathen *from the character of God.* Indeed the whole argument hinges on this. Proper views of God necessitate the salvation of the heathen. Their wholesale destruction is not justified by the revelation he has made of himself. The very object of that revelation was to demonstrate his love and mercy. He is not the stern inexorable judge which our forefathers represented him to be. He is not the exacting ruler that some men make him. He is "a consuming fire" only to those who, with light and knowledge, *wilfully reject him,* but to his creatures, his unfortunate creatures, his helpless creatures, he is a father who pities even as an earthly father pities his children.

But he must punish sin. Sin is a transgression of law. The sin, then, is graduated, gauged, judged of according to the given law. In other words, sin is what the law as made known makes it. The Jews had a law which made it a sin to eat swine's flesh, and for a Jew to eat it, it was a punishable sin, but we eat it and it is no sin, because we have no law forbidding it.

Sin in one place may be greater than in another, for there are degrees in sin. Sin that is punishable in one place may not be so in another. In every instance, however, the law says what is sin, and fixes the punishment. To those who live under and in the enjoyment of the written law of God's word, sin is what that law makes it, and will be punished according to that law; but who can say that those who live under another (or another revelatfon of) moral law have the same sins and the same penalties attached?

Their probation is suspended on other provisions, promises and penalties than ours.

"If I had not come and spoken unto them they had not had sin, but now they have no cloak for their sin. * * * If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin, but now they hate both me and my Father." Here is proof that the sin of those of whom the Saviour spoke, was hating the Son, *rejecting Christ*, and it is implied that no man, certainly these spoken of, did not, and would not, hate the Father except by first hating the Son. It is implied that if Christ had not been made known as he was, there would not have been in these individuals anything to condemn, *i. e.* anything that would of itself have condemned them.

Sin is sin because God says it is. He can say that certain acts are sins in one place that are not sins in another. He can fix the penalties, or remit them entirely, as he pleases, and anyting he might do in this respect would be perfectly consistent with his character. There are things not consistent with his character; these he will not do. One of these is to punish forever persons for doing what they had no means of knowing was wrong, and could not help doing for lack of ability. Christians teach that there are sins of ignorance and infirmity that are not punishable with eternal death. If this is the case with us, how much more so is it the case with the heathen.

The angels that were cast out of heaven and are reserved in chains, sinned against light and knowledge. Their sin was obstinate rebellion against God, and they cannot be adduced as proof of the eternal punishment of the heathen. The character of God justifies him in punishing open rebellion in heaven, in Christian communities, and in heathen lands; but we have no proof that all heathen are in open rebellion, but, on the contrary, we know that many are not.

Our theology teaches, and we believe it is consistent with God's word, that God is a God of love and mercy, a God of *grace*, "of all grace and consolation," and that the grace of God is always *efficacious when not resisted.* It is resistance that damns souls; it is rebellion against grace that brings punishment. There is no proof that all the heathen resist God's grace.

If yielding to grace saves the Christian, the same act will save the heathen. Take the character of God all in all, and it will allow him to punish only rebellious heathen.

II. THE EFFECT OF THE GOSPEL ON THE SALVATION OF THE HEATHEN.

This requires but few words. If they are saved without the gospel, why send it to them? We answer, for the same reason, and on the same principle, that we send it to all parts of our own land. That they may be saved, that they may be civilized, bettered temporally and spiritually, elevated in thought, desire, aspiration; bettered intellectually and morally, socially and domestically. The faithful missionary will cause some to be saved who would otherwise have been lost, and he will make known even to him who would have been saved, a more excellent way, and explain that way more fully, just as ministers do here. In short, while we claim that we should fully supply our own people with the Gospel, and keep them supplied before we establish missions among the heathen, still the command is, "Go ye into all the world," and we must do it; and the church that is not so fully imbued with the missionary spirit as to be a missionary church, is not up to the full measure of its duty.

Surely there are motives outside of the question of the salvation of the heathen, sufficient to stir the heart of the Church of Christ in mission work. Suppose the salvation of every one of them was guaranteed, let us ask, is the mere conversion, or the salvation alone of men, the only object the Saviour had in view in sending out his disciples with the Gospel? and would it be a useless task to carry the Gospel to them? Does not the exercise of her gifts strengthen the Church? With her, as with individuals, "it is more blessed to give than to receive." Is not the mission work of the Church the testimony which she bears before the whole world to her faith in Christianity, and to her devotion and love which she bears to her adorable Redeemer? Will not the enlightened heathen, the well instructed, the educated, the refined Christian who enters heaven from the mission excel in happiness the poor degraded wretch who goes from heathendom?

"Go ye" is motive enough, and the possession of such a

blessed religion should prompt us to bear the message of God's grace to every nation. The angel that John saw flying through the midst of heaven, with an eternal gospel for all people, said with a great voice: "Fear God, and give him glory, for the hour of his judgment is come; and worship him that made heaven and earth and sea and fountains of waters." It is that men may fear God, and worship him, and give him glory that the Gospel must be sent to the heathen, not alone that they might be saved.

It would be a poor recommendation of the Christian's God, for the missionary to tell the heathen that their fathers and mothers for generations past are all in an eternal hell, and that he hopes they will be saved, but if they are, they cannot hope to meet a single friend of theirs in heaven forever. There certainly would be no good-news in that.

ARTICLE IV.

EVIDENTIAL VALUE OF APOSTOLIC TESTIMONY TO CHRIST.

By Rev. Prof. J. W. Richard, A. M., York, Pa.

There are some things, and those among the most important in life, which cannot be estimated and determined by the methods of science. The methods of science may determine the area of a field, the hight of a tree, the capacity of a ship, the constituents of a drug; but it is of far greater importance for us to determine to whom the field, the tree, and the ship belong, and whether the drug is a medicine or a poison. Facts of this kind cannot be determined by scientific demonstration, but must be ascertained by what is called moral evidence, which almost always, in ultimate analysis, resolves inself into some form of eye-witness or ear-witness. What men see with their eyes and hear with their ears, they know and believe, for they cannot doubt the testimony given in the normal use of the senses, in matters of fact. And when men of intelligence and integrity, tell us that they were eye- or ear-witnesses of an event, that is, of a fact, however extraordinary that fact may be, we are so

constituted that we believe them, yea, we cannot resist belief without doing violence to a certain moral order found within us. In the case of very extraordinary events, it is important mainly that the number of witnesses should be increased, and that it should be shown that they had ample opportunity for the normal use of the faculties of observation. This, our faith in the reliability of competent human testimony, is the basis of all historical knowledge. Certain men living one hundred and nine years ago, declare that they were eye- and ear-witnesses of the reading and signing of the Declaration of American Independence on a certain day. They made a record of the fact. We read the record and are morally certain of the fact. To deny the fact would be to make ourselves the butts of ridicule and contempt. As an evidence that we believe the testimony of those witnesses, we have our Fourth of July celebrations every year, and a few years ago we marked an entire year in honor of the event. On the same principle is established every court of justice in the land, and determination is given to the gravest interests of individuals and of society. A man is indicted for murder. He is brought to trial before twelve of his fellow-citizens in whose hands are the issues of life and death. It is especially required of these twelve men that not one of them saw the prisoner commit the crime for which he is charged, and that they have not formed a prejudicing conviction for or against the prisoner as touching his guilt or innocence. Persons are summoned who have had eye- or ear-witness of certain facts. They give their testimony under the most solemn and ingenious tests. The jury, charged to find according to the evidence, acquits the prisoner or declares him guilty as indicted. This testimony and verdict are recorded and kept intact. A thousand years hence they are as valuable in evidence as they are to-day. In this way we become morally certain of the events of the past, that is, in this way we know that Socrates was tried, condemned, executed; that Aaron Burr was arraigned, tried, acquitted, dismissed. In the same way, through the recorded testimony of eye-witnesses, we know that Alexander was ambitious; that Caligula was cruel; that Jesus was benevolent; that Iscariot was deceitful. That is, such and such facts and such and such traits

of character attached to certain men. Are we asked, what is the ground of our assurance? We answer, the concurrent testimony of eye-witnesses. This is ultimate and satisfactory. Neither can we, nor do we desire to go further. We believe that we have the facts, and on these facts as sufficient causes we justify any feeling of approbation or disapprobation which we may have in each case.

And when we speak of moral evidence and of moral certainty, we do not intimate an inferior kind of evidence or of certainty, but we mention an evidence and a certainty which exactly apply to the case in hand, and which are the only evidence and certainty that can possibly be applied, and which are just as assuring to the moral sense as demonstration is to the logical understanding. It is called moral evidence, and moral certainty, because it is addressed to the moral reason, and requires a certain amount of moral character, virtue, truth in the inward parts, to receive it and to give it its just and proper weight. A bad man may harden his heart against this testimony, and may reject it; but a man who is honest, and in love with the truth, and is sincerely seeking to know the truth, will receive it, will honor it, will make it the basis of his moral conduct, and will, to all intents and purposes as regards moral action, become just as certain that there is a city called London as that two and two are four.

Let us apply this principle to the Apostolic Testimony to Christ.

Peter (2 Pet. 1 : 16), speaking for himself, and his fellow apostles, declares: "For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty." That is, the apostles were eye-witnesses of the events of the Gospel. In making known the power and coming of Christ, Peter avers that they had not followed cunningly devised fables, that is, myths, legends, fictions dressed up in the garb of truth, and devised cunningly to deceive the minds of men; but they were eye-witnesses of the majesty of Christ, had *seen* him in the divine manifestation of himself, in his glory, in his mighty deeds; had known his person; had looked upon him eye to

eye and face to face. The reality of his person, the events of his life, they now make known to others, and thus proclaim the Gospel history a fact, a fact established by moral evidence, the testimony of eye-witnesses, and the most important fact in the world, the fact of the power and coming of the Lord Jesus Christ from heaven and the revelation of his majesty for the salvation of men. This fact *we* have not seen. Our faith in it must depend upon our faith in the testimony of those who report themselves eye-witnesses of it. Hence to believe the testimony is to believe the fact. To reject the testimony is to reject the fact. Now as already observed, we are so constituted that we believe moral evidence, and determine the most important interests of life by it, and are just as sure that we are right in reaching certain conclusions on moral questions, as we are sure when we have followed a demonstration; for the mind is just as likely to err in following a chain of reasoning in science, as in following a chain of evidence in testimony, and men are just as likely to be imposed upon in a demonstration as in a testimony, and the exploded theories of false science once accepted as facts, are vastly more numerous than the false theories of testimony once accepted in evidence. Indeed it is a part of God's moral order that when I see a man acting for a life-time with liberality and generosity, I cannot believe he is selfish and hard-hearted; that when I see a man speaking and acting the truth for a life-time, I cannot believe he is a common liar, or that in any great and momentous concern, he would persist in telling even a single lie; or that when I witness the love and unselfish devotion of a mother for half a century, I cannot believe she is the enemy of her children. So in regard to historical testimony. When I am told of an old Greek who was content to live in a tub and to lap up water with his tongue like a dog, I do not think of Alexander who conquered the world and sighed for more worlds to conquer; or when I am told of a pope who was remarkable for his humility and condescension, I do not think of Hildebrand who held the rod over kings and absolved the allegiance of their subjects; or when I am told of a statesman open and ingenuous in manner and speech, I do not think of Talleyrand whose motto was that language should con-

ceal, not express one's meaning. In each case I think some other person is meant, for the testimony of eye-witnesses is that Alexander was ambitious, that Hildebrand was arrogant, that Talleyrand was deceitful—not the testimony of one man only, but of men enough, and these sufficiently qualified by intelligence and integrity to establish a fact before any jury in the civilized world. The same principle is applicable to the power and coming and majesty of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I. AS TO THE NUMBER OF WITNESSES.

We do not have the evidence of the power and coming and majesty of Christ on the testimony of one witness. There were twelve witnesses. Two or three unimpeached witnesses are enough to establish any fact in history, and would determine the action of a jury in the matter of life and death. But the power and coming and majesty of the Lord Jesus Christ is a matter of eternal life. Two or three men might combine to publish a falsehood. But that twelve men should so combine, and should persevere in their fraud unto death, would be a hard thing to do; and from what we know of men, it is unreasonable to suppose that it was done in this case, nor does history furnish any example of a fraud so intelligently conceived and so admirably persevered in. Should twelve men of unimpeached veracity tell us as their living and dying testimony that on a certain day, standing together in a certain place they witnessed a shower of serpents from heaven, or the falling of a meteor, it would be believed, and accepted as a fact by every scientific society in the world. And if this testimony now recorded as the testimony of eye-witnesses, should be corroborated, by the discovery, either immediately or a hundred years hence, of the remains of serpents, or the action of a meteor at that particular place, to doubt the testimony, that is, to deny the fact, would be morally impossible. Twelve men saw the power and coming and majesty of the Lord Jesus. For three years, they ate, slept and journeyed with him. They saw him heal the sick, open the eyes of the blind, unstop the ears of the deaf, supply limbs to the lame, give life to the dead, feed the hungering thousands on

a few loaves and fishes. Three of them saw the glory of his transfiguration. One at least saw him die. All were eye-witnesses of his resurrection, that is, saw him repeatedly after his resurrection, and one was challenged to put his fingers in the prints of the nails and to thrust his hand into the wounded side. These things are reported as facts. Either they occurred or they did not occur. If they occurred, they were capable of being cognized by the senses. Twelve men could not be deceived in the matter of raising Lazarus—the rolling away of the stone, the command, the appearance of the man—they could not be deceived as to the walking on the waves, feeding the multitude, opening the eyes of the blind. They could not be deceived as to the identity of the resurrected Jesus whom their eyes had seen and their hands had handled. Hence when they give their testimony, we must either believe the facts, or take one or the other of two alternatives, viz., abandon the rules of evidence, or deny the possibility of miracles and declare in favor of pure Naturalism, in which case Jesus Christ himself is an impossibility, and man is without hope and without God in the world. And to abandon the well-known and universally accepted laws of evidence in this case, since the things testified of are as much matters of fact as the assassination of Julius Cæsar, or the burning of Rowland Taylor, is to beg the entire question and to cut off the argument. But whatever may be the reality as to the *subject* of their testimony, be it fact or fiction, it is certain and undeniable that on the day of Pentecost, the witnesses together delivered their testimony before the assembled representatives of the civilized world, in favor of the power and coming of the Lord Jesus, when the events of Christ's life were yet so fresh and well-known at Jerusalem that no man dared to contradict them, nor to utter one word of opposing testimony; and that three thousand persons, many of whom must have known Jesus personally, believed the testimony, accepted the facts and were baptized into Christ. These are facts which the boldest skepticism will not presume to deny.

After Pentecost the same witnesses, either alone or two by two, testified the same facts to the ends of the earth, saying with John, "That which was from the beginning, which we have

heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life, (for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father and was manifested unto us) that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you." This testimony has come down to us; and with it, (its authenticity and genuineness unimpeached,) and as growing out of it, we have Christianity as a living fact in the world; an institution, the Church, an organized society, with its laws, its doctrines, its precepts, its moral life, its spirit of conquest reaching out and gathering in the nations and making them the joyful captives of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose power and coming is made known unto them by the testimony of the twelve. Yes, this living fact, the Church, Christianity as a system, a principle, a doctrine, a life, drawing into its service the highest moral energies of literature, science and art, subsidizing every element of beauty and goodness and strength found among men, this living fact can be accounted for only on the testimony of the twelve who represent themselves eye-witnesses of the power and coming of the Lord Jesus, whom they have made known unto us. This is another fact that cannot be questioned, viz., that the Church is founded on these eye-witnesses *and is indissolubly associated with their testimony.*

II. THE COMPETENCY OF THE WITNESSES.

The witnesses may have been mistaken, or they may have promulgated a gigantic fraud. This brings up the question of the competency of the witnesses, that is, their intelligence and integrity; for these are the two grand requisites for bearing testimony. If a man do not have ordinary intelligence, he is not a competent witness of a series of events. If he do not have integrity, that is, uprightness and honesty of character, his testimony cannot be credited.

(a). Did the apostles have sufficient intelligence to bear testimony of the power and coming of the Lord Jesus Christ? They were plain men of ordinary common-school education without scientific or philosophical training; but they were matured men of sound understanding; all probably, except John, older than

Christ. Two of the original twelve have written lives of Christ; other three have written epistles setting forth the substance of the gospel. These writings show that their authors were intelligent men endowed with strong native powers of reason, and of good understanding sufficient to exempt them from imposture and deception. They write not as minute critics, nor as profound scholars, but as cool, deliberate, matter-of-fact eye-witnesses of what they had seen and heard, and knew of the life and words and works of Christ—delivering just such a simple, direct and unadorned narrative as is most feared and most valued in every court in the world. And the very fact that they were unsophisticated and unlearned men, the better qualified them for their office as witnesses. Had they been philosophers or cabalists, they would have been tempted to philosophize and to explain. The testimony would have borne more largely the cast of their own minds, would have been less direct and objective, less a pure narrative of facts without effort to mingle with it human conceits. The highest intellectual qualification for this most important office, was common sense, with eyes to see, ears to hear, and hands to handle. Was Jesus a phantom? Was his healing the sick, raising the dead, feeding the multitude a mere seeming, a pretense, a semblance of power and presence? Twelve men who had ample intelligence and ample opportunity to know, tell us that Jesus was God manifest in the flesh; that he had power over diseases and over devils; and that he *did* many mighty works which no man can do. We may call them ignorant fishermen if we will; but they wrote the NEW TESTAMENT, the greatest marvel and the greatest power in literature—a book that has received the profoundest homage of the mightiest intellects on earth; a book that has led captive more wills than all the Homers, Virgils, Dantes of the world, a book that has revolutionized society, has changed the course of historical development, has brought order out of confusion, has founded the noblest institutions of men, has inspired the loftiest deeds of heroism, has given the world an Augustine, a Luther, a Howard, a Florence Nightingale, a George Washington,has lifted Europe out of barbarism, and has brought in the light and glory of this nineteenth century civilization; has established the Chris-

tian home and affirmed that freedom is the birth-right of man. The men who wrote such a book, albeit Galileans and fishermen they were, did not lack of sufficient intelligence to know what their eyes had seen, their ears had heard, their hands had handled.

(b). But granting that these witnesses had intelligence, did they have integrity? For after all, this wonderful testimony, and its still more wonderful results, may be founded in fiction. The story of the power and coming and majesty of the Lord Jesus, may be a pure fabrication, devised by one Jesus of Nazareth, and palmed upon the world by his followers. Their testimony that he had healed the sick, raised the dead, and fed the multitude, may be a false testimony, adhered to to the bitter end, and may have been so regarded by their cotemporaries. How are we to be satisfied that they bore witness to the truth, that is, that they were honest and sincere witnesses? There is a rational test surer than the stake.

Every one who has carefully watched the conduct of witnesses at a tribunal of investigation, has found no difficulty in discriminating between hollowness, deceit, falsehood, on the one hand; and sincerity, honesty and truthfulness on the other. There is something in the manner, the voice, the eye, the countenance, of a false witness, that clearly indicates his dishonesty; and juries are charged with the duty of taking into the account the seeming honesty or dishonesty of the witness. By the careful and attentive perusal of a man's writings, we can just as easily detect deceit and hypocrisy as we can in his speech; and we express our convictions of the honesty or the dishonesty of a writer, just as confidently and unhesitatingly as we do of a witness on the stand, and we are just as sure of the correctness of our judgment in the one case as in the other. Now no other book has been read with so much attentiveness and sagacity as the New Testament. Every line, word and letter of it, has been studied, and scanned and scrutinized by friend and by foe, but no one has ever been able to point out a single mark of hypocrisy and deceit. On the contrary, friend and foe must confess, and both have confessed, that it bears every mark of honest sincerity. These New Testament writers (we now take in Paul who also saw the Lord) not only express their abhorrence of in-

iquity, and proclaim a sense of God's presence with them, and his wrath against deceit and lying; but they frankly narrate their own weaknesses, their errors, their mistakes, their sins, which hypocrites or intentional deceivers never do nor can do except in such a way as to make it clear that they glory in their shame. But with these writers of the New Testament, there is no effort to conceal anything, nor to give a false coloring to any fact, nor to set themselves off to advantage, nor to counterfeit humility. They tell the story of Christ, including his birth, his manner of life, his works, his sufferings, his death, his resurrection, and they enunciate great principles of doctrine, but every line marks them as sincere, honest and candid witnesses to what they had seen and heard and experienced. Even when they differ from each other and separate in dissension, they make no charge of hypocrisy, or of a purpose to perpetrate a fraud; but separated, they bear the same testimony and preach the same Gospel that they do when together. And as a further evidence of their sincerity, they suffered martyrdom—not for opinions, nor for a system of doctrines, but for the witness of Jesus, for a series of facts which they had seen and heard—a circumstance which distinguishes them from all other martyrs the world over. For other martyrs have suffered for opinions, beliefs; these suffered for what their eyes had seen, their ears heard, their hands handled; that is, they suffered for an objective empirical fact, not for a subjective internal experience. Hence their martyrdom becomes a seal, not so much of their sincerity, as of the testimony itself. They would rather die at the stake than deny the *facts* of the life, words and works of Christ.

But to obtain the full evidential value of this martyrdom, we must follow the lives of these men. When Christ died they were comparatively young. Some of them lived thirty, forty, fifty, and one of them nearly seventy years after the crucifixion. They traveled to the ends of the earth, making known the power and coming and majesty of the Lord. Whithersoever they went, they met with opposition and persecution. They were stoned, scourged, imprisoned, made to fight with wild beasts, brought before kings and governors, driven from place

to place. They endured hunger and thirst, cold and nakedness; this not for one year, nor for five years, but to the end of life. Now, had they been impostors trying to inflict a wicked deception on the world, they must have grown tired of this persecution and indignity, if not all, at least some of them; for it is contrary to all observation of the actions of men, to suppose that these stripes and imprisonments and pains of hunger and cold, and perils, would not have wrung the lie out the hearts of *some* of them, and thus have exposed the cheat; that is, it is unreasonable to suppose that twelve men will endure persecution for a life-time, and end life in martyrdom, in support of what they *know* to be a lie, for where men have persevered under torture in telling a lie, it has always been where to have told the truth would have brought greater evil or greater shame, as was the case with the man in England who endured the rack, but denied the fact with which he was charged, and who when asked how he could persist in a lie under torture, replied, "I had painted a gallows on the toe of my shoe, and every time I felt the rack stretch me, I looked upon the gallows, and thought of my life."

But persecutions and hardships and perils wrought no change in the testimony of these men. Amid every indignity and cruelty and privation, they still press forward with a patience, a forbearance, a love, with an ardor and a loftiness of soul which are born only of sincerity and truth. In sight of the stake, the cross, the block, the burning torch, the gleaming axe, they show no weakness and make no retraction of the witness they bore to the power and coming of the Lord Jesus. They still tell us that they were with Jesus more than three years, heard his discourses, saw his miracles, witnessed his sufferings and death, looked upon him after his resurrection, beheld him in his ascension, received the Holy Ghost and the power to speak languages they had never learned, to heal the sick and to raise the dead. And when we remember that this is the testimony of twelve men, intelligent and honest, men tried by persecution, fire, sword, death, a testimony without faltering or contradiction, or prevarication; a testimony which is rebutted by not one line of contemporaneous contradiction: when we remember these

facts, viz., the number of witnesses, their intelligence and integrity, the total absence of counter testimony, we must conclude that the apostolic testimony to Christ is the most complete, and the most satisfactory historical witness on record; that it establishes the facts of the Gospel on the surest possible foundation, and leaves no rational ground for unbelief.

ARTICLE V.

NEWLY CONFIRMED CHURCH MEMBERS.

WHAT MAY REASONABLY BE EXPECTED OF THEM.

By Rev. A. Stump, A. M., York Springs, Pa.

This subject implies that the expectation in this connection either has been or may be to some degree unreasonable. This is even so, and as long as self and the imagination shall be permitted to give coloring to our thinking, it will be so.

Experience is a blessed thing. It is the best teacher of the individual and the race. Both man as one and men as groups need its lessons. Especially is this true in regard to religion. Here no one can say "I know" or "I have," before he can say, "I have seen, and heard, and handled." But while we thus get authority for our own self-consciousness, this does not give us the right to demand identical similarity from our neighbor. It will, however, give us a key to his heart. The lamp of the word and the light of the Spirit having led our feet into the before hidden paths of our own soul life, through the unity and kinship of human nature, his stands revealed to us. But we must not lose sight of personality. Differentiate as you may the human family, and, despite much that is alike, you will find some thing in each member that is distinct from every thing in all the rest —an innerness *sui generis*. This is the peculiar meaning and glory of individuality. If, therefore, we ourselves have been ever such blameless members of the Church since our confirmation, yet we dare not form our expectations of those who have lately taken upon themselves the solemn vows, according to the standard of our own either subjective or objective experience.

But we must also lay aside the norm of ideality. There are subtle perfections of beauty which sculptor and painter never reach, realms of inspiration and exaltation to which the poet never ascends, forges of power upon whose anvils prophet and orator never strike. These are in the ideal world—the might-be and ought-to-be of existence—the ultimate possibility of the soul. The same is true of the life of faith and piety. There are stages of grace, planes of holiness, heavens of spiritual exultation in which we never walk. We are not forbidden entrance to them, but all our striving, as it seems to us, brings us no nearer their thresholds. "Not as though I had already attained, were already perfect, * * but forgetting the things which are behind and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." Phil. 3 : 12, 13, 14. We have too little patience with that self-delusive and unscriptural heresy which would leap into an ideal sanctification by one instantaneous spring, to spend any space to rebut its claims.

But there has been placed before us a norm of perfection toward which we are to grow. It has two elements—the rule of faith, which is the word of God, and the life of Jesus Christ. One is the precept, the other is the precept concreted; one is the doctrine, the other is the doctrine personified or incarnated. The Christian religion therefore is not a system of abstract concepts, but a system of principles that can be seen, taken hold of, believed and lived.

But whilst Christ is infinite, and the ideal Christian life is infinite too, (inasmuch as our sanctification and progress will go on through all eternity) the duty and privilege of striving after it nevertheless still remain. However it is not infinity we are to imitate, but quality—kind, not degree. There is therefore no excuse either for indifference or for discouragement. And God has taken away all temptation both to idleness and to spiritual pride. But we must not apply this high norm of ideality to the "newly confirmed members" of our churches. Having now avoided the Scylla and Charybdis of these com-

mon extreme criteria—self and ideality—let us enter the open way of discussion proper.

The first thing the Church has a right to expect from its "newly confirmed members," is a general conception of the meaning or signification of Confirmation. It is not supposable that much good can come from an ignorant observance of the rite. Neither, on the other hand, is a technical apprehension of it necessary. Our Lutheran theologians and symbols, as well as the church rituals, vary somewhat in their statements of the doctrine of confirmation—a fact mostly accounted for by the differences of time and place of writing—but there is a substantial agreement among them. Rev. B. M. Schmucker, D. D., two years ago contributed two very able and valuable articles on the subject in the *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. II., Nos. 2 and 3, April and July, '83. To him as well as to Dr. B. Kurtz ("Why am I a Lutheran") I am indebted for most of my information on this point. The Lutheran view seems to be truthfully and sufficiently set forth in two excerpts which I will quote. The first is found in the famous document called the Wittenberg Reformation, prepared shortly after the Diet at Spires, by Melanchthon, with the assistance of Cruciger and George Major, and approved by Luther himself. "It is clearly necessary that in all Churches the Catechism be taught on set days, so that the youth may obtain a clear and correct knowledge of all articles and parts of Christian doctrine. The rite of confirmation contributes to the maintenance of such a usage, because it demands that the young, having arrived at a suitable age, should publicly before the congregation make a full and clear confession of doctrine, and when questioned, should pledge faithful adherence to the doctrine thus declared and to the confession of their Church, and then the hand of the pastor should be laid upon them, and public prayer be made that they might be confirmed and directed in heart and mind in that which was confessed. Such a ceremony would not be an empty spectacle, as the rite as practiced by the bishops now is, but would be profitable for the maintenance of pure doctrine, for the propagation of the teachings of the Church, and would tend to secure unity and discipline."

The second is a quotation from Chemnitz, prince of theologians: "Ours (writers) have often shown that the rite of confirmation, all useless, superstitious and unscriptural traditions having been removed, might be used devoutly and to the edification of the church, in this manner, to wit, that those who were baptized in infancy, when they have come to the years of discretion, should be diligently instructed in a prescribed and simple exposition of the doctrines of the Church. And when they are found to understand moderately well the principal doctrines, then they should be presented to the bishop and the church, and where a boy has been baptized in his infancy: 1. He should be admonished briefly and simply by being reminded of his baptism, to wit, that when he was baptized, in that baptism the whole Trinity applied and sealed to him the covenant of peace and the pact of grace, whereby a renunciation of Satan, a profession of faith and a promise of obedience was then made. 2. The boy himself should make before the church a personal and public profession of this doctrine and faith. 3. He should be examined concerning the principal points of Christian doctrine, make answer about each, or if he be imperfectly informed, be rightly instructed. 4. He should be admonished that by this profession he sets forth that he dissents from all heathen, heretical, fanatical, and unholy opinions. 5. Then should be added a serious and weighty exhortation, out of the word of God, that he should persevere in the covenant of baptism and in its doctrine and faith, and by steady progress therein he should be strengthened. 6. Public prayer should be made for those presented, that God might be pleased by his Holy Spirit to govern, preserve and confirm them in this profession. To this prayer the imposition of hands might be added without any superstition."

The doctrine thus stated presupposes baptism to have taken place in infancy—at least under parental sponsorship. Anciently this was not always the case. Then adults too were confirmed soon after their baptism. Here without drawing the same conclusion from it, we may quote a line from Thomas Aquinas, *Character confirmationis ex necessitate præsupponit characterem baptismalem* (the mark of confirmation necessarily presupposes the mark of baptism), Hag. Hist. Doc. vol. II., p. 87. So far as mere

precedence in time is concerned this is true. Thus the controversy on this subject which was stirred up in our papers a few years ago is easily decided. A pastor had at the same service baptized some adults and then confirmed them with the rest of the class. This, although Dr. Kurtz could see no impropriety in such an act, plainly was contrary to the deliverances just quoted

This doctrine also presupposes catechumenical or Christian instruction. Of knowledge as the first step toward faith and constancy in the religious life I need here say but little. Metaphysically it is no doubt true, and Christlieb admirably shows* that faith precedes knowledge (*credo ut intelligam*), inasmuch as we must first of all trust our mental powers; but in practical religion we first must learn what we are to believe (*intelligo ut credam*). In our system the state of faith rests upon a basis of intelligence. Both the doctrines of Christianity and the distinctive doctrines of our Church (which constitute our right to an existence) are to be taken into the account.

Again, confirmation in the Lutheran sense is a rite, and not, as the Catholic and Greek Churches hold, a sacrament. It does not possess the marks of having been appointed by Christ, of being a sign of grace, and of imparting a spiritual blessing. Luther says, "I concede that we may confirm, if we let men know that God has given no commandment therefor." The rite, therefore, save by analogy, has no Biblical support. It does not rest upon proof texts. But its usefulness is sufficient argument for its existence. It "was transmitted to us from the fathers, but was never regarded as essential to salvation, for it is not supported by divine command."†

Here we may rebut the associate idea that confirmation is a complement to baptism. Says Aquinas, *Si aliquis non baptizitus confirmaretur, nihil reciperet*—if a non-baptized person should be confirmed, he would receive nothing. On this ground the Roman Catholics hold that the non-confirmed cannot be "complete Christians." But baptism needs no complement. As a means of grace it is sufficient in itself. Confirmation adds nothing in any sense whatever.

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*Mod. Doubt and Infidelity. †Apol. Augs. Con.

Our Church does not regard this rite as the act of uniting with the Church. This takes place fully in holy baptism. In that ordinance the children are consecrated to the Lord and the divine seal fixed upon them. Thereafter they are members of Christ's body as truly as any grown person is. The Saviour himself made this sacrament in connection with confession of sin and profession of faith the condition of admission into his kingdom. In the baptismal covenant God includes the children, not as initial or inchoate, but as full members of his church. If this is not so, pedobaptism has no meaning and may as well be abolished.

I am aware that such eminent thinkers as Bushnell* and our own Valentine† make use of the terms "initial," "inchoate," and "potentially," to express the relation of children to the church. But both are speaking of child membership prior to baptism, and insist that even then already it is "real" or a "real and true fact." So others speak of an infant and of an adult membership and of passing from one to the other. But this is only a reference to a formal as distinct from an essential attitude. The difference in this respect between the child and the full grown man is (as in nature and the state) only a difference in development—a development in which confirmation is but an epoch. But the essence remains the same through all changes of form whatever. In this rite there is therefore no new relation entered into. Only a higher degree of development in the old is reached. All living things must thus grow, and confirmation is only the voluntary stage of church membership. It is not true as a few of our rituals seem to teach, that confirmation grants to the young for the first time the right to partake of the Lord's Supper. This right by virtue of baptism they already have (so the Greek Church teaches and practices). By it they are made eligible to all the forms of communion with God and his people. All the privileges of adults are theirs as well. Confirmation is not a wall to fence out the children from any of them. Here as elsewhere their Saviour's saying, "Let them come, and forbid them not," must silence human objection. The church no doubt

**Christian Culture*, p. 162. †LUTH. QUAR., Vol. IX., p. 325.

has authority to say who should or who should not come to her altars, but the marks which direct acceptance or rejection must be Biblical. The only objection that might possibly be urged against a baptized child is that he has not publicly confessed Christ. But suppose he, of his own accord, asks for the communion. Would not that and his appearance at the table be confession enough? Yea, verily. But all that is meant to be asserted here, but that decidedly, is that confirmation can not grant the *right* to commune. We may say that the church in confirmation acknowledges the child's claim to the right. But to say more is, logically, inconsistent Lutheranism and above all contrary to the Scriptures. Nor is confirmation a help to grace in the semi-Romish sense which High Church Anglicanism attaches to it, viz., as Wheatly says, "To assist them in manifesting their faith and practice." So the Pseudo-Isidore already declared (851) that in confirmation the Holy Spirit contributes an *augmentum ad gratiam.* But this is not true save in the sense according to which prayer, worship, or any other religious act, dependent on our faith, conveys spiritual gifts. Nevertheless, Lutherans do, with the Anglican ritualists, contemplate an early confirmation. However, mathematically to fix the age is absurd; but absolute infancy—*i. e.*, the non-speaking period of childhood—is almost the only insuperable barrier to it. The argument of inexpediency may be urged against this position. For, *the object of this rite is order and discipline.* To confess Christ is no doubt the decisive mark of a Christian, so far as his relations to the visible church or organized kingdom of Christ are concerned. In confirmation an opportunity to make such a confession before the saints and the world is afforded. To the confirmant this is a test of faith and motive. The church, too, has a right to know, yea even to decide, who is worthy to be considered a sharer of God's grace (a subject of the invisible kingdom) and a fellow participant at the Holy Supper. She is present with her minister to pray for the confirmants. Confirmation, therefore, is a disciplinary rite which fosters a uniform order of admission to the communion and in this sense may be considered a necessity to purity of doctrine and life. Whether, however, it exists in our present or any other form is not essen-

tial. The fact of discipline and order is enough. But it must be insisted on that there is no right conferred in this ceremony which did not before belong to the catechumens by virtue of baptism. It is rather, on their part, a formal demand to exercise their proper rights and, on the part of the church, a formal concession of it.

Only the imposition of hands remains to be considered. In our Church this is only a symbolism. Dr. B. M. Schmucker says, "That divine grace was conveyed by the laying on of hands was denied by the Lutheran Reformers." He considers it simply a sign of prayer or intercession in behalf of the individual on whom they are laid.

The general impression that the minister does the confirming is wrong. "I was confirmed by Rev. Mr. N." is erroneous. "Under" him, *i. e.* during his administration, would be nearer the truth. On this point there is much ambiguity in our formulas. Who then, or what confirms? Not being clear on this question, I sent it to Dr. B. M. Schmucker, who kindly replied as follows: "There is but one answer to your enquiry. It is the word and the sacraments. The desire of the subject or the prayers of the pastor and Church can only entreat. It is the baptism or its enduring covenant which promises, engages, and bestows—the word, especially as applied in the catechisation, the word preceding, attending and following—and the sacrament of the altar, to which the rite admits—which and which alone bestow confirming grace." This concise statement no doubt embodies the Lutheran view. But this refers altogether to the divine side of the matter. Now if confirmation is, as Luther called it, "an invention of man" who is the actor on the human side? Dr. S. acknowledges what it is wished to emphasize, namely, that it is neither the pastor nor the Church. From the time of Tertullian (201) in whose writings we find the first sure traces of this rite, until the twelfth century, confirmation was closely associated with both infant and adult baptism, and the bishop was considered the only proper person to administer it. This still is the case with all denominations in which the episcopate is retained. But a bishop (either in the prelatical or

ordinary sense) has no more divine authority than an ordinary pastor.

So far as there is such a factor the subjects themselves are the human actors. So others understand us to teach. McClintock and Strong's Encyclopedia says: "The earlier German Reformers rejected it even as a ceremony; but it (confirmation) was restored through the influence of Spener in the 17th century; and is now in use as a renewal of the baptismal covenant, in the Reformed and Lutheran Churches.

The Latin *confirmare* has three significations—to make strong—to encourage—to prove or demonstrate the truth of a thing. If the Holy Spirit through the word and sacraments does the first; and the Church, by means of its prayers and exhortations does the second, who does the third? The subject himself, and therefore I call him the confirmant. He demonstrates the reality of his confession of sin and faith in Christ, and that the professions made by his parents for him have become his own. This position is sustained by the excerpts quoted and by others that might be made.

The reader may think that too great an intellectual requirement has been laid down in the preceding remarks. But only the points mentioned, not their doctrinal elucidation or illustration are considered essential. No attempt to formulate a dogmatic system on the subject is meant to be made. It is granted that our catechumens cannot be able theologians. Nor need their teachers be. But it is held that they should be reasonably intelligent about their ecclesiastical and spiritual status. They should have clear ideas on their relation to the Church. One thing is certain, the fruits of a consistent and faithful discipleship will not reward our wishful efforts unless they grow from the "good ground" of intelligent indoctrination. Ignorance can not create nor fulfil a rational expectancy.

The second thing the Church can reasonably expect of its "newly confirmed members" is that they should fairly fulfil the obligations they have recognized and the character they have assumed. "Confirmation imposes no obligations that were not previously upon us" (Kurtz). Only the voluntary recognition of covenant obligation and the assumption of a character to fulfil

them takes place in the act. Wherever else it may be silent, here free will must speak. This is implied in the interchange of questions and responses between confirmant and pastor—the embassador who acts for God and the Church.

The vows then taken are voluntary and should not be lightly esteemed. They should be made after due deliberation and felt to be binding on the heart and conscience.

We have in the past suffered no little mortification from defections in our denomination. Thousands of our children, born and reared in our fold, have wandered away into strange ones. No doubt we have been guilty of faults which drove some of them away. We clung too long to the German, we did not take care of our Lutheran immigrants, we did not soon enough permit the peculiar tinges of Americanism to color our cultus. We thought the slightest change in externals would corrupt the *reine Lehre.* But no matter from what cause, the fact, to the chagrin of us all, remains—we have fed other Churches too long. Our theologians have always understood the vows of confirmation to signify a declaration of adherence to the particular denomination in which the rite was administered. Without intending the least disparagement to those of different belief, we insist that our own children and those we have brought in from the world belong to us and we must expect to keep them. We indeed have made arrangements for all legitimate transferences, but we rightly expect from our young members a firm, yea an enthusiastic loyalty to the Church of the Reformation. To this end, we ourselves should manifest such a spirit and teach them with all honesty that to us she is the best of them all.

In considering this head, the distinctive doctrines should, no more than the general articles of Christianity, be passed by. Each one should have a doctrinal conscience, but not be a credulous, narrow-minded creed worshiper. Here a generous liberty in non-essentials should be allowed. Of course latitudinarianism in Biblical fundamentals dare not be endured. True Lutheranism protests with all the force of instinctive freedom against all unlimited subscription to the doctrinal formulas of men.

Such a practice but breeds dishonesty, hypocrisy, and mental paralysis. So far as we now know, our fathers have not erred in their statements of the right faith so far as substance goes. But it is simply puerility to argue that a further knowledge and experience may not improve on their nomenclature and change opinions that do not affect salvation or proper Christian conduct. They were not infallible and the essence of human nature has left its mark upon their works. The Bible, therefore, the Bible I say, is the only creed to which we dare positively, without allowing a grain of mental reservation, bind the mind and conscience. To do otherwise would be to destroy the grand heritage which our beloved Luther bought for us as it were with his own blood.

But the Church has also a right to expect from them the blessed fruits of regeneration. The tree has been planted into the courts of Zion by baptism, fertilized by God's word, cultivated by the Holy Spirit, watered by the prayers of saints. How unnatural if it should not now blossom and bring forth!

Conversion and the new birth—the first the act of man in turning from his sins unto Christ, the second the act of God in delivering man from the guilt and power of them—are the prime objects of Christian home culture and pastoral catechisation. Anything short of these is failure. Nothing but the salvation of souls will please God. If possible we should feel satisfied that the confirmants are in the spiritual kingdom before we ask them to stand up before the world as members of the visible—that they at least are not aliens to grace, but subjects of it. But inasmuch as we can not look into the heart, and inasmuch as our judgment can not implicitly be confided in, and inasmuch as the Bible seems to refer the separation of tares from wheat to the last judgment, the idea of a perfect church—the dream of Montanists and Catharists—becomes an utter impossibility. Yet this is no argument for a relaxed vigilance. We ought the more to hope and labor for the good results of regeneration.

The world, the flesh, and the devil having been renounced, the outward life should show that there is no inward connection with them. This will be the highest proof of sincerity. There is a difference between a true child of God and a child of Belial.

This also should appear. Not that there must be a bodily withdrawal from the world, or haunts of men. 'Tis there our light is to shine. The society of saints should be dear. The services of the sanctuary should be a delight. There the heart should worship and the mind receive new truths or rehearse old ones. Love now should be the ruling motive in all things. Earnestness in piety and a desire to do good should be the signs of it. Giving should be a real benevolence, not the slavish offering of pride whipped to its purse by the thongs of 'apportionment' or the rivalry of an ambitious neighbor.

It would be well if each church member were a worker in some special line of usefulness. It would prove a hedge of safety to thousands who otherwise fall. Few swifts or swallows ever are killed, because when not asleep they are always on the wing. Thus souls always engaged in the Master's service will often escape the fiery darts of the enemy.

It is but natural too that the Church should look to her confirmed children for recruits to fill up the breaking ranks of her ministry. The kingdom of Christ will never be built up by converted prodigals. Those who have been reared in the estate of Christian training in the family and Church best fulfil the condition for the exercise of God's call. Not that he is in any way restricted, further than he restricts himself. He can and does call men from without as well as from within. But ordinarily he chooses to select his messengers from among those who grew up in the cultural atmosphere of the Christian fold.

With reference to our membership in general, there is only one side to truth, namely, that our churches will enjoy healthy growth and prosperity only in proportion as they adhere to Lutheran confirmation with its antecedents and consequences. Special meetings or measures may have a mission to accomplish after the lapse of a period of spiritual apathy—an abnormal excitement thus counteracting an abnormal inaction. But these too often factitious revivals, if long persisted in, instead of working as a leaven of righteousness, will work as the dry rot of Pharisaism and hypocrisy. Of course the wrong use of genuinely Lutheran practices will attain no better end. But weighed in the balance of long experience they have not been found wanting. They make for "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

ARTICLE VI.

OUTLINE OF THOLUCK'S EARLY LIFE.

By Mrs. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, Berlin, Prussia.

Gathered in the parlors of an eminent Christian lady in Berlin, there was lately a small company of those congenial in the faith among whom were two court-preachers, a son of Hegel, a daughter of Schleiermacher, a sister of Bismarck, and a few foreigners. The hostess careful to prepare spiritual and intellectual entertainment for her guests requested one after another of the clergymen present to relate some interesting experience either in their own religious life, or in their ministry. Court-preacher Schrader took up the word to illustrate the ennobling power of religion. Court-preacher Bayer then told of the power of Christianity to transform character, illustrating it by the life of a counterfeiter whom he knows, who for his first offense served fifteen years in prison. For the second he was committed for life; but there, serving the years of his life-doom he was converted, and became so eminent as an evangelist in prison that he was eventually pardoned and placed in a position of trust to oversee the weighing of gold in the government mint where he remains to this day as reliable as gold.

An American minister present, told, on request, something of his intercourse with Professor Tholuck, and he proceeded to relate how years ago, he had come as a young man to Europe, heavy with doubts which he felt he must either labor through, or else feel compelled to give up the ministry. It was then that he found at the Halle university the faithful soul-physician, Tholuck, and experienced how that true "student-father" could draw out a young man's confidence and lay bare his soul to himself with such astounding wisdom and insight. Marvelous as was Tholuck's memory, his learning, his genius for acquiring languages, he was still more wonderful in his personality, and in his understanding of the inmost workings of the human heart.

The speaker said, "I had occupied myself much with mathematics and philosophy and had supposed that our God-knowledge must also submit itself to mathematical demonstration; but Tholuck made me perceive my mistake in not recognizing the fact that there are things which can only be understood by the reason, and others that can be comprehended by the heart alone. On Christmas-eve, the professor presented me with a book and in it were inscribed these significant words: 'In matters of science the light descends from the head to the heart; in matters of faith the light ascends from the heart to the head. Only so far as we live in him, can we undersand God.' At length, when the time of my departure came and I went to bid him good-bye who had so faithfully prayed and wrought with me, he asked, 'Can you now go back to America and preach Christ?' 'Yes,' I could reply, 'I can; for my doubt has turned to faith.' Then he prayed with me once more, and I took my leave. I have had other professors from whom I learned more, but to Tholuck I owe most of all that makes my life worth living."

All four of the preachers present having at some time been pupils of Tholuck, the current of conversatlon turned upon him and a stream of interesting reminiscence flowed from their lips, for the tide of feeling and enthusiasm for that sainted man runs high among all German Christians. One remembered a note from Tholuck, containing the suggestive advice, "Speak more with God about yourself and men, than with men about God." They related how conscientiously Tholuck would follow those students who were in doubt, even so far as to appear at their bedside at six in the morning, if a particularly occupied day was likely to prevent him from seeing them at any other hour. He would tolerate from students nothing which was not natural and true, and he loved to flash upon them unexpected questions. It was his custom to invite one or three students to accompany him in his long daily walks. Once, during a promenade in the fields he plucked a corn-flower and asked one of his companions, "What did you think of on seeing this flower?" "On the omnipotence and love of God," was the reply. He asked another who modestly answered, "To be frank, I did not

think of anything." Turning to the first, Tholuck said gently, "Beware of hypocrisy." He was so many-sided and witty, so instructive but so mystifying, so magnetic and lovely and yet so severe that the students both coveted and dreaded the first invitation to walk with him. Sometimes after a walk with a student in perfect silence he would say as he reached his gate, "So, next time we will continue this interesting discussion." On first meeting with a student he liked to put to him some sudden difficult question to test the mental calibre of the youth. Usually he was careful to suit his question to some test of the province the student came from, which any wide-awake youth might be expected to know or have heard at some time, as, "Who was the Magus of the North?" or, "Do you sympathize most with this or that king"—either of obscure place in the Bible, or profane history? A witty answer gave him great pleasure. It amused him much to invite a set of students all bearing the names of birds; as Mr. Hen, Mr. Finch, Mr. Jay, etc., or of animals, or of dreadful jaw-breakers all four or more syllables long and then witness his wife's and the students' efforts to preserve dignity during the long process of introduction. From whatever land or province these foreign students had come, Prof. Tholuck's gift of tongues enabled him to converse with them in their own dialect.

The appearance of a book containing Tholuck's life has been waited for with impatience by Christians and theologians of both hemispheres. Prof. Witte to whom the materials for this work were entrusted has responded to this interest by publishing the first of two volumes in which he hopes to complete the biography; a book embracing only the first twenty-seven years of Tholuck's life.* The author acknowledges perplexity as to the public for which to prepare this work, for since Tholuck was a man of erudition and his writings belong for the most part to the domain of learned investigation, the republic of letters had to be taken into account, at least so far as to furnish some indi-

*Das Leben D. Friedrich August Gotttreu Tholuck's dargestellt von Professor Leopold Witte, Superintendent und geistl. Inspektor der Konigl. Landesschule Pforta. Erster Band, 1799–1826. Velhagen & Klasing. 1884. Leipzig.

cation of the enduring value of his works. But since in a still more eminent degree Tholuck was a man important as a character of and for the people, Professor Witte has wisely written a popular book, suiting it to the wants and interests of both young and old of either sex. For, those Christians who can date a new period in their spiritual and mental development, or who received some deep impression from personal contact with Tholuck belong to every rank and condition.

Professor Witte has done conscientious, painstaking work and has produced a portrait which Tholuck's friends recognize as real and true. But the shadows they say are touched with too heavy a hand. The likeness would still have been real and the picture of the man as true if he had omitted to perpetuate every mole and wen. The foreigner in seeking to discover the relative height of Tholuck with regard to his own times and contemporaries will find much the same disappointment he often encounters in view of some famous mountain among the Alps, and for the same reason. The material has in large part been of necessity gathered from colleagues and fellow-students, who, themselves standing on a high level, inferior crests nearer by, failed to be impressed with the height to which Tholuck would tower when distance should sink other peaks below the horizon. The criticism is trite, but it applies again to this biography; it is a book of materials and characteristics, not a finished creation. Yet, as we criticise, we consider that the volume treats of the youth of Tholuck, of the formative period of that rare, ripe character, when perhaps the best the author could do was to throw the light of his magic lantern full upon those various changing characteristics, which nurtured and pruned by the grace of God united to develop so eminent a man and a Christian. As we read, the fascination grows, and so does the sense of gratitude for such another valuable contribution to popular Christian literature. We use it as the authority for the following outline of Tholuck's early life.

Frederick August Gotttreu Tholuck, who made his name so well known that a letter from America addressed to "Mr. Tholuck, Europe," came speedily and safely to his hand, was the son of a humble goldsmith, John Gottlob Tholuck, and his first

wife Johanne Christianne Roenschen, and was born in Breslau, March 30, 1799. He was the youngest of nine children, who were possessed of so little vitality that only one brother was still alive when he came to the birth. Both his parents were churchly, and outwardly religious, having daily family prayers; but their piety was so formal, dead, and undemonstrative that their son received no early religious impression except through an old potter, a simple Christian man, who, when he came to make repairs in the house, was accustomed to call Tholuck's mother earnestly to account for her spiritual responsibility, and who impressed himself on the five year old child by the mild peacefulness of his manner. Still the old man was laughed at by the family as a canting hypocrite and so he lost his sanctity in the eyes of the boy.

August, being wide awake, his father desired that he should receive a thorough education, and from his fifth year he was sent to the preparatory school of the St. Mary's Gymnasium, in his native city; and here already he acquired a most remarkable cosmopolitan culture. Scarcely had he mastered the first difficulties in the way of reading when he devoured with a certain mania everything readable on which he could lay his hands. His own home offered him no reading matter, but a circulating library near by became to him an inexhaustible mine of riches. This insatiable boy was accustomed to bring home eight to twelve novels and comedies weekly, and he estimated that before his thirteenth year he had devoured from two to three thousand volumes of this unhealthy nutriment. When the days were not long enough he was accustomed to call the night to his assistance.

But alas! with his seventh year he lost his mother, and two months later a second wife was introduced into the family. Year by year a babe took its place in the cradle until eight children had been born. Private misfortunes and Napoleon's wars played havoc with the goldsmith's trade and income, and gradually an increasing amount of domestic drudgery naturally fell upon August's shoulders. His life became a series of bitter trials. His inexorable step-mother often kept him for half the night rocking the cradle of the infant step-progeny, for which

of course no light was furnished. With patient toil he collected candle-ends and the bits of tallow that dripped from the family light in order at least to flavor his monotonous task with fascinating reading. But if sleep overcame him in his two-fold employment he would place his feet in cold water! And thus he probably laid the foundation for his future delicate health, as well as the life-long affliction with his eyes.

But his familiarity with knights in romance and accounts of travel had other consequences beside. His beloved books introduced the young phantast into a much more choice circle of society, accustomed to finer forms and usages than were to be found in his home. His father, though an upright man, was totally lacking in the finer feelings, and he often gave way to ungovernable violence of temper and the step-mother was of similar temperament. His ideal of elegant manners and usages, for which he possessed such a keen appreciation, made the coarse threats and abusive language heaped upon him appear still more vulgar, and the deep violation of his æsthetic and delicate sensibility often set him to weeping for hours. The step-mother found the expense of August's higher schooling a persistent thorn in the flesh, and since, in fact, she felt a peculiar dislike for the little dreamer she constantly disparaged him before his father, who allowed himself to be influenced by his wife's petty complaining and fretting, and at times whipped and kicked the boy without mercy. He was often convulsed with pain and disappointment, and shut himself up to bitter gloom, or else broke out into a spasm of despair and rage. We can trace back to his tenth year this boy's temptations to suicide, who, by nature, was cheerful and of good intentions: this temptation to self-murder followed the youth up to manhood with a demoniac power.

The rapacious hunger after food for his restless, culture-greedy brain made of his studies a certain solace for all the ills he had to endure. One day after one of those unreasonable castigations, when he had been flung by the hair on the floor, beaten with the fist and kicked about the room, he resolved never again to take a walk with his father and step-mother, and this resolution was fulfilled to the letter. He remained at home at such

times to read his novels and comedies, and after his twelfth year took up accounts of travel. His young imagination became so active, that he constructed a little world for himself, a toy earth; he then disposed the countries upon it, placed sovereigns upon their thrones, founded universities, invented chronicles and wrote a weekly newspaper containing the news of his growing states. But the business of governing his kingdoms and editing his paper consumed so much time that he gave his phantastic world, with its remarkable documents, into the safe keeping of a friend. After this he began composing comedies and geographical romances which generally had their scene of action in the Orient, or at least somewhere beyond Europe.

Finally, during his twelfth year, a new danger threatened total destruction to the scientific, idealistic direction of the boy. His step-mother succeeded at length by ceaseless ragging in driving him to abandon his studies at the gymnasium, and he entered the shop of his father as an apprentice. He resolved to follow the trade of a goldsmith and to adapt himself to what was for him a painful destiny. But without success. The fire affected his delicate eyes; his complaints however were regarded as an excuse to get back to school. The father soon discovered to his own loss that his boy had been thoroughly spoiled for a goldsmith. The near-sighted little fellow bungled hopelessly in making repairs until frequently all hope of repair had to be given up. One day he had a gold ring to make as a setting for a valuable stone; owing to his near-sightedness he melted both the setting and the jewel, and the result was a total ruin. An old workman of his father's hurled the boy away from the table, calling out in a rage, "What! this stupid fellow become a goldsmith? Send him back to his books!" By this act the old artisan made a professor.

But this failure cost him such a whirlwind of agony that he resolved to starve. His melancholy increased, and he had become a proud, passionate, ill-tempered boy, who began to feel a distaste for all that savored of religion. He was now sent to prepare himself for confirmation where he must have distinguished himself, because forty years after, a butcher asked his pastor whether a certain Tholuck, son of a goldsmith were still

alive. When informed that Tholuck was a very celebrated theological professor, the butcher's face lit up with joy, and he said: "Yes, I thougt it would come to something like that. For all of us were dumbfounded at his talent and his learning." But during this course of religious instruction Tholuck's heart remained cold and dead. His head always inclined him to rationalism, and his heart had not yet been awakened. The little doubter scoffed at the doctrine of Christ's resurrection. One impression only remained with him after this course of study and that was an impulse to pray two or three times a week. Now, a burning ambition seized him and became the impelling motive of his life. To distinguish himself, to accomplish some extraordinary thing, and to attract attention by something unheard of, was the impulse that overcame him, and the reaction of the terribly passionate nature of the boy was something frightful. Every failure filled him with deep melancholy, or bitter rage, and aroused in him the temptation to self-destruction. He once hanged himself until consciousness was almost gone and the involuntary convulsion of his body tore the cloth. He would run his head violently against the wall, hoping to dash out his brains. And they were strangely dark years for a delicate child, often a physical sufferer, near-sighted, unhappy in his home, obliged to toil hard at the housework, misunderstood and mistreated by father and mother, his wonderful talents the source of anguish as well as of joy, with no evident glimpse of real, higher life except through the medium of a few boys in the gymnasium who belonged to the higher classes of society. But between him and them there was a great gulf. He, an obscure goldsmith's son, in shabby clothes, and they sons of the aristocracy! We are speaking of German boys, and he of all boys was thoroughly German. Take his talent for languages. It was something to stagger belief. He picked them up, nobody knew where.

But to return to his gymnasium. One of the talents which distinguished him pre-eminently in after life, was that for friendship. With his fifteenth year his disposition became milder and more serious. Lonely at home, he began to long for intercourse, for love and friendship, until the desire became

a torture. But it was the richer and more distinguished pupils at his gymnasium who bore most resemblance to the charmed society of his chivalric romances, and these at first avoided his acquaintance. Unaided, in his childish way he set about preparing to make himself a desirable companion to these better favored boys. He studied their fine, cultivated manners and wrote out for himself a prescription for distinguished behavior, —a most subtle caricature, though unintended by this observing youth. His first attempts to draw near them were met with coldness, and, intimidated, the poor boy shrunk away to his books. But gradually the ice broke, and the ebb and flow of his relations with the school boys whose friendship he courted form the principal contents of his first diary, perhaps the most singular book of the sort ever penned.

The first volume of this diary begins with Nov. 25, 1814, when he was fifteen and a half years old, and closes with April 16, 1816. Not a single sentence of the entire book was written in German characters. Only fourteen pages are in the German language, all of which, however, are traced in Greek and Hebrew characters, and the other entries all appear in foreign languages: Latin, French, Polish, Arabic, English, Dutch, Greek, often an extraordinary mixture, so that a sentence may begin in French, be continued in Polish or English, and end in Latin or Dutch. At the same time there occur the most atrocious blunders in grammar, and the boldest coining of words which however never daunted him in the least, as his diary was intended also as a means of practice in the languages he was pursuing.

Tholuck confided to these pages, with most touching frankness, all his inner and outer experiences, feelings and thoughts; it is a glance into the inmost heart of the developing youth, and wins for him sympathy in all his great and lesser conflicts, resolutions, disappointments, obstacles and joys. But what is most striking is the pertinacity with which he toiled to win the friendship of his better bred school-mates. According to his success, his spirits rose or fell. When he was baffled or avoided, self-destructive thoughts arose. When he was kindly received the whole world swam in a rosy light; and when at last it became an undoubted fact that they loved him, his heart, so long

forsaken, seemed to open up wide, and all his gifts and talents were brought to a new and more lovable development. It is something pathetic to see that this man who in time became such a master in the art of friendship was once so stinted in regard to friendly demonstrations, and to behold upon what pitiful morsels his heart was obliged to subsist. In his diary he complains, "What is life good for without a friend?" He exults, when three or four of the desirable schoolmates receive him into their friendship, and hopes with an ardent yearning that some day they will exchange the formal "Sie" for the "Du" of confidential intimacy.

At last the artisan's son began to make himself felt in a more distinguished circle as one equally well-born with themselves, and soon all his comrades of whatever rank bow before him as to a superior, and do homage to the might of his personality as the true centre, moving and animating every one within the circle of his friends. Tholuck's extraordinary intellectual vivacity, and the iron firmness with which he strove to attain the goal he had marked out for himself could not but compel the esteem and recognition of his comrades.

Let us cast a glance at the mass of knowledge over which this singular youth had presumed to gain control. His diary begins with these words: 'Animated by having read 'The Child's Friend' I have now resolved to begin a diary, and to confide my thoughts to it fully. To-day I determined henceforth not to work so long at night, but to rise early and do my work then. That is my first resolution."

Alas for this praiseworthy decision! The diary laments over many breaches in its fulfilment. The next few days we read a rising schedule recording "7½, 7¾, 6¾," "got up too late," "early as I wanted to rise this morning Carl failed to wake me." All sorts of obstacles arose. "I did rise early this morning, but, alas, I got nothing but boot-blacking done." He seemed to have a severe trial with stoves, for firemaking plays a great role in his diary. And his self-reproaches on account of his failure in diligence are extremely numerous. "If I don't work harder from this day forth, there will be a poor look-out for me." But this self-reproach must be measured with the high standard his

ambition placed defore him. At sixteen he wrote, "My whole attention has been directed toward comprehending all science." And a year later he gives utterance to his fear lest after all he may not distinguish himself, but remain something mediocre, "and mediocrity is a frightful thought to me." The victory over long-sleepiness in the morning was finally won and that for life; friends tell us how as an old man he rose at five, and because his sight was so near and weak he pursued his studies groping among his books on his knees.

Tholuck made no particularly satisfactory record for himself in the prescribed course at the gymnasium. But his industry in voluntary pursuits was extraordinary, particularly the way he gradually included within the province of his study one language dead or living, after the other. What is there not to be found in this diary! In December 1814, he mentions that he is studying Spanish and Swedish, and finally Ethiopian. On the 4th of January Arabic, on the 7th Hebrew, the 22nd, Chinese, the 23d, Armenian, the 29th Russian, February 15 Syriac, April 2d Sanscrit, May 21 Hungarian, June 26, Polish, Aug. 12, English, Oct. 9 Danish, the 30th, Dutch, and finally in December, Persian. If we include the three languages, Greek, Latin and French, compulsory in school, it will make no less than nineteen foreign languages this fifteen to sixteen-year-old lad was striving, with more or less success, to appropriate. Despite all self-reproach, what iron diligence! But what a genius for language he must have possessed simply to tempt and nourish an appetite for such a hash of tongues; even though, at this stage any thorough or comparative philology was not to be thought of. Learning for learning's sake, the unique enjoyment of constantly acquiring new linguistic materials, it was this that spurred him on with such fascinating charm to learn the languages spoken in all the Orient and Occident familiar to him by means of his reading.

The sort of religion the boy had opportunity to observe at home was not of a kind to kindle a child's piety; it was rather calculated to excite opposition to religion. He became for a time a decided little rationalist and scoffer. On his graduation it was his desire to travel through the Orient "in order to prove

by means of new discoveries how silly Christianity is in contrast with the exalted wisdom of the eastern lands."

In spite of this decided animosity toward Christianity a most conspicuous characteristic of the boy's diary is the fact that it is studded and interwoven with constant references to God. The wishes he traced on paper became prayers, and he calls on God for petty and insignificant things; he begs for success in his work, the commendation of his rector, to make his father better satisfied with him, and his relation to his friends more intimate. With the most child-like confidence he expresses his thanks to God for the least little joys and encouragement which were permitted to fall into his desolate days. In truth, he traced everything, great or small, to an almighty God and his teachings. And so within his environment the boy Tholuck exerted a morally ennobling influence, and upon those unaware of the state of his heart, he produced the impression of a thoroughly pious, exemplary youth, prompted by the highest impulses alone. Letters from boys of the gymnasium to this goldsmith's son, once so shunned by them, abound in the most enthusiastic praise and refer to him as the inspirer of all that was good and noble in their early life. But the most touching and significant testimony of his missionary work, begun in earliest youth, despite his own great immaturity, is that from a young Catholic goldsmith's apprentice who lived with Tholuck's father for six years, from August's twelfth to his eighteenth year. In a parting letter to Tholuck, January 31, 1817, he writes: "Farewell to you, my teacher, my father, my protector, my friend by whom I desire to be governed, I who dislike to be subject. * * May nothing sadden you, you who have consoled the mourning, who have sacrificed your rest for others and who will sacrifice yourself for the world and for which you will also receive the palm of victory. * * Your teachings, which I have received during these six years shall have fallen upon good ground." This young goldsmith subsequently became a Catholic theologian.

And yet Tholuck was justified, when in after years he came to look upon this period of his life as a time of godlessness and even blasphemy. In his piety, frequently seeming so childlike, there was something frightfully strained and selfish, and it was

far from exerting a sanctifying and purifying influence upon his own life. His uncontrollable passion and impatience also appeared in his relation to God. He exhibits the same childish defiance toward the God to whom he prays, as toward his teacher in Arabic to whom he resolves never to go back, because he reproved him during a lesson. This same defiance led him to the most pert opposition to God, whom in other moments he would so simply petition.

"I often determined," he wrote later, "that if to-day what you want does not come to pass you shall destroy yourself. During this period of my life my intercourse with God had become most strange. I thought of myself as in eternity, therefore continually with God and I had gained such confidence in his love, particularly his love toward me that in these schemes for self-destruction I reasoned childishly: Dear Father, if thou wilt that I shall not destroy myself, fulfil my petition; if thou dost not fulfil it, I shall accept it as a token that thou dost allow the murder. I was quite convinced that suicide was not punishable. I thought God would soon reward me for having borne with my wretched life so long." But then again a twinge of his conscience would force the thought. "What if he should punish you after all?" "Very well," I concluded, "let him; then he is an unjust God, and even out of my damnation, I will cry out to him through all eternity 'God, thou art unjust!'" Or it was suggested: "Is it not possible, that the earth was perhaps created by an evil demon, who controls it, and who finds bliss in human misery? How else could you have fallen into such a terrible condition? And then the thought occurred and I roared it out with a terrible vehemence: Yes, thou shalt live, live to trample all religions under thy feet, in order that Satan who is in heaven may not laugh to scorn the crazy people who adore him."

No doubt this fearful spiritual condition was owing in part to bodily suffering and his peculiar temperament. But, at last the deepening of his true Christian piety in later life, gave him strength to conquer in all such conflicts.

We can truly say that even in the boy there really was an inextinguishable impulse toward God, and a moral predisposition.

But his heart had not yet been broken. The impatient obstinacy which also cost the riper child of God many a struggle now controlled his entire being and regulated even his religious life. Hence his moods changed with his circumstances, and it depended upon these whether childlike resignation, hopeful petitions, joyful gratitude, or whether bitter rancor flamed in his heart, and tempted him to suicide and the boldest blasphemy. Natural religion which had its origin in his flesh and blood could not hold out in the storms of such passion as raged in his tender frame from his earliest boyhood. And yet his presence, because of the unshakable earnestness of his purpose, had an enlivening, ennobling, edifying, influence. One of his young friends who no doubt was cognizant of the religious unrest and the opposing currents in Tholuck's soul, could write to him, even in that period: "I have many friends, but not one of them so entirely comprehends my inner life, not one is so embraced by the tenderest love of my heart as you, you truly noble being, you pure tender-hearted youth, you candid, warm friend!" And in prophetic tones he exclaims, "Youth, in thee, a great man is ripening. What a harvest of blessing will then spring (namely when God's peace shall have returned to his heart) from thy lofty spirit! * * Finally, in his glowing enthusiasm he ends with the beautiful prayer: May thy life be a long kiss of the Infinite!"

His course at the gymnasium finished, he entered the University at Breslau as a student of philology. But even in the first year of his student-life his yearning after more exact knowledge of oriental literature impelled him to leave Breslau and come to Berlin to the celebrated orientalist, H. F. von Diez.

The way by which he was led to Berlin was extraordinary. It was in January, 1817, right in the midst of a semester, that there came riding in from the long, slow journey from Breslau a young student half frozen, who knew nobody in all the great capital, and had no money, except the little that remained of twenty-five thalers he had borrowed for this undertaking. Here he was a boy not quite eighteen, without any distinct aim, except that he had felt impelled toward something unknown, something of which he was unconscious, except for the feeling that

he was born for something better in the world. A few months before in the course of his oriental investigations, a work of von Diez had fallen into his hands, in which that eminent scholar expressed himself so powerfully on the subject of religion that the boy was filled with enthusiasm. He began to read the Bible oftener, to have more respect for orthodox Christianity, and to seek intercourse with orthodox Christians. His excellency, von Diez, was at that time a great authority in the domain of oriental studies, and in every respect a remarkable man. He exerted such a penetrating influence on Tholuck's development, and was so thoroughly an original that we must devote to him a little space. From his youth, Diez had distinguished himself by his morality, industry and trustworthiness. Specially attracted to the study of oriental languages, and constantly rising from one position of trust to a higher, he was sent at the age of thirty-four as Privy Counsellor of the Legation and Prussian Ambassador to Constantinople, at a time when the emperor Joseph Second's ambition to annex Turkish territory required a check. He remained in Constantinople many years, and collected rich treasures of oriental manuscripts; and on his return, settled down in Berlin in an elegant house surrounded by a park on the banks of the Spree. And here after the style of an ambassador he kept open house and daily entertained the celebrities of society and intellect. Gœthe somewhere acknowledges Diez's important influence upon his studies, and how he enjoyed the favor of the counsellor's friendship. Diez was an old bachelor, singularly full of crochets, as extraordinary as the way in which he and Tholuck were brought together.

We give the account partly in Tholuck's own words: "In the the Winter of 1816–17, a merchant talked of taking a trip to Berlin, and in sport asked me whether I would like to go along. 'Yes,' I answered, thinking at first only of the opportunity it would afford me to extend my knowledge of the world; and then it flashed upon me whether Diez in Berlin were not perhaps the man to deliver me out of my Egypt? That awakened in me an impulse to prayer; and for one hour I prayed the Heavenly Father to grant me assurance whether this Diez would be to me all I needed. Finally it seemed as if God said, 'Amen.'

I became certain that Diez would receive me into his house. Then I packed and sealed all my possessions in order that they might be sent after me, when suddenly—a pass-port was refused to the merchant, and he was forced to give up the project. All seemed to have come to naught—but no. This man, not well off himself, borrowed twenty-five thalers which he gave me to pursue my journey alone. It was God's finger! I had formed a conception which included no less than the astonishingly bold request that Diez should receive me, an unknown wanderer, into his own home, if possible as his adopted son!" Unaccustomed to intercourse with persons in high station and probably abashed at the idea of speaking his enormous demand he committed his proposition to paper, and on his arrival in Berlin sought to deliver this letter into the counsellor's own hands. Everything now seemed to depend on how Diez should receive him. This visit he felt was to be decisive for his whole inner and outer life, and his faith in an almighty, all-merciful God. He pulled the bell with a throbbing heart. "Can I see Herrn von Diez?" he asked of the servant who appeared at the door. "The Counsellor of Legation has been sick for two months, and the physician has forbidden all visits." "So there is no possibility of access to him?" "I dare not announce any one." Then, it seemed to Tholuck, as he afterwards used to relate, as if little demons were leaping up in his heart and laughing him to scorn. "After all, there is no God!" The thought convulsed his soul. The Spree ran near, and as if benumbed he staggered toward the nearest bridge. Fiends seemed to be dragging him toward the water, there to make an end of an existence no longer of any worth. When a voice called him. The servant who had been frightened at the despairing expression on the boy's face had followed after, and now inquired if perhaps he had some message to deliver. Tholuck shook his head, when he thought of his letter, which he hastily drew from his pocket and begged that it might be placed in the hands of the master. In a few minutes he was summoned to the desired presence. He had imagined that the author of the book he had read must be a friendly, cordial, old man, who would waive all ceremony. And see, there rose before him a giant figure, in silken hose and dainty apparel, his hair

elaborately dressed, his breast decorated with orders, and his fingers covered with costly rings. Von Diez had a voice whose very whisper could make one quake to his marrow. He slowly made a deep bow to his visitor and fixed him with a penetrating glance. He held Tholuck's letter in his hand which suffering as he was, from dropsy and a severe affection of the eyes, he vainly tried to decipher. A painful pause ensued, when he commanded with his voice of thunder: "You have written this letter. Read it for me; I have to spare my eyes." The trembling Tholuck stammered in reply, "I should be much indebted if you would take the trouble." A renewed effort; violent shaking of the head; frowns growing steadily deeper. Finally the great presence stretches itself to its giant height, and roars out, "Such pale ink I can not read," and he hurls the letter on the table. Shaking in every limb, Tholuck began his hard task in a quavering voice. "No whimpering! I detest that," interrupted Diez, and the boy read on to the close. Another long, long pause, when the counsellor broke silence. "Young man, you are a strange individual, a very strange individual! But I believe that a divine providence has led you to me. The man who hitherto has been assisting me in my labors is seriously ill; you are in part, master of the languages, so you may take his place. As I said, I believe that providence has sent you here. But you are a very strange young man."

This experience wrought powerfully on Tholuck. For the first time his wild, obstinate heart was overwhelmed with the assurance that a merciful Father in Heaven had revealed to him the mystery of his dealings. He was followed here as everywhere by the sympathy of his friends in Breslau, as their letters of this period attest. Tholuck was transcendently a man of heart, and his friendship with ardent, noble young men, reveals some of his most beautiful characteristics. The extraordinary prayer-test on his approach to Diez exerted a remarkable influence on his old school friends. Their correspondence at this time runs over with love, they write in a boyish sentimental tone, but the gush and the overflow were stimulated by the right and the true. Tholuck to whom in later years all such effusiveness was distasteful, had also his extravagant period to pass through.

In spite of his rugged character and his increasing illness, von Diez was kind and friendly to a fatherly degree toward the "singular young body." They worked together, and Diez directed the linguistic studies of his eager protege. The intercourse in this original household was intellectually vivacious; and the contact here with distinguished people widened his horizon, and opened to him a new world. But the profoundest impression Tholuck received here was from the eminent master's deep respect for everything sacred, particularly his unconditional submission to the simple Bible truth, and his firm, childlike faith in Christ. Von Diez had grown up in the midst of rationalism and was a rationalist when he went to Constantinople. But there he was forced to observe the unconditional surrender of the Moslems to the duties of their religion, and it produced on him an impression he could never efface. He became ashamed of his own faithlessness toward the Christian belief and determined to be, henceforth, obedient as a child to the divine word. The youthful skeptic was now in daily intercourse with a learned man orthodox from conviction, one who made no secret of his orthodoxy and yet could compel the boy's highest veneration both as a scholar and as a man. Tholuck afterwards wrote of him as the noblest among Jesus Christ's disciples. It may be attributed to the influence of von Diez that Tholuck now inscribed himself in the theological faculty in Berlin. His principal winter's work, however, seems to have been done within the silent apartments of his new home, and upon the linguistic treasures of the university library.

But alas! Three months after he had entered this wonderful house of blessing, the grand old man who had been an embodied sermon on the goodness and faithfulness of God, fell asleep in Tholuck's arms. His noble old patron and guide was dead, and he again alone in the world. Diez left his entire fortune to the royal cathedral and his library to the university. Tholuck, to whom Diez had dictated the codicils to his last will had no expectations. It was Diez's conviction that a young man must make his own way, and he had no fear for young Tholuck and his career. But now again he was penniless and alone in a strange city.

A bird's eye view of the Prussian capital during Tholuck's years there may be of interest. The whole nation had just passed through years of fiery trial in which Berlin had suffered most; and it came out from the war for its freedom a changed city. Shortly before the war, near the close of the eighteenth century, noted German authors bore most unflattering testimony to Berlin character. But the wars with Napoleon shook the nation to its very centre; and when freedom was again regained, the sin of imitating foreign vice and flippancy became least unfashionable, and a nobler national life began to pervade the capitol. The frightful dangers of 1806–7 passed, and the pressure of Napoleon's heavy hand removed, a powerful moral revival was experienced throughout the nation. Amidst the joys of victory, mourning was heard in thousands and thousands of families throughout the land, and that brought the people to inquire about the living God, and awakened a thirst for the living waters, flowing through the Gospel. It is true that the professors' chairs and the pulpits of the official Prussian Church still remained under the chilling influence of rationalism, but here and there the voices of evangelical shepherds were raised aloud to proclaim the pure word. To this latter category belongs Schleiermacher who became to many Christians of the cultivated classes, the means of bringing them to deeper faith and more earnest consecration. He certainly was, despite all that the more earnest said against him, a powerful bridge to better things. Other pulpits were occupied, as we read in Tholuck's diary, by Marheinicke, Hermes, Löffler, Jänicke, Anders, who afterwards became the Moravian bishop at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, Theremin, Conard, and Koher, all of whom were such preachers as the pious of the land loved to hear. And the number of such pastors gradually grew, and their influence as well. But the awakening of the laity to religious activity was much more marked than that of the clergy of Berlin, who had all received their training at rationalistic universities. And the Athens of the Spree henceforth gradually acquired the name of "the pious Berlin."

The great breaking up of European relations and States during the first years of our century was a stimulus in all depart-

ments of thought towards a deeper religious tendency. All science experienced its quickening influence. An impulse to self-development, and a deepening self-consciousness is perceptible through German thought. In the department of law and political economy a new tendency arose in which the aim was to discover the laws which were a natural development of the people, by which laws were not to be made, but found. Philology was bringing to mind the forgotten treasures of the German language. Philosophy too was affected by this grand revolution, and Fichte was a remarkable example of the new tendency. He had been accused of atheism in 1798, and yet in 1814, when he was laid to rest in a Berlin church-yard, the words which were inscribed on his tomb had become appropriate: "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

With Fichte's change of residence to Berlin a turning point in his philosophy is apparent. He acquired a clearer apprehension of the living God; and found in the Johannine Christianity the stamp of those principles which henceforth determined his speculation. In 1806, in his popular lectures on the "Guide to a Holy Life," he broke decisively with the reigning rational moralism of Kant. He held the book of John aloft as the philosopher's guide, because he alone appeals to the reason, and points to the sole proof authoritative with the philosopher, namely, the inner: If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God. * * "Wouldst thou see God as he is in himself face to face? Do not seek him beyond the clouds; thou canst find him anywhere, wherever thou art. Behold the life of those consecrated to him and thou shalt behold him; consecrate thyself to him, and thou wilt find him in thy breast." After Fichte, came Schleiermacher, who, though decidedly opposed to Fichte's philosophy, became the theological representative of scholarship returning to religion, and therefore he was the man to whom, among all the gradually emerging votaries of religion, the cultivated first attached themselves. But the Christianity of Fichte and Schleiermacher was of a sort

which even such a manifest heathen as Alexander v. Humboldt was not likely to oppose.

With regard to this movement, there were those who felt that most men, and particularly the distinguished men of the times, could only be brought back to Christianity by means of philosophy, since it was through philosophy that they had been led away. Only that would have power to heal the wounds which had occasioned them. Others again, distrustful of the new tendency, doubted the efficacy of speculative theology as a remedy for the wounds of the Church. They feared that the theologians rejoicing in newly discovered, or newly established philosophic notions, would not be able to withstand the temptation to occupy themselves with such subjects in the Church, which neither being philosophic, nor able to be, would only acquire a new element of disturbance. Such preachers and laymen turned with hope to the new pietistic-ascetic movement whose influence was strong in certain circles in Berlin, both among the burghers and a few families of the high nobility. When these people found but little nourishment in their several churches, without neglecting attendance there, they would gather together to hold Bible readings and prayermeetings. They were sometimes interfered with by the police instigated by the church authorities. Still when Tholuck came to Berlin, some twenty such conventicles were regularly held, among whose leaders were teachers of the common and higher schools, school directors, merchants, a banker, a music director, pious master-workmen, a baron, theological students, and an officer's servant, who for his humility, piety and scripture knowledge was held in high esteem. Such were the men who for half a century, kept warm and glowing the spark of their Christian life.

Tholuck joined this movement soon after his arrival in the capital, and became a regular attendant at the meetings. We find him gradually coming into contact with most of those who were specially seeking more light and life in the Christian sphere, from whom there went out a powerful influence in the direction of energetic, honest enquiry Among the professors, Neander was the only one who exercised any special influence on his career. The eighteen-year-old youth became very inti-

mate with Neander, so that for years he spent one evening of every week in the Neander home, and the stimulus he there received manifests itself in his diary. He attended Neander's lectures most, and wrote and studied them with special care. His diary records run thus, and show the character of Neander's intercourse with the young man: "Was filled with supreme joy this evening at Neander's while we were absorbed in talking of the grandeur of our faith: 'How every one who departs from the holy companionship of God in Christ sinks deeper and deeper, and therefore the pantheist becomes a worshiper of himself: How the present age determines not to leave anything in the domain of the supersensible, drags everything into the realm of the reason, until finally God himself becomes idea: How, therefore, Christian living is made specially binding upon the Christian; and only so much of the glory of heaven is revealed as is necessary to him in order to know how to regulate his life. Much moved and deeply penetrated by these thoughts I returned to my own room.'" "Walked with Neander in the Thiergarten this evening. He spoke of how difficult it is to accurately know even one century." He also said, 'One almost never finds a truly learned man frivolous.' He was very full of love and humility."

With Schleiermacher, Tholuck had little sympathy either intellectually or spiritually. In 1818 he writes. "In Schleiermacher's church I rejoiced that I have discovered a safer path in which to pursue my way if the Lord does not withhold his grace." Marheinicke, less gifted than Schleiermacher, but more directly and more warmly Christian, helped Tholuck spiritually in a high degree. He attended several courses of his lectures, and committed to his diary: "During the lecture I was intensely moved because while we were considering the higher truths, the blessed certainty entered my soul that the most needful aim for me is *to become complete in Jesus.*"

From his letters during the first two years in Berlin, as well as from his papers and commonplace books, we find that beside his theologic studies Tholuck was carrying on his favorite studies in philology with uninterrupted zeal. He copied com-

plete books of Persian and Arabic manuscripts, and also hundreds of pages of extracts; and the beginning of an Arabic dictionary in a thick folio volume also dates from this period. He was amazingly industrious in collecting material from all languages.

In his spirit Tholuck had found peace, but it had no firm basis as yet. Despite all his striving, and the earnestness of his character, and the eminent Christian society which attracted him most, during these years in Berlin often the most violent conflicts rage within him, for, with all his passion and the rugged contrasts in his nature, there was a great volcano there to manage. After his close acquaintance with Diez, the doubter and scoffer in him no longer publicly showed himself, but there was still much to fight before the whole man could be brought to submit to Christ. During 1817, he made the acquaintance of a man who, perhaps, more than any other wrought upon Tholuck's spirit, and helped him to bring it into harmony with himself and God, and to attune it to love. In 1818, he writes in his diary, "My, my, my Kottwitz!" Yet even with his Kottwitz to help him, doubts and difficulties sometimes raged with a demon's rage as if he had never known Jesus, while again his life was a majestic hymn to God. It was indeed one of the masterpieces of God's infinite grace to prepare this chosen instrument through whom afterwards so many were strengthened in the faith. His chisel, however, had to strike long and hard to chip the divine figure out of such stone.

The story goes that the Baron wrought no marked influence upon Tholuck until one day when Kottwitz heard the young student storming violently in his room, and stalking like mad up and down the floor. Upon entering, he found the youth red in the face and so trembling with rage that he could not speak. To the question, "What is the matter?" he responded panting with excitement, "I have to go to lecture and can not find my boots." The Baron startled at such childish behavior, stepped up to him and said: "My young friend, you pretend to be a Christian theologue, and expect some day to preach the Lord, and are yet so little able to control yourself?" And he left the room in distress. From the nature of the young man whose

sullen, violent rage so often tempted him to thoughts and attempts at suicide, Kottwitz may have beheld just such a scene.

In 1822, Tholuck's diary presents a review of his life, and he says: "I have a presentiment that I must enter upon a fourth period in my Christian life. The first extended from Jan. 1818 to Aug. 1819, when the feeble spark seems gradually to have expired and given way to heathendom. The second lasted from 1819 to the close of 1820, when Christianity had to wrestle with the more subtle sins of disavowal, and offending against simplicity. From 1820 up to this time, I am in a period in which I certainly have the right standpoint as to my knowledge, in which I desire nothing but Christ, but I am so wholly powerless that it never becomes truly active. To bring that about, my Christianity lacks the divine peace. This I believe will also be altered, and then long as I live I shall remain childlike, humble, simple and peaceful." Tholuck wrote a book entitled "The True Consecration of the Doubter." Here he acknowledges: "My Redeemer, into what bypaths I should have wandered, if thou hadst not given me Kottwitz! If thou hadst not shown me that it is not a chimera that a man really can sacrifice himself for the brethren."

So much a character of Berlin was Baron Kottwitz that letters simply addressed "To the old Baron," without either name, or street, came direct to his hand. Within his district, the common people were more familiar with his name than with that of the king, though the motto of his life was "Prefer obscurity." In his boyhood he had been a page in Frederick the Great's court, where he began a course of worldly dissipation which was ever afterwards a source of deep grief to him. He owed his awakening to religious life to the influence of the Moravians, though he never became a member of their communion. At twenty he came into possession of rich estates, and then began a course of grand philanthropic benevolence. He traveled about, and wherever his influence and his money would reach he improved hospitals and prisons. He was of opinion that great bodily misery so oppresses the human spirit that underneath it the soul scarcely ventures to look to what is above. For weeks he would visit the bedside of intense sufferers and

remain silent as to their diseased souls. When by his quiet, humble services, he had won their hearts, then he began to relate of the blessedness of those who have a Friend beyond to release them when they come to die; and thus gradually, and gently, he inspired in them a fervent longing to be with Jesus. The public knew nothing of this activity. He thought that works of love were like a balsam; if exposed it loses strength and fragrance. His greatest influence was felt on his own estates where he brought his work to the fullest organization. His principle of benevolent work was not to humiliate, or spoil the poor with frequent alms, but to help them to help themselves by giving them wise support in pursuing the industries of which they were capable. His favorite means of employment for the poor was handweaving, and unfortunately through lack of experience in managing business on so large a scale, he lost the greater portion of his fortune. But when one plan failed, he took up another, and built up other manufactories for them. His manufactories became true temples of God, and not mere means of gain. He took care always to have meetings for prayer, sermon-reading and Bible-reading among his poor. Either he was too modest, or unable to address his workmen, and he would request some preacher or gifted layman to speak for him. While the French occupied Berlin he procured a large barrack in which he housed hundreds of families, finding them work and wages, food and spiritual nourishment. An interesting story is told of a certain meeting between Fichte and Kottwitz. They were men almost diametrically opposed to each other—Fichte with titanic self-confidence, and Kottwitz of such humility that he looked to Christ for his whole power of will and its fulfilment. Fichte held Kottwitz's ideas as so much superstition, but the practical side of the Baron's piety had aroused his sympathy and consideration. In a lecturing tone, Fichte said, "The child prays, but a man wills." "Professor," said the Baron, "I have six hundred poor people to take care of; and often I don't know where bread is to come from. Then, I never know where to look for help except to resort to prayer." Fichte was silent for a moment, tears rolled down his cheeks, and he said, "True, dear Baron, that's more than my philosophy can do."

Tholuck says he felt when with him "If the bliss of Christian communion can be such here upon earth, is the blessedness with Him to be still greater?" A similar expression was made by Rudolph Stier, a young friend of Tholuck, when he first saw the Baron in his own house: "If the Lord appears like that in his disciples, what must he be Himself?" This was the man from whom Tholuck learned what true Christian humility is, and with whom he served an apprenticeship to acquire his wonderful skill in probing and treating sin-sick souls. The old saint seemed early to perceive that Tholuck was a man of like spirit with himself. In spite of his tenderness,—shall we not rather say because of it, he wrought faithfully with the young man; and his "love letters" as the Baron's epistles to his friends were called, were to Tholuck filled with gentle warnings. Under the direction of the Baron he began his active Christian career. He visited the poor and the sick, and began out of his slender possessions to bestow alms liberally. He himself had to give lessons to eke out his meagre living.

The new consecration turned Tholuck's thoughts toward becoming a foreign missionary, a plan which often occupied him; and more than once every arrangement was made for his entrance upon that career, when a sudden attack of his old disease would so weaken him as to make all thought of such an undertaking impracticable. He was often subject to great pain and illness in Berlin, and his frequent hemorrhages caused his friends to give up all hope of his living much longer. But the undaunted student studied on with never-swerving zeal, pursuing his scientific and Oriental studies, regardless of all protest of bodily pain; and indeed, almost the only evidence that Tholuck was not almighty brain and heart, he must have experienced in the physical torments of weak eyes, occasional hemorrhages with severe coughing, distressing weakness and pain.

In February 1819, he was asked to decide whether he would accept the professorship of biblical exegesis in the university of Dorpat. What a prospect it opened up before the astounded youth not yet twenty years old! He was earning his modest living by giving lessons, though a small stipend came from Breslau; and now to be called to a position of honor and influence

where he would have to give his thought for his subsistence, and that without the usual apprenticeship as tutor required at a Prussian university! The matter remained long in abeyance, but at length God spoke the decisive word. Hemorrhages again set in which prohibited all thought of being able to live in that severe climate.

He then determined to devote himself to what is called in Germany the "learned career," applying to the theological faculty in Berlin for the privilege of submitting to the examination required of those who desire to lecture in the university. His dissertation was a small work on "The Mystic Pantheism of the Orient," based on the study of twenty Persian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts. In his letter to the faculty he states that he has determined henceforth to devote himself, heart and soul, to the science of theology. Neander, Schleiermacher and Marheinicke were the only ordinary professors of the theological faculty; the extraordinary professors had nothing to do with the matter of examinations. Schleiermacher was dean of the faculty, and on various pretexts he delayed proceedings and interposed obstacles in the way of admitting Tholuck to examination. Neander urged the matter, testifying that by means of his long intercourse with the young man he had learned to regard him as "most estimable, of distinguished capacity, known for his ardent zeal for scholarship, splendid acquirements and his earnest Christian spirit." Finally no one was willing to examine Tholuck in the Oriental languages, not even in Hebrew. It is still a tradition to be heard in the university that even at twenty-one Tholuck was so learned that no one was willing to undertake the examination. Nothing was decided: the question was pending so long that at last the Minister of Education became impatient, and sent a sharp letter of rebuke to the faculty, reminding them that although there was a vacancy in the chair of Old Testament exegesis, it was to be expected of them that they also could undertake the examination of a candidate in the original language of the Old Testament. The Minister gave orders to immediately appoint the day for Tholuck's examination, and in case of a favorable result, to decide upon his habilitation in the shortest time possible. This was plain speech, and

against such a command there was no appeal; the order was put into execution, and Tholuck was called to the fiery test. Unfortunately nothing is known of the particulars of this singularly interesting examination. Tholuck's only anxiety was, lest, weakened by recent severe illness and hemorrhages, he might not have voice enough to defend his thesis. At length after conflicts and difficulties he became a regularly appointed tutor in the Berlin university, and delivered his first lecture on December 12, 1820. Humiliation followed him here, for at first his hearers were few and hard to hold. But as he made acquaintances among the more earnest spirits of the student-world, whom he met either at the house of Baron Kottwitz, or in his own humble lodgings, the number of his hearers increased, until when he lectured on the Psalms and Romans even the largest audience rooms were filled.

A glance at the subjects on which he lectured in the university of Berlin, from 1820–26 will show the direction of his studies: History and Antiquities of the Hebrews, The Psalms, The Christology of the Old and New Testaments, The Classic Messianic Passages of the Old Testament, Introduction to the Study of the Customs and Languages of the Orient, Biblical Dogmatics, Elements of the Syriac Languages, The Gospel of Luke, Historico-Grammatic Explanation of the Pentateuch, Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians, The Messianic Prophecies of the Major and Minor Prophets, Exegetic and Dogmatic Disputations, A Survey of Oriental Philosophy and Religions, History of Theology of the 18th Century, with a survey of the principles of Rationalism and Supernaturalism, Method of Theological Study and the Significance of the Best Writings in respective Theological Departments, The Pentateuch, Analytic Exercises in Hebrew, Elements of the Persian Language, Apologetics of the Christian and Jewish Religions and their History, and The Dogmatics, Sciences and the Language of the Rabbis. Besides, each semester he offered to teach Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac and Persian. His favorite, and most popular course of lectures was on Methodology of Theological Study. He was soon attracted to what became the principal labor engaging his manhood and old age, the history of the preceding century, in which

rationalism was to Tholuck the most interesting event, whose rise in a time of orthodoxy and pietism he traced with so much care. The more he fled from rationalism as a foe to his personal religious life, the more it attracted him as an interesting scientific phenomenon which demanded investigation.

Even here, in his early youth, he accomplished more with his students by means of his personal influence than his lectures. The circle of his youthful friends who were led and directed to a more earnest spiritual life and singleness of aim, increased from month to month. In his twenty-third year he wrote in his diary: "How many the Lord has blessed through me, weak, unfaithful instrument that I am! Probably twenty-five; and among those perhaps ten to whom I alone could have pointed out the Man of Sorrows and the way of simplicity." His friends assembled in his room every Thursday and every Sunday evening. The intercourse at these meetings was much in character like those regularly held in the rooms of Baron Kottwitz on Wednesday evenings, only, with Tholuck, even the customary refreshment of a simple cup of tea was not dispensed. These gatherings were truly *collegiae pietatis*, occupied with singing, prayer, Bible reading, voluntary remarks, the communication of missionary intelligence either from among the Jews or heathen, and other items of interest vital to the kingdom of God; they were interspersed with serious conversation, often followed up by more intimate counseling with individuals, where this gifted young pupil of Kottwitz laid the foundation for his mastery in the art of dealing with souls. He carefully recorded the names of his friends in this relation, often with a fervent prayer for each, and a note of the time of their conversion and repentance. It is interesting to note that many of these young men became distinguished as pastors, or in some department of special Christian work. Many were foreigners, who, on their return to their own provinces, established, on the Tholuck model, circles for the cultivation of piety in their own homes. Several Christians, eminent for special devotion to the Lord's cause in Berlin to-day, are men and women whose fathers came into intimate contact with Tholuck during those years. The most distinguished of his friends, at this time, names well known in America, were

Rudolph Stier, Carl Ritter the geographer, Hollweg, his pupil, Rothe, Herman Olshausen and Julius Müller.

A most interesting trait in the friendship of these young men is the perfect candor with which Tholuck's most intimate circle could tell each other unwelcome truths, with no bitter consequences. The correspondence of Stier and Tholuck, the most voluminous in the book, abounds in mutual criticisms, and yet they constantly grow in tender affection for each other, and exhibit a most delicate perception of the refinements and subtle beauties of each nature. Too true for flattery, they tell each other in sweetness and love, though sometimes sharply abrupt, of defects, mistakes, errors in judgment, criticisms of their writings; and this is received even by the fiery Tholuck, occasionally with self-defense, but always with the highest Christian meekness, the most touching and exemplary humility, and no loosening of their bonds of friendship. Tholuck kept the hearts he won from Neander down to the most humble workman.

He early became an author. His investigations of the treasures of Oriental literature furnished the material for the first publications he offered to the world. But with the growth of his piety, he became conscious of deep wants unsatisfied by the writings of the thelogians of his time, still so widely divorced from Christianity. He therefore turned his attention to apologetic writings. Positive theology had been awakened at the Berlin university, but alas, neither Neander nor Schleiermacher were exegetes by profession. Neander's peculiarity in his exegetic lectures was the stress he laid upon the historic element; while Schleiermacher's power lay in speculation. But neither of these men possessed a deeply penetrating understanding of the Old Testament. It was, however, in the scientific exegesis of the New Testament, particularly of the Pauline epistles, where the need of the age was most apparent. Tholuck therefore applied himself to earnest work on Romans. It was a bold undertaking for a youth of twenty-four; but despite his youth he already stood high in modern theological learning, and possessed great advantages as an exegete. He was master in the purely linguistic. His years of study had trained him in the Oriental

habits of thought and speech; and his own nature responded to the Oriental mixture of abstraction and love of observation. The figurative language, the poetic dress of thought, the penetration which conveys whole troops of suggestions by a single word, and brings to light some token of supernatural truth, characteristics traceable throughout the entire Orient, and prominent in the Holy Scriptures illuminated by the Holy Spirit, were all most congenial to Tholuck. By reason of his delicacy of perception for the genius of Bible language his exegesis often betrays rare powers of divination. But his philology was only a means to the end; he never lost sight of his aim to defend and support the central truths of Christianity, and thereby to prove the manifold wisdom of God. His incomparable intellectual energy and industry enabled him to complete his commentary on Romans in a few months, but for several years he had been gathering the materials.

The following is a complete list of the works he published before he was twenty-seven years old: "Sanfismus," the Latin dissertation submitted to the theological faculty on his habilitation; Apologetic Hints for the Study of the Old Testament, 1812; The Character and Moral Influences of Paganism, 1822. A third edition appeared in 1867, under the title of The Moral Character of Paganism; The doctrine of Sin and of the Redeemer, or the true consecration of the doubter, 1823: 9th edition in 1871; Commentary of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 1824: 5th edition in 1856; Israel's Friend, a journal which he edited, 1824–25; Important Passages in the Rabbinical Book Sohar, with notes, 1824. A Voice opposed to Theatrical Amusement, 46 pp., 1824; Gems from the Oriental Mystics, with an introduction on Mysticism in general, 327 pp., 1824; A Pharaphrase of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 52 pp., 1825; The Speculative Doctrine of the Trinity held by the Modern Orient, a religious philosophic monograph based on original manuscripts, 76 pp., 1826.

ARTICLE VII.

THE LITURGICAL QUESTION.

[CONTINUED FROM THE APRIL NUMBER OF 1883].

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CONTRASTS IN WORSHIP.

Man was originally endowed with reason and capable of knowing and worshiping God. Through the deterioration of reason, consequent upon the fall, he lost the knowledge of God and of the true manner of worshiping and serving him. The heathen fell into idolatry, and through sacrifices and self-inflicted tortures endeavored to appease their gods. The Jews went about to establish their own righteousness, by fasting and prayer. And so great has this moral degeneracy become that, notwithstanding the warnings against all forms of idolatry, and the declarations of the Scriptures that there is but one God, and one Mediator through whom alone he can be worshiped in spirit and in truth, the Romish Church has so perverted the word of God, and so corrupted his worship, that she has authorized the veneration of relics, the use of images, and introduced the worship of saints, angels, and the Virgin Mary into her churches. While these constitute her grosser errors in worship, she has so perverted its character, spirit, and forms, as to build up an insidious and pompous system of ceremonialism, legalism and idolatry in her church service. How all this stands opposed to the worship of the Apostolic and primitive churches, may appear from the following points of contrasts between them.

There is a contrast in ideals. The ideal of worship is the pattern after which it is fashioned, as determined by its essential, governing principles. The Romish ideal of worship is that of a religious performance. Accordingly, the papal hierarchy got up a church service, consisting of many parts, to be performed in a prescribed manner, by persons appointed for this specific purpose. The performers were the priests, the ministrants and the choir, while the people constituted rather an auditory of spectators than a congregation of devout worshipers. The Apostolic ideal of worship is that of a common devotional

service, consisting of prayer, praise and instruction. Every part introduced into it was to be participated in by all. When the minister read the Scriptures and preached, all were to hear; when he led audibly in prayer, all were to follow "with one accord;" and when praise was to be offered, all were to "sing with the spirit, and with the understanding."

There is a contrast in ends. The end designed to be attained by the Romish Church, through the performance of the service, was to merit grace and salvation. Accordingly the longer and more complicated the service rendered in worship was, the more grace was merited, and the greater the reward of the worshipper became. It is easy to see how such an end would tend to multiply the parts, increase the length, and complicate the order of church service. The end designed to be secured by the Apostolic Church, in public worship was just the opposite, viz., the edification of the members through the truth set forth in the several parts introduced into it. Consequently, it was not designed to make a show in the flesh, according to the letter, but to worship God in the spirit, according to the truth as it is in Jesus—not to merit grace, but to secure the gifts of grace, —fitting the soul to worship God in the beauty of holiness in heaven forever.

There is a contrast in dogmas. The fundamental dogma, which became the formative principle in the preparation of the Romish church service, culminating in the Mass, was the doctrine of the meritorious character of good works, ceremonial observances, and religious performances. It called forth its ideal, and by the perversion of its end, inoculated all its parts with the leaven of legalism. And it enforced its constant performance and observance as necessary to establish self-righteousness, and to merit everlasting life. On the other hand, the fundamental dogma, under the moulding power of which the public worship of the Apostolic Church was constituted, was the doctrine of justification by faith alone, without the deeds of the law as a meritorious service. This faith, which works by love, purifies the heart, and overcometh the world, became the great theme of the pulpit of the Apostolic Church; and it permeated the "hymns, and psalms, and spiritual songs," through which

the early Christians admonished one another, "singing and making melody in their hearts unto the Lord."

There is also a contrast in the authority and use of the Scriptures. The Romish Church gave undue authority to Tradition and the Apocrypha, adopted the Latin Vulgate, and withheld even this corrupt version from the laity. As a consequence, the formative influence of the Holy Scriptures was disregarded in the preparation of her order of worship, and while the use of the Bible in the vernacular tongue was interdicted, so many unscriptural and superstitious parts were introduced into the church service as to vitiate its character and render its influence pernicious. In the Apostolic Church the authority of the Scriptures as the only infallible rule of faith and practice was recognized and every thing pertaining to public worship regulated accordingly. Moses and the Prophets were read, the Psalms sung and the gospels and the epistles expounded.

There is also a contrast in the relative position given to the Pulpit and the Altar. The Pulpit stands for the didactic parts of a church service, culminating in the sermon; the Altar stands for the devotional parts, culminating in the Holy Communion. In the Romish Church, the Lord's Supper has been perverted into the Sacrament of the Mass, in which, through the priestly consecration of the elements, the wafer is transubstantiated into the real body and blood of Christ, constituting a real oblation for the sins of both the living and the dead, and an object of worship, whose saving benefits may be purchased with money. The Mass having in this wise been unduly exalted in the church service, the preaching of the gospel has been correspondingly depreciated and neglected. As a consequence, the Mass is celebrated daily in public, and repeated in private, while the preaching, of the gospel takes place comparatively seldom. The sermon is not regarded as a necessary part of the church service by the priests, and the laity depreciate its relative importance and value.

Christ instituted the Christian ministry, and commissioned his Apostles to preach the gospel to every creature. He also instituted the Lord's Supper, as a memorial and proclamation of his death, and through the truth set forth in the words of the

institution, and recalled and symbolized in its celebration, apprehended and received by faith, it became the communion of his body and of his blood, and a pledge of the forgiveness of sins. The discriminating declaration of Paul, that Christ sent him "not to baptize, but to preach the gospel," amplified and emphasized by his instructions to Timothy and Titus concerning the ministry and its work, enabled the Apostolic churches to set a due estimate upon the relative importance of the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments, and to assign to each its proper position in its order of worship. As the celebration of the Lord's Supper is represented as but another mode of proclaiming Christ's death, the preaching of Christ Crucified is regarded as the principal means of grace. And this judgment has been confirmed by the primitive Church of ancient, and the Protestant Church of modern times.

There is a contrast in the ability and spiritual capacity of the clergy to conduct worship without prescribed forms. The Romish Church holds that the priests do not possess the ability either to make edifying prayers, or to take any part whatever in determining anything pertaining to public worship, and hence nothing is left to their discretion, but every part of the church service is prescribed, down to the minutest details of the parts, manner of performance and use of language, and must, therefore, be performed by them at all times and places without any variation, according to the directions contained in the Ritual. The views inculcated by the Apostles, and exemplified in the Apostolic Churches were radically different. The special influences of the Holy Spirit were dispensed to ministers, helping their infirmities in prayer, and directing them in conducting public worship. And after the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit ceased, as was the case already in the second century, the primitive Church regarded pastors as capacitated to lead their congregations in prayer without prescribed forms, and hence no particular order of service was prepared by them as a directory in worship. And while they doubtless followed the instructions and example of the Apostles, as regards the principal parts of the church service, the details of it were left to the discretion of pastors and congregations. And although we do not regard

the short simple service of the Church either in the Apostolic or the primitive ages as a model imposed by their example upon the Church in subsequent ages, interdicting the composition and use of other hymns and forms of worship, we do consider it determinative of the legitimacy of the principle, that free-prayer ought not to be proscribed but, allowed, and may properly constitute a part of every church service.

There is a contrast in the deference paid to the æsthetic, and the dictates of religious experience, The Romish ritual was, in a great measure, formed under the influence of æsthetic principles. As the spirituality of the Church decreased, and its formality increased, a simple order of worship was not sufficiently attractive; and hence it was improved by the addition of ornamental parts, to render it more imposing to the senses and entertaining to the imagination. Religious experience had little or no influence in determining the character of the church service. In the primitive Church it was just the reverse. The Holy Spirit directed the Apostles in the origination of the true ideal of worship, but religious experience was left free to determine the form best adapted to attain its end. While æsthetic principles were not discarded, and art was permitted to exert its legitimate influence in the composition of hymns, with appropriate accompaniments of music, nevertheless, were the forms of worship among the primitive Christians originated and modified, rather by what religious experience found to be conducive to edification, than by what the love of the beautiful might demand for its gratification.

There is a contrast in the commemoration of important events, and the celebration of sacred seasons. The historical and chronological, commemorative feasts of the Mosaic dispensation were abrogated by Jesus Christ. The Galatians, under the influence of legalistic views, continued to "observe days, months, and years and times." Paul, apprehending their danger, warned them against all such observances, as calculated to bring them again into "bondage to the weak and beggarly elements of this world," and rendering it doubtful, whether they had truly come to the knowledge of God. Notwithstanding this, the Romish Church has disregarded alike the declarations of Christ, and

the warnings of Paul, and so magnified the importance of commemorating events, and so perverted the duty of recalling the the virtues and imitating the example of the faithful, that she has appointed so many festivals commemorating minor events recorded in Scripture, and so many days, set apart in honor of the saints, as to render their observance burdensome and demoralizing. And unscriptural reverence for sacred seasons, has become so excessive that her church year is not only crowded with festivals and saints days, but every Sabbath in the year is distinguished in her church service, by the selection of a particular Introit, the repetition of a special Collect, and the reading of an appointed portion of the Scripture, taken from the Epistles and Gospels.

The commemoration of great and far-reaching events is a dictate of reason, and adapted to attain useful historical, devotional and practical ends. This practice was, accordingly, introduced into the Jewish church service by God himself, and recognized and legitimatized by Christ in the Christian dispensation by the institution of the Lord's Supper, as a memorial of his death. It was not strange, therefore, that, as veneration for Jewish events died out, and their commemoration ceased in the Apostolic churches, that veneration for the day, on which Christ was born, crucified, rose from the dead, ascended to heaven, and poured out the Holy Spirit, should become so deep and demonstrative, as to lead the primitive Church, in due time, to set apart Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsuntide as sacred festivals, and to give them not only a place in her ecclesiastical year, but also to make provision for their proper observance in her church service. And her example, in this respect, has been followed, both by the Catholic and most Protestant churches.

There is also a contrast in the significance and respect paid to antiquity. The Romish Church has become infected with an almost idolatrous veneration for antiquity. If a superior form or hymn was composed by some gifted poet or liturgist, or some mode or practice introduced by some distinguished ecclesiastic, and adopted at a particular time as a part of the church service by the papal hierarchy, this was regarded as an authorita-

tive imposition of the obligation to their rigid and constant use afterwards. In the addition of parts, and the completion of the Mass, the Church of Rome paid more deference to Jewish and mediæval than to primitive antiquity, and modeled her service more after the pattern furnished by ecclesiastical tradition than after that found in the sacred scriptures. The primitive Church paid, indeed, some regard to Jewish antiquity, and accordingly modeled her worship, in some respects, after that of the synagogue, but, delivered from the bondage of the ceremonial law, she exercised the liberty wherewith Christ had made her free, and conducted the public worship of God according to the exigencies of the times, the ability and discretion of pastors, the promptings of the Spirit, as recognized in Christian experience, and the indications of the special providence of God. Under the unrestricted development of her devotional spirit and liturgical talent, she gradually made additions to her orders of worship, which, however, were unwritten, remained flexible, and were varied during the three centuries, but from the Nicene period in the fourth to the rise of the papacy in the seventh century, the Christian Church compiled a church service in a written form, consisting of such hymns, prayers and devotional forms as her poets and liturgists had prepared, together with the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. And although she did not authoritatively enforce the constant and invariable use of the several parts introduced into her order of worship, theh nevertheless, proved so edifying, that they have been generally adopted, and maintained their position, not only in the Catholic ritual, but also in the liturgies of most Protestant churches.

THE CONFLICT OF LITURGICAL TENDENCIES IN EUROPE.

The contrasts just presented have, as a matter of course, exerted their legitimate influence on the character and forms of worship in the Christian Church, and developed corresponding liturgical tendencies. The Apostolic tendency we shall designate as that of simplicity in worship. It had its origin in the instructions of Christ and his apostles, the example of the Apostolic, and the experience and practice of the primitive Church.

Its parts were few, its forms short, and its order simple. It maintained its ascendancy during the first three centuries, and held in check the tendency of multiplying the forms and lengthening the church service for three hundred years more. And although discarded by the papacy for a thousand years it reappeared in the sixteenth century, and reasserted its legitimacy as a formative principle in the Reformation.

The Romish tendency we shall distinguish as that of complexity in worship. It had its source in the natural reason, art, tradition and Judaism. Under its influence a church service was eventually constructed by the popes, consisting of so many parts that it became a long, multiform, and tedious performance. Its pantomimic genuflections and artistic music proved entertaining, but they, nevertheless, failed to kindle the spirit of devotion—in a word, the service perverted worship, engendered legalism, fostered superstition, and became both a snare and an abomination.

The Apostolic and Romish models of a church service became the opposite poles, under whose diverse attractions intermediate tendencies were developed, swinging like pendulums alternately, now towards the one and then towards the other point of liturgical attraction. Worship, designed as a significant mode of presenting and uttering truth, the essential element of its sanctifying power, any ingredients of error incorporated into its hymns and forms, must vitiate its character and corrupt the Church. This, as we have seen, was the case in the Church of Rome. So many errors had been introduced into her church service, that it became a leaven of corruption demanding a reform in worship no less than in doctrine and government. Under this conviction, each of the three leading Reformers undertook this task, but in the accomplishment of it, adopted divergent reformatory principles. Calvin denied the legitimacy of the right of the Church to develop her poetic, musical and liturgical talent in the constitution of her worship, and maintained that whatever was not commanded in the Scriptures must be rejected in the reconstruction of public worship, and in some respects Zwingle accorded with him. This position they were led to take under the erroneous impression that Christ

and the Apostles had restricted the Church in all ages to the use of the Psalms and impromptu prayers, and interdicted the use of hymns, instruments, and liturgical forms in conducting the public worship of God. Luther, on the contrary, recognized the legitimacy of a free development of the principles and practice of the Apostles, as illustrated in the history of worship in the primitive Church of the first five centuries of the Christian era. He accordingly maintained, that whatsoever was forbidden by Scripture must be rejected, but things neither commanded nor forbidden may be retained, tested for a time, and modified or discarded as experience and observation might determine. And this sound, conservative principle governed him in his liturgical efforts to reform the worship of the Evangelical Church. The following extract, translated from Alt, sets forth the course adopted by Luther under the guidance of his conservative principle, and that pursued by Calvin and Zwingle, under the promptings of their radical principle, in so discriminationg and instructive a manner, that we are induced to insert it:

"Calvin and Zwingle through diligent study of the Holy Scriptures had transferred themselves into the period of early Christianity. The Apostolic Church with its affecting, simple plainness appeared more and more distinctly to their view and they became persuaded that the Church could be radically reformed only by becoming internally and externally what she was in that age. Accordingly in the public worship they returned entirely to the Apostolic simplicity, resolutely discarding everything that could not be justified by the Scriptures as Apostolic and primitive-christian. Accordingly the church became a simple meeting-house, the altar a mere table; the statues and pictures and even the cross must take their departure from the Church. Scarcely was music by means of singing of Psalms suffered to remain as a help to devotion. [After much difficulty and great opposition the singing was allowed to be accompanied by the organ]. As a result, besides the Lord's Supper, singing, the sermon, and prayer constituted the only parts of the public worship. This extreme simplicity, or as many prefer, baldness, of the Reformed service is commonly

accounted for by the personal dislike of Zwingle and Calvin to all the arts, and it is believed they were so coldly intellectual as to regard the presentation of Christian doctrine as the principal thing, and the satisfaction of religious emotion in so far as this depends not when clearly perceived upon mediate causes but upon immediate impressions, as a non-essential secondary matter. Nevertheless it must be borne in mind that it was amongst inhabitants of the South that Calvin labored as a Reformer. Ceremonies which Luther, on account of the more earnest and quiet character of the German people, could retain without fear of their being abused, must be studiously set aside in the case of the excitable Southern natives who would only too soon again have held superstitiously to the external. And as Calvin well knew that Catholicism with its rich splendor and its superstition grounded on dark forebodings and feelings was likewise a product of the susceptible South, he found it necessary to set forth the Evangelical doctrine even in its outward form in sharpest contrast with Catholicism to protect it against intermixture with the same.

"It was otherwise with Luther. He became a Reformer by his maintaining "the doctrine of justification by faith," and his conflict with the Catholic Church was a struggle in behalf of this dogma. As a consequence he resolutely rejected everything that was in any way at variance with it, as the sacrifice of the mass, the worship of the virgin, the adoration of the saints, and all such works as the Church enjoined and commended as good and essential to salvation. On the other hand, however, he retained without scruple whatever was in accord with this doctrine. He preserved the ancient venerable customs in so far as they did not contain superstition or error—also many of the old forms of public worship, and would even have tolerated the Papal Church polity if the Pope had granted him the doctrine of 'justification by faith.' "

Luther was not a revolutionist but a reformer, and hence his object was not to destroy, but to reform the worship of God. And for the accomplishment of this important work he was eminently fitted by his poetical genius, musical talent, devotional spirit, religious experience and refined taste, as well as by his

literary culture, and theological attainments. His thorough knowledge of the unscriptural and superstitious parts that had been foisted by the popes into the church service, and his extensive acquaintance with the wants of the young and the uneducated common people, enabled him to determine what must be excluded from the Romish, and what ought to be retained and introduced into the evangelical church service. And the sound liturgical principles that he adopted and the practical wisdom which he displayed in the preparation of the Formula Missae and the German Mass are truly wonderful, when contemplated in the light of the divergent liturgical tendencies, that have been developed in the Lutheran and other Protestant Churches. This will become manifest from the following quotations, translated from his writings. In referring to the manner in which the worship of God should be conducted Luther says:

"The worship of God is of divine origin, as well as the office of the ministry. But just as the latter has been corrupted, through the tyranny of the priesthood, so has the former been perverted through the influence of the hypocrites. And as we do not desire to abrogate the office of the ministry, but to bring it again into its proper position, neither do we intend to destroy the worship of God, but to reinstate it in its original purity. Three great errors have crept into the worship of God. The first, that the word of God was put to silence in the churches, and the whole time of service occupied with reading and singing. This was a most provoking perversion. The second, that, as the word of God was hushed, they introduced in its stead so many unscriptural lies, legends, songs and sermons, that it is horrible to witness it. The third, that this service was performed in order to merit God's grace and salvation. Thus faith was wrecked, and every one aspired to become the founder of a church, a priest, a monk or a nun. To abolish these abuses, the first requirement is to discontinue the assembling of congregations, unless the word of God be preached and prayer offered. Psalm 102 : 23 ; 1 Cor. 14 : 31. And where this does not take place, it would be better to have no meeting and to dispense altogether with singing, praying and reading."*

*NOTE. – A part of the above quotation appeared in our first article, p.

"The morning and evening service should be so conducted daily, that parts from the Old and New Testaments be read, and prayers offered. On the Sabbath a sermon should be preached in the morning and evening, the Lord's Supper administered, and the number of the festivals diminished."

In referring to the abrogation of festivals, Daniels quotes Luther as saying: "Although the feast of the purification of Mary, of John the Baptist, Mary's chastening (heimsuchung) St. Michael's were dispensed with, there remained still enough festivals, celebrated by the illiterate populace in idleness and the gratification of sinful, worldly lusts, and who neither think of the edification of their souls, nor the hallowing of the name of God."

"I wish that the two festivals of all saints, both living and dead, were abolished in all lands, because of their gross abuse by the populace." "The celebration of Advent, instituted with the best Christian intentions, was perverted eventually into the most shameful idolatrous revelry."

"With the reading of the Epistles and Gospels," says Luther elsewhere, "as it has been customary in Wittenberg, we find no fault, but if any prefer to read all the Gospels, instead of simply following the pericopes, we shall not censure them."

Luther prepared a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and an exhortation to communicants—"But whether they shall be read after the sermon in the pulpit, or before the altar, I leave, to each one according *to his* own pleasure." "As regards the Mass, we permit the priestly vestments, altar and candlesticks, to remain, until it shall please us to abolish or change them. But if any one prefers to proceed in a different manner, we shall not interfere with him."

The hymns in common use at the celebration of the Mass, the Sanctus, Agnus Dei, the Benedictus, Nunc Dimittis, and the festivals on the Lord's Day, may remain, because they are drawn from the Scriptures, and are very edifying; but they may nevertheless be diminished or increased.

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Luther further sets forth his liturgical principles in the introduction to the German Mass in 1526, as follows:

"Above all things I entreat those who see and desire to follow this order of worship, that they neither regard it as a law, nor entangle and entrap the conscience with it, but that they use it according to their own pleasure, when, where, how and so long as it may be deemed advisable. Now we do not wish to make the impression, that we desire to set a master over any one, and govern him by law, but as the people insisted upon having German Masses and church services, individuals were tempted, some with good intentions and others out of conceit to invent all sorts of masses, not for the glory of God, and the good of their neighbor, but for their own personal interest and gain." "While such liberty, however, is not to be restrained and forbidden, every one must be put on his own conscience, in regard to the manner in which he exercises his freedom, which must be so governed by love as to become the servant of his neighbor. But where this has been done and yet given offense, on account of the variety of forms used, it becomes our solemn duty to restrain this liberty as much as possible in order that the people may not be offended, but improved by our example. But, although not much stress should be laid upon these external forms, as a matter of conscience, they may still be of service to our neighbor, and under the promptings of the love enjoined by Paul, we ought to strive to bring about unity of sentiment as well as uniformity in practice."

"I do not desire that those who have a good service, and through the assistance of God's grace may be able to improve it, to abandon theirs and adopt ours. For I am not of the opinion, that the whole of Germany should accept our Wittenberg liturgy. * * But it would, nevertheless, be very desirable if in every country, town, village and city uniformity in worship should prevail in all their churches.

These orders of worship are not introduced for the sake of those who are already Christians and who worship God in spirit, but for the sake of the simple-minded laity, to bring up the youth, to call and invite others to the faith, until Christians,

who really mean what they repeat, feel at home in and adhere to it."

"I do not desire to have the order contained in the Formula Missae removed or changed, but as it has hitherto been retained among us, so I would have its use left free, where and when we please, as occasion arises, for I would by no means have the Latin language entirely excluded from divine service. For I desire to do everything for the young, * * who ought to be trained up in several languages. If I had the power, and the Greek and the Hebrew languages were as common among us as the Latin, and had as much beautiful music, and as many good hymns as the Latin, I would have masses celebrated, sung and read on one Sunday after another in all four languages, German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew."

Recalling the points of contrast between the Romish and the Apostolic and Primitive church service, the reader will easily discover from the foregoing quotations on which side in the controversy between them Luther took his stand. He rejected the Romish ideal of a church service, as a religious performance, to be executed by the priests, ministrants and choir, and adopted the Apostolic ideal of a common devotional service to be participated in by all. He discarded the Romish error that the church service was designed to merit grace, and that it would be quite as well adapted to attain its end, when performed in an unknown tongue, as when conducted in the language of the people, and hence, after preparing the Formula Missae in Latin, in deference to the prevailing custom, and the large number of persons who understood that language, he soon afterwards prepared his *German* Mass in order that the common people might understand the service, and be edified through the truth contained in it. He repudiated the Romish dogma of the meritorious character of works, under the moulding power of which the Romish Mass was constructed, and made the doctrine of pardon and salvation, through grace by faith in Jesus Christ, the all-controlling truth in the formation of his orders of worship, deprecating the practical disuse of the Scriptures, the depreciation of preaching, and the exaltation of the sacrament of the mass in the church service. Luther restored the reading of the

Scriptures in the vernacular tongue and reinstated the preaching of the word and gave it again its predominant position in the order of divine worship. He set at naught the arrogant pretensions of the papacy to infallibility, and placed over against it the universality of the priesthood of the laity. He accordingly held that prayer was not only a universal duty but also a common spiritual capacity, and that while forms of prayer were both allowable and useful as directories and helps in devotion, the ministry, when properly qualified for their office, possessed the spiritual capacity, and were privileged to exercise the grace of prayer in conducting the worship of the sanctuary. He deprecated the undue multiplication of days, set apart for the commemoration of minor events recorded in the gospels, as well as the celebration of festivals in honor of the martyrs and saints, but recognized the importance of observing the cardinal festivals of the Church year, and approved of the use of special hymns, prayers and scripture readings, in the service appointed for such days. While Luther realized that art had been permitted to exercise an undue influence in the musical part of the performance of the Romish Church service, he regarded it as the hand-maid of religion, and hence retained the Te Deum, the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Litany, composed and revised hymns, and improved the music of the service of song, paying due deference both to aesthetic taste and Christian devotion. He deplored the liturgical bondage with which the Church of Rome had fettered herself by a superstitious veneration for antiquity, in the building up and performance of her church service, and, although he burst its fetters, he, nevertheless, did not utterly disregard antiquity in the preparation of his orders of worship. In this respect, however, it is manifest that he paid less regard to midiæval than to primitive antiquity.

The prevalence of the use of the Latin language, and his unwillingness to make too radical a change in the church service at once, prevented him from excluding all the parts which he deemed unnecessary in his first order of worship prepared in 1523. And although he was restrained by the ignorance, prejudices and customs of the people, from excluding all the super-

fluous parts that it yet contained, when he published his second order of worship three years afterwards, he made considerable progress in the work of shortening and simplifying the service. And if he had taken the third step in the direction of Apostolic simplicity, towards which he was moving, by the preparation of a third order of worship, the outlines of which he had already prepared, it would, we doubt not, have constituted a model evangelical church service, characterized by primitive brevity and simplicity, in which not a remnant of the Romish complicated service would have been retained.

Luther's views on worship and his liturgical principles were so moderate and expedient, that they met with much favor, and the orders of worship prepared by him were introduced into many churches. But while Luther's orders of worship were extensively followed as models, they became, at the same time, the occasion of developing other divergent liturgical tendencies in the Evangelical Church, which found expression in the changes made in the various orders of worship, prepared and adopted in different parts of Germany.

"Notwithstanding the rejection of Romish doctrines and errors, yet in the regulation of public worship in the earlier period of the Reformation," says Alt, "the Gregorian ritual was very closely imitated and this course was more generally followed by the Lutheran than by the Reformed churches. And the liturgies of this period may properly be divided into three classes. First, those in which the evangelical doctrine was recognized, and the declaration of biblical Christianity was established, but in which, nevertheless, a church service agreeing in most parts with the Roman Catholic ritual, was retained. To this class belongs the Brandenburg Liturgy of 1540, introduced by Joachim II., which went so far as actually to restore the Gregorian Mass. And the same pattern was followed by Cranmer in the preparation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer of 1544.

Second, such liturgies as recognized the Romish ritual as the foundation, but from which every thing Romish, that stood in direct opposition to the New Testament was excluded. To this class belong Luther's Formula Missae, his German Mass, and the liturgies of Saxony and North Germany. Third, such litur-

gies as retained the simplicity of worship prevalent in the Apostolic age, and set forth in the New Testament. To this class belong the liturgies of Calvin and Bucer. And while this tendency became dominant in the Reformed Churches, its legitimate influence was felt by Luther, and exhibited in the brevity and simplicity of many Lutheran liturgies. Noteworthy illustration of this is found in the liturgies of 1536 and 1553, adopted at Wittenberg, in which the number of parts was so reduced as to excel in brevity and simplicity the form of service used in the Calvinistic churches. This course was undoubtedly taken, either at the suggestion or with the consent of Luther. It accorded with his views, and actualized, as nearly as practicable, his ideal of a short and simple church service. And it stands out as a significant fact, that during the last ten years of his life, he worshiped God in his sanctuary according to an order of worship more brief and simple than either of the orders prepared by himself, and more nearly conformed to the church service of the Apostolic age, than that of either Zwingle or Calvin. And as the distinctive feature of a Lutheran church does not depend upon the length or form of its church service, Alt adds the significant remark, that Wittenberg was not regarded as un-Lutheran, notwithstanding its brief and simple order of worship. The following directions, taken from the Wittenberg Liturgy of 1536, as given by Daniels, are specially significant. The pastor is directed to confine himself at first to the Pericopes in his sermons, but after having gone over them, he shall expound all the gospels from beginning to the end. While the use of the clerical robe, as heretofore worn, has been continued in deference to the weak, we direct that henceforth it be laid aside, and that the clergy attire themselves in a becoming and respectable manner.

So strong, however, did the opposite Romanizing tendency become, that the liturgists departed more and more from the simple service presented in Luther's German Mass, and the liturgies of Wittenberg, just mentioned, and copied more and more closely after that contained in the Romish ritual, and some of the German Princes became so infatuated with it, that they

actually contemplated reinstating it in their churches. A striking illustration of which, as given by Alt, we subjoin:

"Inasmuch as the number of communicants on each Lord's Day was steadily diminishing in the Lutheran Churches, George, Margrave of Brandenburg resolved to re-introduce the entire service of the Romish Mass again, in order that, if there should be no lay communicants, there would at least one be present in the person of the pastor."

Luther, however, in a letter, written in 1531, urgently dissuaded him from it. "God in mercy," he says, "at the very beginning graciously preserved your grace from the ill council of again restoring the (Winkel Messe) private masses; just as well might everything else be restored and the gospel abandoned. For since the gospel has revealed to us, that the private masses are in shameful conflict with God's command, and Christ's institution, since they sell it as a work and sacrifice and also, with it, make propitiation towards God for the sins of others, as it has hitherto been used. It has been found destructive of the sacrament and faith. It is a temptation of the devil, who thereby, since many have grown weary of the true mass (Lord's Supper), would restore the former abominations; it is almost entirely the fault of the preachers, who do not diligently exhort the people to come to the sacrament, as I have besought them to do in my sermons."

LITURGICAL DIVERGENCIES IN AMERICA.

Among the more modern liturgists of the Lutheran Church in Germany, Rev. William Löhe, late of Dettelsau, occupies a prominent and influential position. He prepared a German Liturgy in 1844 for the use of the churches of the Germau Iowa Synod in America. He issued a second edition of his *Agende*, greatly enlarged, and constituting a thesaurus of liturgical matter.

As the publication of the two editions of Löhe's Agende marked a retrogression in the liturgical tendencies prevalent for a century in the Lutheran Church in the United States, we present a few extracts from the introductions of his Agende, setting forth his liturgical views and proclivities.

"The liturgies of the Lutheran, although springing from the same historical root, as that of the Romish Church, were not called forth in the service of false doctrine and pomp, but, purged from the errors contained in the Mass, became a formidable weapon against her. While I do not apprehend that I shall be charged with giving too much rein to my own subjectivity, I confess that I incline, in my liturgical tendencies to the *old*, yea, to the *very old*."

He accordingly modeled the order of service contained in his Agende after that presented in the Romish Mass, regrets that he did not follow it still more closely, and acknowledges that he was only prevented from doing this by the apprehension that, if he had done so, he might be charged with Roman tendencies.

"The predominating liturgical thought running through the Church Service, I would compare to two mountain peaks, the one Horeb, and the other Sinai. The first mountain peak, the Sermon, is the lower, and the second, the Sacrament of the Altar, is the higher, and without both of which a complete church service cannot exist on earth."

"The fathers of the Lutheran Church," says he, "regarded her liturgies as an important factor in her ecclesiastical ordinances. But organization and government, liturgy and ceremony, however useful they may be in the service of truth, do not, in the true sense of the word, constitute the Church. They may be regarded as its fruit, but they are not its root. And those who think that through their observance salvation can be secured, are, whether they know it or not, on the direct road to Rome."

The following ideal description of the several parts of the Church Service compiled by him, constitutes a part of the introduction to his first Agende. It was translated by Dr. B. M. Schmucker, and adopted by him as a part of the Preface of the Order of Service, of the Pennsylvania Synod, issued in 1855. "A week has been added to the past, another lies before you, between them comes Sunday, the day of communion. You come with the congregation into the presence of the Lord to worship before him. Your purposes and desires are expressed in the words of the *Introit*. Pastor and people recount their longings in the words of the Psalms hallowed by the use of ages.

"Having thus given utterance to your desire to worship before the Lord, what do you do? You wash from your feet the dust gathered along the daily journey of life. Your first act of devotion, after the *Introit*, is the *confession of sins*, which can have no more beautiful form than that responsive one in which pastor and people mutually comfort each other.

"The minister, commissioned by God, exhorts the congregation to confess their sins, and then speaking in their name, lays before God their acknowledgment of guilt, their penitence, and their longing for forgiveness. And now the whole congregation, bowed down under a sense of their guilt before God, and the whole burden of sin, with its bitter fruits in this life and in in the world to come, and longing for forgiveness, joins in to implore the mercy of God in the *Kyrie*. The minister declares to the penitent, longing people, the assurance of mercy in the words of absolution.

"In the *Confession* and *Kyrie*, the congregation have presented themselves before God as humble suppliants, needing his grace and help. The Lord draws nigh to his waiting people, who filled with gladness at the assurance of forgiveness, burst out into the angelic hymn of praise. As of old in the manger, so now the Lord comes to those who sing the *Gloria in Excelsis.* The thanksgiving of the angels still resounds when the Lord comes to the place where he has recorded his name. He comes. He is received and praised as the *Triune* God, to whom we draw nigh through Christ. No other hymn of thanksgiving to the Lord who comes down to receive the praises of his people, which men have ever uttered, surpasses in solemn majesty this prayer.

"His countenance shines graciously, but he is still silent, he listens to the words of the congregation. Therefore once more summing up all their necessities and all their desires, they give utterance to them in a single sentence in the *Collect.* The peculiar thought of the Festival or Sunday pervades the general wants of the soul more fully in the *Collect* than in the *Introit.* In one dear thought the soul expresses its wants, and then casts itself, waiting and longing, before him to whom all flesh must come, because he is the hearer of prayer.

"The congregation is silent. He breaks the silence, speaking to the congregation through his gracious word. His Spirit bears witness through the mouth of the Apostles, in the words of the *Epistle.* The congregation meet him with a fervent entreaty that he would sanctify them through his word.

"He speaks again. He draws still nearer to his worshiping people. They receive his own words in the *Gospel.* The congregation answers with a joyful ascription of praise. Their hearts are filled, by the power of the gospel, with living faith. After their worship comes a blessed union and communion with the Lord in the Creed. No longer grief for sin, no longer dread of the divine wrath, no longer sighs of longing, but a joyful confidence fills the soul. They sit down in his presence, and in the sermon is begun the sweet converse, the communion of saints, who rejoice together in the Lord, and ponder on his word.

"The highest point in the service has now been reached, unless the sacrament is administered. * * If the Lord's Supper is not administered the service now hastens to a close. But if the service is made complete by the administration of the sacrament, the congregation passes from intercession to thanksgiving in the *Præfation.* The thanksgiving loses itself in the *Sanctus*, the thrice-holy. The congregation filled with rapture by the *Sanctus*, feels that the Lord comes to the sacrament and greets him with a glad *Hosannah.* They make ready their hearts to receive him in the *Exhortation.* Bread and wine are solemnly consecrated, the hallowed prayer of our Lord, and the holy words of institution are said. The Lamb of God is present. The congregation filled with the remembrance of the Redeemer's triumph through suffering, prays in loudest and loftiest strain, commend themselves, in all their bodily and spiritual need, to the gracious help of the Lord in the *Agnus Dei.*

"It is well with the people of God, holy longings fill their souls, and now they receive the sacrament. Through faith unto faith they have come, and now have most blessed experience. They are at the Table of the Lord. They can rise no higher in this life. There is nothing beyond but heaven. Their longings find

fit expression in the *Nunc Dimittis*. With thanksgiving to God the service closes."

This portraiture, as the reader will discover, is highly poetical and more ideal than real. It shows, however, that the Romish pattern of a church service had so fully obtained the mastery over his imagination, as to carry him far beyond the model presented by Luther in his German Mass. And although Löhe's order of worship is almost identical in its parts with that of the Romish Mass, it became the model from which the church service contained in the Liturgy of the Pennsylvania Synod of 1855, and that found in the Church Book of the General Council were copied

The following account of the preparation of the first liturgies adopted by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania is taken from an article in the January number of the *Church Review* for 1882, by Rev. B. M. Schmucker, D. D., entitled The First Pennsylvania Liturgy. "At the first meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, held in Philadelphia in 1748 a *Kirchen-Agende*, or Liturgy, was presented and adopted for use in the congregations connected with that body. Of its preparation, the ministers say, in a joint letter to Halle: 'We found it necessary to the unity in the services of public worship to prepare a brief Agende, or Kirchen-Ordnuny. We had regard to the circumstances of our congregations, the members of which had come from many parts of Germany. We took as the basis the printed Kirchen-Agende of the German Evangelical Congregation in in the Savoy, at London, because we had no other one at hand.'

"The whole order of the Sunday Morning Service of the London Liturgy was as follows: 1. The reading of one or two chapters from the Old Testament. 2. Hymn. 3. The Creed or a hymn, 4. The Epistle. 5. Hymn. 6. The Sermon. 7. Hymn. 8. The Collect. 9. The Benediction. 10. Hymn. The Communion Service was as follows: 11. Exhortation. 12. Long Prayer, including a lyrical quotation ending with the Lord's Prayer. 13. The Words of the institution. 14. Invitation. 15. Words of distribution. 16. A thanksgiving Collect. 17. Benediction."

"The Pennsylvania Liturgy," says Dr. Schmucker, "bears lit-

tle resemblance to this of London, that it is scarcely possible to draw a comparison between them. The London service is preceded by a lesson from the Old Testament as a preparation, a usage derived from the Amsterdam service, where it was gotten from the Reformed Dutch Church. * * It has no Confession of Sin, no Gloria in Excelsis, no Collect for the day, no Lord's Prayer, no Votum, no Præfation and Sanctus, no Consecration of the Elements, no Benedicamus. * * The Creed and the principal hymn are placed before the Epistle."

The Kirchen-Ordnung of the Lutheran congregation at London was translated, with some modifications, from that of the Lutheran congregation at Amsterdam, Holland, which was adopted in 1597, and revised in 1614 and in 1682. And while its congregational constitution can be traced to the Antwerp Liturgy of 1567, from which the liturgies of the Lutheran churches in Holland have sprung, the London Agende was not translated from it. In referring to its real origin, which seems to be unknown, Dr. B. M. Schmucker says: "Wherever it may have been gotten, the London Agende is very brief and unattractive, and very different from that adopted in Pennsylvania. The two services are utterly different in their contents, arrangement, and most of all in spirit. * * There is but one matter peculiar to the London Service which has passed over into that of Pennsylvania, viz, the Invitation to the Communion. It is very clear that the London Agende is, to a very small extent, the original source of the Pennsylvania Liturgy. What, then, are its true sources? The London was the only printed one at hand: we are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the Agendes in use in Europe, to which Muhlenberg and Brunholtz were accustomed, were reproduced from memory, and an examination of those Agendes fully supports this conclusion."

The liturgy adopted by the Pennsylvania Synod in 1748 was never printed. It was copied, materially altered, somewhat enlarged, and first published by order of the synod in 1786. The reader will find the parts introduced into both of them given in our first article, 1881, pp. 369 and 370, by a comparison of which, the following radical changes will become apparent.

They are thus set forth by Dr. Schmucker: "*a.* Throughout the service the specific directions of the pastor to turn his face to the altar or to the people, are omitted. *b.* Any suitable hymn is allowed, instead of the invocation of the Holy Spirit. *c.* The Gloria in Excelsis is omitted. *d.* A voluntary, or a Morning Prayer is prescribed, and the Collect for the day omitted. *e.* The announcement of the Epistle and the Gospel is omitted but they are retained. *f.* The suitableness of the hymn to the church year is omitted. *g.* The reading of the gospel at the altar is omitted, and it is read only in the pulpit. The standing of the people at the reading is also omitted. *h.* The Creed is omitted. *i.* The principle hymn immediately precedes the sermon. *j.* Other texts are allowed instead of the gospels. *k.* A much longer general prayer is used."

From the foregoing historical data it appears that neither of the Hallean Fathers had provided himself with a Kirchen Ordnung before leaving Halle, and that the only liturgy at hand was a copy of one obtained by Muhlenberg, from the pastor of the Savoy Lutheran congregation, while passing through London *en route* for America.

It further appears that while some other parts of the Pennsylvania Liturgy of 1748, were translated from the London Agende, the Morning Service was not compiled from it, and that it was modeled after Luther's Formula Missae, the parts of which were retained in the liturgies, with which they became familiar in Germany, and recalled from memory. It further appears that the Morning Service of the first printed liturgy of 1786, although based upon the liturgy of 1748, was so much abridged and changed, that it was more nearly conformed to the order of worship contained in the London Liturgy.

In commenting on the marked differences between them, Dr. Schmucker says:

"Such are the changes made in 1786, in the Morning Service. There are all of apiece. Every one of them is an injury to the pure, Lutheran type of the old service. The chaste, liturgical taste of the Fathers has become vitiated; the accord of spirit with the Church of the Reformation is dying out gradually.

The Service of the Church is sinking slowly to the immeasurable depth into which it afterwards fell."

The reasons which Dr. Schmucker assigns for the change of the liturgical views and efforts of Muhlenberg and his coadjutors from 1748 to 1786, are manifestly overdrawn. Dr. J. C. Helmuth was President of the Ministerium in 1786, and Dr. J. C. Kuntze, and Revs. Henry M. Muhlenberg, Jacob Gœring, and Daniel, Nicholas, and William Kurtz were members of the body, which consisted of but twenty-four ministers. Dr. H. Melchior Muhlenberg, who with his colleagues, Brunholtz and Handschuh, had compiled the Service of 1748, was still alive, and doubtless took a prominent part in preparing the order of 1786. Giving them due credit for their learning, piety, and loyalty to the doctrines and principles of the Lutheran Church, as recorded in the Hallean Reports, we cannot believe that the changes made by them are to be attributed to a vitiated liturgical taste, and an un-Lutheran spirit.

To us it seems much more probable that the true causes which led the Ministerium of 1786 to shorten and simplify its Morning Service were to be found in the character of the Lutheran immigrants, and the untoward circumstances in which the congregations found themselves placed. The pastors copied the order of worship, but as the people had no books containing it, they soon found from practical experience that a service composed of even as many parts as that, of 1748, was not adapted to the plain country people, of whom most of the congregations were composed. And they accordingly shortened the service from time to time, until, in the judgment of Muhlenberg, and his pioneer clerical associates, a short and simple service like that of 1786, was best adapted for the worship of the congregations, then connected with the Ministerium. And this judgment was reiterated in the service adopted in the Liturgy of 1818 and in that of 1842, which was substantially the same as that adopted in 1786. And since the full, responsive service was adopted by the Ministerium in 1855, most of its pastors have made the same discovery, that was made by their predecessors a hundred years before, viz, that a service containing so many parts, and requiring such musical accompaniments on the part of the choir and

such intelligence, care and attention on the part of the people to go through its performance, is not adapted to the members who compose our Lutheran congregations in this country, whether German or English.

From an examination of the parts of the several orders of worship contained in the liturgies in use in this country for nearly a century and a half, it becomes manifest that they may be divided into three classes, distinguished by the same characteristics, as those into which the Lutheran liturgies of Germany were divided. The service contained in the Agendes of Löhe, the Order of Worship of the Pennsylvania Synod, (1855) and the Church Book of the General Council, are modeled after the Romish Mass, and belong to the first class; the order of worship found in the first Pennsylvania Liturgy of 1848, and in the Books of Worship of the General Synods, North and South, are modeled after those of Luther's Formula Missae and belong to the second class; and the service contained in the Pennsylvania liturgies of 1786, 1818, and 1842, together with that contained in the liturgies of the General Synod of 1832 and of 1848, are modeled after the German Mass, and the earlier Wittenberg liturgies referred to by Alt and belong to the third class. And they were respectively developed under the influence of the Romish, conservative Lutheran, and radical Calvinistic liturgical tendencies. A comparison of the parts of the church service, contained in the Romish Mass, Löhe's Agende, the General Council's Church Book, Luther's Formula Missae and German Mass and the Pennsylvania Liturgies of 1748 and 1786, will verify the classification and statements just made. (See table at the end of this article.)

We call the special attention of the reader to the following points established by the table just mentioned. First, that the service of Löhe's Agende is, both as regards its parts and arrangement nearly identical with that of the Romish Mass, almost the only variation between them being, the substitution of the Sermon by pastor Löhe for the prayer to and for departed saints, and the canon of the Mass. Second, that the service of the General Council's Church Book, in its parts is nearly identical with that of Löhe's Agende, and in its arrange-

ment there is very little variation between them. Third, that while Luther in his Formula Missae (1523) only dropped from the Romish Mass the opening sentence, Confession and Absolution by the priest and ministrant, the three Salutations, one of the Votums, the Gloria Patri, and the prayer to and for departed saints, in deference to the ignorance and prejudices of the people, in his German Mass (1526) he went much farther in reforming the Church Service, and also excluded the Introits, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Graduale and Hallelujah, the Praefation the Benedictus, the Votum, and the Benedicamus. He thus so shortened the ordinary service, that it contained only a Psalm, a hymn, the Creed (Metrical Version) the Kyrie, the Collect, the reading of the Epistles and Gospels, and the Sermon—and so simplified the Communion Service that it included nothing more than a Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, an Admonition to the communicants, the Consecration, a hymn, the Distribution with the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, a Collect and the Benediction. Fourth, that the Pennsylvania liturgies of 1748 and 1786 retained the Confession of sin, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Salutations and the Votums, none of which were transferred by Luther to the German Mass, whose service is shorter than that contained in either the Pennsylvania liturgies of 1748 or 1786.

It is worthy of special mention in this connection, that nearly all the parts which Luther excluded from the Formula Missae and the German Mass, which were originated by the Primitive Church, before the rise of the Papacy, were subsequently restored in the majority, and excluded from the minority of Lutheran liturgies, the former being modeled after the Formula Missae, and the latter after the German Mass, as the following liturgical table of comparison will show:

Harnisch in this Liturgical Table divides the liturgies of the Lutheran Church into two classes, and presents the general consensus of the majority and of the minority of them as follows:

THE MAJORITY.		THE MINORITY.
A.	B.	
1. Introit.	1. Introit.	1. Psalm or Prayer.
2. Hymn.	2. Kyrie.	2. ———
3. Gloria in Excelsis.	3. Gloria in Excelsis.	3. ———
4. Salutation.	4. General Prayer.	4. ———
5. Collect.	5. ———	5. Hymn.

6. The Epistle.	6. The Epistle.	6. Votum.
7. Hallelujah.	7. The Commandments.	7. The Lord's Prayer.
8. The Gospel.	8. The Gospel.	8. The Sermon.
9. The Creed,	9. Baptism.	9. ———
10. The Sermon.	10. The Sermon.	10. ———
11. The Lord's Prayer.	11. TheLord's Prayer.	11. ———
12. Hymn.	12. Hymn.	12. ———
13. The Litany.	13. The Litany.	13. General Prayer.
14. A Collect.	14. A Collect.	14. The Lord's Prayer.
15. The Benediction.	15. Benediction.	15. The Benediction.
16. Doxology.	16. Doxology.	16. Doxology.

THE COMMUNION.		THE COMMUNION.
1. Hymn or Psalm.	1. Hymn or Psalm	1. Admonition.
2. Salutation.	2. Salutation.	2. Confession and Absolution.
3. Praefation.	3. Praefation.	3. Prayer and Intercession.
4. Sanctus.	4. ———	4. Lord's Prayer.
5. Admonition.	5. ———	5. Words of Institution.
6. The Lord's Prayer.	6. Words of Institution.	6. ———
7. Words of Institution.	7. Lord's Prayer.	7. ———
8. Votum.	8. Votum (Agnus Dei).	8. ———
9. ———	9. Admonition.	9. ———
10. ———	10. Prayer.	10. ———
11. Distribution.	11. Distribution.	11. Distribution and Hymn.
12. Thanksgiving Hymn.	12. Thanksgiving Hymn.	12. ———
13. Collect.	13. Collect.	13. Collect.
14. Salutation.	14. Salutation.	14. ———
15. Benedicamus.	15. Benedicamus.	15. ———
16. Benediction.	16. Benediction.	16. Benediction.
17. Doxology.	17. Doxology.	

UNIFORMITY IN WORSHIP.

God provided the Jews with a church service, and enjoined its constant observance in public worship. Christ composed a form of prayer, and commanded his disciples in offering it to repeat the same words. Paul directed Timothy to "hold fast the form

of sound words" he had heard from him, and emphasizes the importance of conducting all church services "decently and in order." The duty of observing uniformity in worship, originated by God, was legitimatized by Christ, and recognized in principle by the Apostles. The Roman Catholic Church has fully appreciated the power of uniformity, and although going too far in authoritatively enforcing it, has, nevertheless, gained great advantages from it. From the time of Gregory the Great, she has conducted her public worship, at all times and in all places, according to the same prescribed order of church service and in the same language, the Latin.

The following extract translated from Alt, contains a touching tribute to uniformity in worship:

"The Catholic may enter the great cathedral at Paris, or a miserable little Polish village church—the splendid Lateran church at Rome, or a house for prayer built by the missionaries in the South Sea Islands—and he will everywhere find again the church service to which he was accustomed from his childhood. Should he not even understand a word of the language of the people among whom he finds himself, he will apprehend in the celebration of the Mass everywhere the same solemn organ-tones of the Latin Church language as he was wont to hear them in his own home—and should the dead, who passed away hundreds of years ago, rise again from their graves, they might not feel at home amid the changes which have since taken place in domestic life and public affairs, but in the Church they would find everything almost precisely as they had left it, and be persuaded to think that their exit from earth was nothing more than a wonderful dream."

In the foregoing extract the power exerted by uniformity in worship is strikingly exhibited. The Roman service, although long, complicated, and tedious—notwithstanding the fact that it is conducted in an unknown tongue, and for the most part not understood by the people—has nevertheless exerted more influence in attracting the Catholics to their Church, and keeping them in it, than either the doctrines of their symbols, or the sermons of their priests. And the secret of that influence is

discovered in the power of habit and custom, as established by uniformity.

Among the Protestants, the Church of England has distinguished herself by her efforts to secure and maintain uniformity in worship. Through the agency of Cranmer, in 1544 and 1547, in the reign of Henry VIII., certain changes were adopted in the church service. In 1548 a thorough revision of the Book of Common Prayer was made by the Convocation, and adopted by Parliament under an "Act of Uniformity," in 1549. It underwent a second revision in 1552, in the reign of Edward VI., a third in 1559, in the reign of Elizabeth, since which the Book of Common Prayer has received but one revision, viz., in 1662, and its order of worship has been observed ever since.

Actuated by a proper interest in uniformity, the Church of England adopted a common order of worship more than three centuries ago, authorized its use in all its parishes, made changes in it but seldom, adhered to it with tenacity, and reaped from it devotional and far-reaching ecclesiastical benefits.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States at first used the Anglican Book of Common Prayer of 1662, but in 1789 its general convention revised and adapted the service to the political changes consequent upon the Revolution, and this American Book of Common Prayer has remained in general use for nearly a century.

The Anglican Church service of 1549, 1559, and 1662, as given by Harnisch in his Liturgical Table, and credited to Cranmer, is as follows:

"*a. The Morning Service.*—1. The Lord's Prayer. 2. The Collect. 3. The Commandments. 4. Prayer for the King. 5. Collect. 6. The Epistle. 7. The Gospel. 8. The Nicene Creed. 9. The Sermon. 10. General Prayer. 11. The Benediction.

"*b. The Communion Service.*—1. The Lord's Prayer. 2. A Collect. 3. The Commandments. 4. Prayer for the King. 5. The Collect. 6. The Epistle. 7. The Gospel. 8. The Nicene Creed. 9. The Sermon. 10. The General Prayer. 11. The Admonition. 12. Confession and Absolution. 13. Praefatio

and Sanctus. 14. Prayer for the Recipients. 15. Consecration. 16. The Distribution. 17. The Lord's Prayer. 18. Thanksgiving. 19. Gloria in Excelsis. 20. The Benediction."

In describing the historical characteristics of the Anglican service, Harnisch says: "It is a real combination of the Apostolic and Romish service. It is related in some degree to the Greek Oriental liturgy, in substance Calvinistic, but in form more nearly allied to the Lutheran liturgical type.

The history of the Book of Common Prayer has, however, shown that the meaning attached to certain words and phrases, in the earlier part of the English Reformation, underwent subsequently a change, calling for a modification in phraseology, in order to prevent different interpretations, doubtful disputations and consequent division. It must be conceded, therefore, that the Episcopal Church, in resisting all demands for verbal changes in her formularies, has sacrificed unity and harmony for the sake of uniformity. Illustrations of this are found in the Ritualistic movement in England, and the organization of the Reformed Episcopal Church in America. It cannot be doubted, on the other hand, that more attachment to the Episcopal Church has been engendered through the use of her uniform order of worship, than through her Catechism and Thirty-nine Articles. Accordingly, wherever an Episcopalian goes, he finds the same order of worship in use, and feels at home in his church; and in particularizing her excellencies, he is sure to magnify the beauty of her church service.

As regards uniformity in worship, the Lutheran stands in striking constrast, both with the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches. She has, indeed, avoided the Scylla of an imposed, invariable church service, but plunged, at the same time, into the Charybdis of an unrestricted license in multiplying her liturgies and changing her orders of worship.

Luther prepared his first liturgy in 1523, the second in 1526, and not long afterwards the outline of a third one, in each of which he made changes in the church service. From 1523 to 1533, a period of ten years, there were more than twenty cities and countries that adopted Lutheran liturgies.

In 1533, Brenz and Osiander prepared a liturgy for the use of the churches at Brandenburg and Nürnberg, which was approved by Luther and taken as the model of a liturgy drawn up by Melanchthon and Bucer in 1543, at the request of Hermann Prince-Archbishop of Cologne, for the use of the churches in his principality, and which became the basis of the Book of Common prayer compiled by Cranmer a few years afterwards in England. These examples were followed by other rulers of cities, kings and princes, who directed their theologians and pastors to compile liturgies for the use of the churches in their respective dominions. On this wise, a large number of liturgies were introduced into the Lutheran churches of Germany, resulting in great variety in the orders of worship used in different dukedoms, principalities and kingdoms. Daniels, in his Codex Liturgicus, mentions ninety-eight Lutheran Kirchen-Ordnungen published in Europe, seventy-four of which belong to the sixteenth, thirteen to the seventeenth, six to the eighteenth, and five to the nineteenth century. "No attempt was made," says Palmer, in his article on Kirchen-Agende in Hertzog's Encyclopædia, "at any time, by any person or portion of the Lutheran church, to provide a liturgy for the whole; for notwithstanding her unity of spirit and fundamental principles, every country and principality provided itself with its own liturgy."

The causes of this extraordinary multiplication of liturgies, unwarranted variety in church services, and inexcusable dissimilarity in the public worship of the Lutheran Church, are the following: The constitutional love of personal liberty inherited by the Germans, the union of church and state, and radical congregationalism. The religious despotism of the church of Rome led Luther to proclaim the liberty of the Christian church to regulate her devotional services: although commending the desirableness of uniformity in worship, he would not secure it by imposing the use of a church service, but hoped to attain it through its manifest importance, as apprehended by observation and enforced by Christian principle. And to this may be added the perversion of the Seventh Article of the Augsburg Confession, which declares that "to the true unity of the church uniform ceremonies are not necessary." While the declarations of

Luther and the testimony of the confessors are true in the abstract, and were called for at the time and under the circumstances in which they were placed, the history of liturgies in the Lutheran church has shown that liberty in worship has been greatly abused, and uniformity disregarded. Luther's expectations in regard to uniformity were disappointed, and liturgies continued to be multiplied during his life, and dissimilarity in worship to prevail more and more. The declaration that uniform ceremonies are not *necessary* to the true unity of the church, is true; but the illogical conclusion drawn from it, that uniformity in worship and in the administration of ordinances is not *important*, and requires neither attention nor effort, is unwarranted and erroneous. The evils resulting from the multiplication of liturgies and frequent changes in conducting public worship, were not foreseen by the Reformers, and no adequate precautions were taken to prevent dissimilarity and to secure general uniformity in worship.

In referring to the mistakes made by the Lutheran Church, and her duty in her present liturgical exigencies, the late Dr. C. A. Stork, in his article on "Liturgical Forms in Worship," in the Lutheran Diet of 1877, pertinently says: "The best approach to this ideal (that a liturgy must be a growth)is to select only the old, not to attempt to make our liturgical forms *de novo*. It is the misfortune of the Lutheran Church that she has had so many liturgies. She has changed them so often that no one order is venerable. The cord is always broken. But this we can do: we can compose an order to-day from material long used, and resonant with religious fervor, the penitence and aspiration, of former ages. We have not the perfect instrument, but we can make an instrument from the mellow fragments of antiquity that lie all around, and the tones of the past will reverberate through it."

After examining more than two hundred liturgies in the preparation of his Agende, Löhe declares that "there is not a single Lutheran liturgy with which he is acquainted that, in its character, form and completeness, is worthy either of the Lutheran Church or her people. There is consequently much room left for liturgical effort in this field; and he is not a true Lutheran

who imagines that all liturgical completeness has been attained, and thereby denies the vitality of the Lutheran Church."

In the United States, the Lutheran Church has been exposed to the same untoward liturgical influences, and presents a similar spectacle to the religious world. The Pennsylvania Synod adopted its first liturgy in 1748, a second in 1786, a third in 1818, a fourth in 1842, a fifth in 1855, and in 1868 adopted the Church Book, in all of which changes have been made from time to time. The General Synod adopted its first liturgy in 1832, another in 1848, tested several provisional liturgies afterwards, and accepted, without due examination, in 1881, a liturgy compiled by Dr. Irving Magee from a Protestant Methodist Hand-Book of Worship. In 1869, the order of service contained in the Book of Worship was adopted by the General Synod, which was altered without instructions, both in the Hymnal and in the Liturgy of 1881. The General Synod South has also adopted a Book of Worship, the Synodical Conference a Kirchen-Agende, and the General Council the Church Book of the Pennsylvania Synod, containing orders of worship differing from each other. Besides these, the New York Ministerium and the Synod of South Carolina also adopted liturgies; to which a number of private liturgies may be added prepared by different individuals, and introduced for a time into some Lutheran churches. The Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and German Lutheran synods, thirteen of which are *independent*, also use liturgies the church services in which differ from each other. All the liturgies above mentioned, except one, and numbering at least thirty, have been originated in America in less than a century, to say nothing of translations and revisions involving a dozen changes more in conducting worship and performing ministerial acts.

There is scarcely a denomination in this country, liturgical or non-liturgical, that has not acted more wisely in religious worship than the Lutheran. Among most of them, uniformity is the rule, and diversity the exception. With us, the value of uniformity is greatly underestimated by many, and even its desirability questioned. Individualism has run riot in the devotions of the sanctuary, and there are no two general bodies that adopt the same liturgy, and hardly two synods whose congrega-

tions follow the same order, and comparatively few pastors who conduct worship and perform ministerial acts in the same manner. As a consequence should a Lutheran move from one place to another, or even from the bounds of one congregation to those of another in the same city, he will seldom find a Lutheran Church whose service does not differ from that which he left, and where he must not first adapt himself to it before he can feel at home in the sanctuary.

The inconveniences, disadvantages and losses resulting from this abnormal state of things have, however, become so manifest that the desire is felt in all parts of our Church that a greater degree of uniformity in worship might prevail among us. A movement was accordingly inaugurated by the General Synod South looking to the preparation of a common order of service. A favorable response has been made by the General Council and the General Synod North, committees have been appointed by each of these bodies, and the general principles by which they are to be governed agreed upon. The liturgical committees have held separate meetings of conference, and the chairmen of the three committees met in Charleston, S. C., last spring, and after a comparison of views, selected the parts and determined the arrangement of a common church service. This will be submitted to the separate committees, and then presented to the several bodies which they represent for final action. It is to be hoped that such a spirit of mutual forbearance, moderation and wisdom, may actuate the minds and hearts of all concerned, that a common order of worship may be adopted by the General Council and the General Synods North and South, promotive of uniformity in worship, as the precursor of unity, harmony and coöperation in the Lutheran Church of America.

In the accomplishment of a consummation, so devoutly to be wished, the Lutheran liturgist must keep constantly before his mind the liturgical treasures of the past, and exercise sound discretion in their appropriation to the devotional wants of the present. He must guard, on the one hand, against the bondage of Romanism, involving liturgical infallibility and precluding any changes in her church service, and on the other, avoid the unrestrained license that rejects all forms, and relies upon the

impromptu utterances of the moment in public worship. In improving the past, a careful discrimination must, however, be made between the forms of worship originated in the primitive ages, and those which were added during the Dark Ages. The neglect of such discrimination has led one class of liturgists to become slavish copyists of the Romish Mass, and another class to reject the forms of worship called forth in the formative period of the Church, under the preposterous plea, that those forms, notwithstanding their beauty, superior excellency and devotional character had become leavened with Romanism by their continued use in the service of the Mass.

The work of the liturgist is more difficult than that of either the theologian, the poet or the musician. Liturgical talent is, consequently, one of the rarest gifts, and its cultivation should not be restricted, but encouraged and called into requisition, whenever the exigencies of the Church and the claims of public worship demand it. The appointment of men to prepare liturgies by civil rulers or ecclesiastical bodies, on account of their official position, or distinction in some other department of knowledge, and without the liturgical knowledge, literary culture, refined taste and devotional spirit to fit them for the accomplishment of so responsible a task, has proved the bane of the Church, burdened her with liturgical abortions, subjected her service to frequent changes, weakened the power of her worship, and retarded her progress.

In corroboration of the sentiments just expressed, we submit a few quotations from the works of two of the most distinguished modern liturgists. Löhe says: "The liturgist ought to have freedom, but he must, at the same time, beware of running into new liturgical experiments, and the type of the primitive liturgies of the Orient, must prove a safe-guard against liturgical counterfeits."

Richter, in his Evangelische Kirchen Ordnungen attributes "the deficiency of a large number of Lutheran liturgies, to the presumptuous tinkerings of incompetent theologians and lawyers:" states that most of the modern liturgists were mere verbal copyists and declares that, "in order to remove this liturgical rubbish, it becomes indispensably necessary, in the recon-

struction of the Church Service, to take the historical origin of its several parts as a basis and governing principle in the preparation of liturgies adapted to foster the spirit of true worship, and the edification of the Church.

The following quotation from Dr. Cunningham Geikie proves that the compilers of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, were governed by the same conservative principles expressed by Löhe and Richter:

"With the truest wisdom," says he, "the commissioners shrank from attempting to compose an original liturgy, and chose rather to use, so far as might be, the treasures which the past had bequeathed to them. Hence, whatever was best in the Romish Missal and Breviary was retained; for it did not become Romish by being used for a time by Rome. Ancient liturgies, collects, and offices had happily survived; and from these many were selected, Cranmer himself translating many of them into the grand English, of which he was so great a master. The present and the future of the Church were thus happily linked to the past; the true, spiritual continuity of faith and worship from the earliest ages preserved, and a fullness and incomparable grandeur secured for our formularies, which the labors of no one generation could have produced."

Luther stands first among Protestant liturgists. His qualifications were of the highest order, his judgment concerning the reforms in worship, which the exigencies of the Evangelical Church called for, was sound, and the liturgical principles he adopted proved wise and practicable in the reconstruction of public worship. His conservatism prevented him from removing at once all the parts of the Romish Service that cumbered it, buth is apostolic spirit led him, in due time, to conform the order of worship more and more to the primitive type. In carrying out his views and principles, he did not allow himself to be trammeled and checked by precedents, whether pertaining to forms, period, place, vestments or modes. In the exercise of his private judgment, he paraphrased the Lord's Prayer, transformed the Creed into a Hymn, prepared an Admonition to the Communicants, and a form for the administration of baptism, translated, and transposed some of the first parts of the Litany,

composed new, and translated and revised old hymns and tunes, expurgated some, and changed the arrangement of other parts of the Church Service. And his views and principles have exerted a controlling influence in the liturgical development and worship of the Lutheran, and other Protestant denominations for more than three and a half centuries in all parts of the world.

LITURGIES COMPARED.

The Romish Mass	*Lohe's Liturgy.*	*The Church Book. (General Council)*	*Luther's German Mass.*	*Luther's Formula Missae.*	*Penn'a Liturgy 1748.*	*Penn'a Liturgy 1786.*
Opening Sentence.	Opening Sentence.	Opening Sentence.	Hymn or Psalm.	Introit.	Hymn.	Hymn.
Psalm with Gloria Patri.	Hymn.					
Confession.	Confession.	Confession.			Confession.	Confession.
Absolution.	Absolution.	Absolution.				
Introit.	Introit.	Introit.				
	Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.				
Kyrie	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.
Gloria in Excelsis.	Gloria in Excelsis.	Gloria in Excelsis.		Gloria in Excelsis.	Gloria in Excelsis.	
Salutation.	Salutation.	Salutation.			Salutation.	Salutation.
Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Prayer free or read.
Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.
Hallelujah or Graduale.	Hallelujah.	Hallelujah.				
Prayer.	Hymn.	Chant.	Hymn.	Graduale or Hallelujah.	Hymn.	Hymn.
Salutation.	Salutation.					
	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.	
Creed.	Creed.	Creed.	Creed Hymn.	Creed.	Creed.	
					Hymn.	
	Sermon.	Sermon.	Sermon.	Sermon.	Sermon.	Sermon.
Votum.	Votum.	Votum.				
Offertorium.	Offertorium.					
	General Prayer.	General Prayer with the Lord's Prayer.			General Prayer with the Lord's Prayer.	General Prayer with the Lord's Prayer.
The Praefation.	Præfation with the Sanctus.	Offertorium			Votum.	Votum.
Salutation and Sanctus.	Salutation.	Hymn.			Hymn.	Hymn.
Consecration.	Consecration.	Benedictus.			Salutation.	Salutation.
Prayer to and for departed Saints.	Agnus Dei.	Salutation.	Lord's Prayer Paraphrased		Collect.	Prayer.
Lord's Prayer.	Lord's Prayer.	Præfation.	Admonition.			
Agnus Dei.	Votum.	Sanctus. Exhortation.	Consecration.	Præfation.		
Distribution.	Distribution.	Consecration.	Hymn.	Consecration.		
	Nunc Dimittis.	Agnus Dei. Distribution.	Distribution with Agnus Dei, etc.	Benedictus and Sanctus.		
Salutation.	Salutation.	Nunc Dimittis. Benedicamus.	Collect.	Lord's Prayer.		
Benedicamus.	Benedicamus.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Votum.	Benediction.	Benediction.
Benediction or Gospel of St. John.	Benediction.			Administration.		
Votum.				Agnus Dei.		
				Benedicamus.		
				Benediction.		

THE ORDINARY AND THE COMMUNION SERVICE OF THE EARLY LUTHERAN LITURGIES.

(Taken from Lohe's Liturgical Table.

Romish Mass.	*Luther's Formula Missae. 1523.*	*Bugenhagen's Liturgy. 1524.*	*Andrew Dober's Liturgy 1525.*	*Strasburg Liturgy. 1525.*	*Erfurt Liturgy. 1526.*	*Luther's German Mass, 1526.**	*Brandenburg & Nurnberg Liturgy 1533.*	*Wittenberg Liturgies. 1559. 1565.‡*	*Westphalian Liturgy. 1585.*	*Magdeburg Liturgy. 1692.*
1. Initium Missae.					Hymn.					
2. Confiteor.		Creed	Confession and Prayer.	Confession.			Confession.	Confession.	Creed.	
3. Introitus.	Introit.	Introit, with Gloria Patri.	Introit with Gloria Patri.	Introit with Gloria Patri.	Introit with Gloria Patri.	Hymn.	Introit.	Introit.	Introit.	Introit.
4. Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.	Kyrie.
5. Gloria.	Gloria.	Gloria.	Gloria.	Gloria.	Gloria.		Gloria. Salutation.	Gloria. Salutation.	Gloria.	Gloria.
6. Collecta.	Collect.	Salutation.	Salutation. Collect.	Salutation. Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.
7. Epistola	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.
8. Graduale.	Graduale, with Hallelujah.	Graduale, with Hallelujah.	Graduale with Hallelujah.	Hallelujah.	Hallelujah.	Hymn.	Hallelujah or Graduale.	Sequenz (or other Hymns.)	Sequenz [or other Hymns.]	Hallelujah.
9. Evangelium.	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel. Baptism.	Gospel.
10. Credo.	Creed.	Creed.	Creed.	Creed.	Creed.	Creed (Hymn)	Creed.	Creed.	Creed. Votum.	Creed.
11.	Sermon.	Sermon.			Sermon.	Sermon.	Sermon.	Sermon.	Sermon.	Sermon.
12.								General Prayer		
13. Offertorium.					Salutation.				Preparation.	
14. Secreta.										
15. Præfatio.	Præfation.	Præfation.	Præfation.	Præfation with Sanctus.	Præfation with Sanctus.	Lord's Prayer paraphrased.	Admonition.	Præfation.	Præfation with Sanctus.	Præfation with Sanctus.
16. Sanctus.						Admonition.		Sanctus.	Admonition.	
17. Canon Missae.				Prayer and Intercession.				Admonition. Lord's Prayer.	Lord's Prayer.	Lord's Prayer.
18. Consecratio	Consecration. with Sanctus,	Consecration, with Sanctus.	Consecration with Sanctus.	Consecration.	Consecration.	Consecration.	Consecration, with Sanctus.	Consecration.	Consecration.	Consecration.
19. Praeparatio.	Lord's Prayer.	Lord's Prayer.	Lord's Prayer.	Lord's Prayer.	Lord's Prayer.	Distribution†	Lord's Prayer.			
20. Communio.										
21. Pax.	Votum.	Votum.	Votum.	Votum.	Votum.		Votum.			
22. Agnus.	Agnus.	Agnus.	Agnus.	Agnus.	Agnus.	Agnus	Agnus.	Agnus.	Hymn.	Agnus.
23. Sumptio.	Sumptio.	Sumptio and Communion.	Communion and Sumptio.	Communion with Sumptio.	Hymn or Psalm.		Communion.	Communion.	Communion	Communion.
24. Communo.	Communion.	Salutation.	Nunc Dimittis. Salutation.	Nunc Dimittis. Collect.	Salutation. Collect.					
25. Post Communio.	Prayer.	Collect.	Collect.	Salutation.		Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.
26. Finis Missae.	Benedicamus.	Salutation.	Benedicamus.	Benedicamus.	Benedicamus.		Benedicamus.			
27. Benedictio.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.
28. John 1 : 1–14		Benedicamus.								

*Danish and Norwegian Liturgies of 1706.

†The editor of the Erlangen edition of Luther's works states that Luther, in a note found in the original manuscript of the German Mass, says that during the distribution of the bread and the wine, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei might be sung with other hymns, and Alt refers to the same note in his description of the German Mass.

‡The following liturgies were modeled after that of Wittenberg, 1559 and 1565, Wittenberg Church Hymns of 1573, Mecklenberg 1552 and 1650, Frankfort 1565, Luneburg 1564 and 1569, Lippe 1571, Oldenburg 1573, Liegmitz 1594, &c.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF DIFFERENT LITURGIES.

PRIMITIVE.	MEDIÆVAL.*	LUTHERAN.	CALVINISTIC.	EPISCOPALIAN.	PRESBYTERIAN.
Service of Hearers, or Catechumens.	*Ordinarium Missæ.*	*Sunday Service.*	*The Lord's Day Service.*	*Ante-Communion.*	*The Lord's Day Service.*
	Versicles with Gloria.	Introit.	Psalmody.	(Morning Prayer.)	(Morning Prayer).
Psalmody with Gloria Patri.	Confiteor, Absolutio.	Exhortation.	Ten Commandments.	The Lord's Prayer.	Collect for purity.
	Introit (Anthem).	Confession.	Invocation.	Collect for Purity.	Lord's Prayer.
	Kyrie Eleison.	Kyrie Eleison.	Confession.	Ten Commandments.	Ten Commandments.
Old Testament Lesson.	Gloria in Excelsis.	Gloria in Excelsis.	Absolution.	Summary of the Law.	Summary of the Law.
	Collect of the Day.	Collect of the Day.		Collect of the Day.	Collect of the Day.
	Epistle.	Epistle.		Epistle.	Epistle.
			New Testament Lesson.	Gloria.	Gospel.
New Testament Lesson.	Gradual.				Beatitudes.
		Gospel.	Sermon.	Gospel.	Gloria in Excelsis.
	Gospel.	Creeds.	General Prayer.	(Creeds).	(Creeds).
Sermon.	Nicene Creed.	Litany.	Creed.	Sermon.	(Litany).
General Prayer.		Sermon.	Psalm.	Prayer and Hymn.	Sermon.
Dismissal of Hearers with Benediction.		Hymn.			Prayer and Hymn.
		Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.
Service of Believers, or Eucharist.	*Canon Missæ.*	*Evangelical Mass.*	*The Lord's Supper.*	*Holy Communion.*	*The Lord's Supper.*
	Offertorium.	Salutation.	The Lord's Prayer.	Offertory.	(Collection).
Oblation.	Oblation.	Sursum Corda.	Invocation.	Prayer for Church Militant.	Prayer for Church Militant.
Admonition.	Sursum Corda.	Preface, with Sanctus.	Creed.	The Exhortation.	Words of Institution.
	Preface, with Sanctus.	Exhortation.	Words of Institution.	The Invitation.	Admonition.
Invitation.	Prayer for the Church.	Consecration Prayer.	Exhortation.	Confession.	Invitation.
Sursum Corda.	Commemoration of Dead.	The Lord's Prayer.	Consecrating Prayer.	Absolution.	Confession.
	Words of Institution.	Words of Institution.		Comfortable Words.	Absolution.
Tersanctus.	The Lord's Prayer.	Agnus Dei or Hymn.		Sursum Corda.	Comfortable Words.
Thanksgiving.	Breaking of the Host.			Preface, with Tersanctus.	Prayer of Humble Access.
Consecrating Prayer.	Agnus Dei.		Breaking of the Bread.	Prayer of Humble Access.	Sursum Corda.
(Words of Institution).				Prayer of Consecration.	Preface and Tersanctus.
	Priest's Prayer of Access.	Communion.	Words of Christ.	Words of Institution.	Consecrating Prayer.
Communion.	Priest's Communion.	Nunc Dimittis.	Communion.	Communion.	Breaking of the Bread.
					Communion.
Thanksgiving.	Thanksgiving.	Thanksgiving.	Thanksgiving.	The Lord's Prayer.	(The Lord's Prayer).
(Lord's Prayer).	Post-Communion Anthem		Nunc Dimittis.	Thanksgiving.	Thanksgiving.
Doxology.	Ite Missa est.			Gloria in Excelsis.	Hymn and Doxology.
Benediction.	Benedicamus.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.

*Roman Catholic. NOTE.—The above table is taken from Dr. Charles W. Shields' edition of the Presbyterian Book of Common Prayer, 1864.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

MACMILLAN & CO., NEW YORK.

The Book of Job, with Notes, Introduction and Appendix. By the Rev. A. B. Davidson, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the New College, Edinburgh. Cambridge. At the University Press. pp. lxvii and 300. Small 8vo. 1884.

This is one of the series of commentaries known as "The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges" under the general editorship of J. J. S. Perowne, D. D., Dean of Peterborough, and internally and externally is in conformity with the others of this series. They are all intended not for general readers exactly, nor for the specialist and investigator in particular, but rather for the large cultured middle class of Bible students who understand intelligently and with discriminating judgment how to follow a learned leader. They do not presuppose a knowledge of the original Hebrew nor of a systematic and experienced exegesis, but rather an acquaintance merely with the great facts and principles of and concerning the Bible, which an intelligent reader of Scriptures should possess and know how to apply. After an introduction of some length, the text of the Book under discussion is given at the top of the page, and the explanation of each verse at the bottom, in short and clear-cut sentences.

The author of the commentary on Job has hitherto not enjoyed a good reputation for orthodoxy while no fair-minded critic has called into question his scholarship. The present work will not better the former nor detract from the latter, although it must be said that the treatment of the traditional views of this enigmatical book received at his hands a fairer and more respectful consideration than might have been expected. While not as strong in his assertions and positive statements as conservative readers might wish or might fear, Davidson's negations and denials are not as bad as they might be. As, however, the book is intended not for thoughtless readers, who without further reflection would accept whatever an author would be pleased to say, but rather for pastors, Sunday-school teachers and others who are accustomed to read with discriminating eye, the book cannot fail amply to repay a perusal. It's most prominent fault is one of omission, namely a want of appreciation of those features of Job which have a bearing on the unfolding of the kingdom of God under the old dispensation. But this is a fault not so much of this work alone as rather of the vast majority of our modern exegetical books. Our exegetes are

so thoroughly critical as to time, author, composition, geographical, ethnographical and other external features of a Biblical book, that its soul and substance, namely its position in the historical development of God's plans for the salvation of mankind, as also its contribution, through historical facts and positive teachings, toward this development, are often overlooked. A commentary by Luther or any of the other reformers and their spiritual descendants may not be as critical as that of a modern professor, but in solid substance and in nourishing food for the theologian and the Christian reader they surpass the productions of our day and date. Davidson is a fair type of the more cautious of critical commentators and shares in their general good and bad features. The commentary of Job is a creditable production.

G. H. S.

HOWARD GANNETT, BOSTON.

Notes on the Lessons of 1885. Prepared by Ezra P. Gould, A. M. pp. 157.

With the great variety of excellent "Helps" on the International Sunday School Lessons we have found nothing more satisfactory than these brief notes of Prof. Gould. The old version and the new are given in parallel columns. A general view of each lesson is given, followed by an exposition of the successive verses, so lucid as to be adapted to children and yet so thorough that advanced students find it adequate.

A considerable study of the little volume has discovered but one passage that is open to serious criticism. When Paul's nephew informs the chief captain of the plot to assassinate the apostle, he closes with the words "now are they ready looking for a promise from thee," (King James Version). The Revisers were caught napping here and Prof. Gould strangely passes over the unintelligible clause without a word of explanation, so that all his readers unfamiliar with the original must keep wondering what kind of a "promise" the Jews expected from Lysias. The general classical sense of ἐπαγγελία, *command*, given to the term here, makes it very evident that all the Jews were waiting for, was the command of the tribune to conduct Paul before the Council.

The sound and conservative tenor of these notes may be inferred from the view taken of the connection of the forgiveness of sins with baptism. Acts 22 : 16 "can only be explained," says the author," on the ground that baptism is something more than a symbol of a past act, on which act forgiveness is based. Baptism is an act of confession, of public initiation into the Christian life."

D. APPLETON & CO., NEW YORK.

The Historical Reference Book, comprising a Chronological Table of Universal History, a Chronological Dictionary of Universal Hisory,

a Biographical Dictionary, with Geographical Notes. For the use of students, teachers and readers. By Louis Heilprin. pp. 569. 1885.

A good work of this character is as indispensable to the student as a standard dictionary. It belongs to a class, however, that is often so lacking in accuracy and discrimination as to be practically worthless to literary minds of careful and precise habits. A somewhat extended examination of the present volume leads to the conviction of its superior accuracy in facts and dates, while the amount of its historical and biographical information is simply prodigious. A universal encyclopaedia of history can of course not be compressed into so small a compass, and one may here and there miss a date or an event which he expected to find, but the general judgment of the cultured public must commend the author for uncommon discrimination in drawing the line between the insertion and omission of events and personages just where he did. Certainly no one before him in this field has shown greater wisdom. The items which he furnishes are essentially historic, of permanent and universal interest, and his work is as well adapted to a European market as it is to the American.

The first division of the book comprises a chronological table in which notable events are arranged under their respective dates. The second division gives substantially the same events in alphabetical order, while the third part embraces a list of famous personages, including the salient points of their distinction, which for a felicitous combination of completeness and brevity is a marvel of book-making. Not the least merit of the volume is the bright letter-press so grateful to weary eyes.

A Naturalist's Rambles About Home. Charles C. Abbott. pp. 485. 1885.

Here is one who in the love of nature holds communion with her visible forms and who in his rambles has gathered a large amount of most interesting knowledge of the wild mammals, birds, turtles and fishes of the neighborhood in which he resides. Written in a pleasant, easy, chatty style, and with glowing enthusiasm, these pages are calculated to be of universal interest and especially to stimulate in young readers an avidity to study the charming forms of life which abound in earth, air and sea around us.

We are sorry to have some of the traditions about "weather prophets" and the like exploded, but it is best to have the truth, even in natural history. The author confines himself as a rule to the observation of phenomena, only occasionally venturing a theory, as for instance that "the mental powers of birds are identical with those of man, differing only in degree." It will take a larger array of facts than has yet been produced, to warrant a sweeping induction like that. In the face of the strong counter testimony on the subject, the evidence in favor of it must be shown to be overwhelming.

WARREN F. DRAPER, ANDOVER, MASS.

The Book of Esther. A New Translation; with critical notes, excurses, maps and plans, and illustrations. By the Lowell Hebrew Club. Edited by Rev. John W. Haley, M. A. pp. 194. Large 8vo.

This book is entitled to a warm welcome, not only or chiefly on account of the excellent things it contains but rather because it is the work of a number of busy pastors who met from time to time to study together the language of Old Testament revelation. It is certainly a most encouraging sign when our pastors devote a certain number of hours each week to the Bible languages, the *origo et fons* of all our knowledge of divine truth. The general tendency among ministers and intelligent laymen at present is to study the Bible itself rather than books concerning the Bible, and of the fruits of this healthy tendency the work before us is one of the best. While technical scholarship may object to the rendering of this or that passage, the translation as such is a commendable production. The work does not pretend to be and is not a commentary on Esther, in the general acceptation of this term, but is rather a series of studies on this book. For this reason the burden of the work has been laid down in a number of scholarly excurses on historical, grammatical, geographical, topographical and other topics suggested by the contents of Esther, while plans, maps and illustrations embellish and elucidate the text. We congratulate the members of the Lowell Hebrew Club on their good work, and express the hope that their promised commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah may be an equally happy production; but most of all do we wish them many imitators and followers among the ministry of all denominations. We need scarcely say that paper, print and binding of the book is of the best, as this is always the case with publications coming from the Andover Press. G. H. S.

A. S. BARNES & CO., NEW YORK, CHICAGO AND NEW ORLEANS.

An Illustrated Commentary on The Acts of the Apostles. For family use and reference, and for the great body of Christian workers of all denominations. By Rev. Lyman Abbot, author of "Life of Christ," "Dictionary of Religious Knowledge," etc. 8vo. pp. 262.

This is Vol. IV. of Abbot's Series of Popular Commentaries on the New Testament, the first three volumes comprising respectively Matthew, Mark and Luke, and John. It has been for several years before the public but it has not been superseded, and as a work admirably adapted to clergymen, Christian parents, Sunday School teachers and all who make a practical study of the Bible, we are not likely soon to have anything superior. What commends it especially to all but critical students is its method of giving the results rather than the processes of scholarship, the conclusions rather than the controversies of scholars. It gives the accepted English version but the exposition is

of course based on the original Greek with careful regard to the latest and best text. Wherever the King James' version is defective or false a new translation is offered, which appears as a rule to be felicitous and correct.

The volume abounds in striking illustrations, some of which have been taken from standard works while a large proportion, especially those illustrating ancient manners and customs, have been drawn and engraved expressly for this volume. There is also a valuable gazetteer, numerous maps, a chronological table and very considerable archæological information, the whole forming a volume that serves at once both as a commentary and a Bible dictionary—just what is wanted for a careful study of *The Acts* by every intelligent Bible reader.

IVISON, BLAKEMAN, TAYLOR & CO., NEW YORK AND CHICAGO.

Webster's Condensed Dictionary. A Condensed Dictionary of the English language, with copious etymological derivations, accurate definitions, pronunciation, spelling, and appendixes for general reference, chiefly derived from the unabridged dictionary of Noah Webster, LL. D. Edited under the supervision of Noah Porter, D. D., LL. D., President of Yale College, by Dorsey Gardner. With over fifteen hundred Illustrations. pp. 798.

One is sure to be charmed by the attractive mechanical execution of this work and by its convenient form. But it has also other special features of much greater value. It is a marvel of condensation, containing a more copious vocabulary and fuller definitions of the essential words than many dictionaries of greater bulk. This excellent merit is due—partly to the arrangement which excludes definitions of derived words, that are in fact self-explanatory as soon as the root-word is thoroughly defined—partly to the system of referring words, formed upon a common prefix, to the first of these words which occurs alphabetically; explaining there the prefix fully and once for all; and then leaving the etymology of the *root-word* to be ascertained by reference to the uncompounded word in its proper place in the vocabulary—partly to the plan of consolidating into one paragraph words derived from the same root, provided they have the same initial letter. Thus without the sacrifice of essential matter in either etymology or definitions the vast contents of Webster's Unabridged are reduced into a volume that can be used with one hand and without an extra table. We miss the groups of synonyms usually subjoined to important words in the larger dictionaries, but thousands of students who cannot afford the Unabridged works of Webster and Worcester will find this little volume, which for the very low figure of $1.80 is sent by mail postpaid, to contain all that they really need. It has of course the more recent words.

An Appendix of 100 pages contains a pronouncing vocabulary of

proper names, embracing Biblical, Classical, Egyptian, Hindoo, Modern and Norse history and literature, the most complete collection it is claimed, that has ever been made. The most striking feature of modern book-making is the publication of standard literature at prices which render it accessible to students of limited means, and there has appeared no better example of this than this latest condensation of Webster.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

Commentary on the Gospel of Luke. By George R. Bliss, D. D. pp. 355. 8vo.

This is the fourth volume of the "Complete Commentary on the New Testament" that has been in preparation for some years under the care of Alvah Hovey, D. D., LL. D., general editor. The volumes already issued are on the Gospel by Mark, by W. N. Clarke, D. D., the Acts of the Apostles, by Horatio B. Hackett, D. D., on the Revelation, by Justin A. Smith, D. D., in consultation with James Robison Boise, D. D., LL. D. The latter volume was noticed in the QUARTERLY, April, 1884.

The aim of this work is to provide for church members, Sunday-school workers and the students of the Bible in general, "a commentary that will be founded on the most careful study of the sacred books and will bring out clearly their teaching in regard to the doctrines and ordinances, with no labored effort to make them correspond with the theories and practices that have crept in since the days of the Lord and his apostles."

The text of the common version is given and it may properly be regarded as a commentary on the familiar version, yet the text of the Revision is also given and with the modifications and changes carefully made by the author it becomes practically a commentary on the Revised version.

We are much pleased with the spirit, tone and general character of this volume on Luke. It makes no pretensions to be learned and does not strive to be original. With charming candor Dr. Bliss declares that he has uttered no thought that has not for substance been said before him, and that something to the contrary has been said by somebody on every point. He has evidently had the fullest and most recent expositors before him and acknowledges his obligations especially to Van Oosterzee, Meyer, Godet and Farrar, but the reader is not bewildered by an array of the exegetical history of each passage. The author gives what as a rule strikes the critic as a very just exposition without taking up space and confounding the student with citations from famous exegetes in all ages. It is a notable contribution to biblical study and multitudes will find it a real and a delightful help to the understanding of the Scriptures.

ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & CO., NEW YORK.

The Divine Origin of Christianity Vindicated by its Historical Effects. By Richard S. Storrs, D. D., LL. D. 8vo. pp. 674.

Something of a high order was to be expected from the prince of the American pulpit on this grand theme, but our anticipations, high as they were, are surpassed beyond measure by the powerful and splendid handling of the abundant materials which were at his service for this great argument. Christianity as a religious system rests upon historic facts and events. Its fundamental features are not abstract ideas but concrete realities that can be grappled and brought within the sphere of ordinary intelligence. So, too, it produces palpable, practical and living effects and these effects are of such a character as to require a divine cause inherent in the source from which they spring. Christianity has been on trial amid every variety of ages and nations for nearly two thousand years, and while, as a matter of course, it has appeared at times in a spurious or defective form, yet history shows unmistakably what manner of fruit ripens on this tree of life.

The body of the work consists of ten lectures delivered before the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and the Lowell Institute, Boston. But there is also an elaborate Appendix of notes and of extracts from standard authors and specialists, with a very copious index of subjects. Each Lecture contains a separate argument, as follows: Christianity introduced "*a new conception*" of God, of Man, of Man's Duty toward God, of Man's Duty to Man, of the Duties of Nations toward each other. Its effect is also shown on the Mental culture of mankind, on its Moral life, and on human Hope and Progress.

The whole is a master-piece of reasoning, but not that dreary style of reasoning which is synonymous with the demonstration of mathematical problems. Life, color, beauty and fire flash from every line. The reader is charmed and thrilled by matchless and faultless rhetoric and is swept along by majestic and irresistible torrents of eloquence. An adequate representation of the merits of the volume is out of the question. It needs to be read and studied. It is eminently timely in character and must prove of immense usefulness and power with candid and cultured minds, whose faith in the divine origin of Christianity has to any extent and from whatever cause become unsettled.

THE AMERICAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION, PHILADELPHIA.

In After Years. A sequel to "Through the Winter." By the Author of "Through the Winter," and "On the Way Home." pp. 408.

This book is a medley of courtships and conversions, events of very grave importance in human life and therefore calculated to interest young readers in general and to be of spiritual benefit to many. It is worthy of the Sunday-school Union, and is printed in large, bright type and handsomely bound.

Didley Dumps or *John Ellard* the News Boy. By F. Ratchford Starr, M. A. Fifth Edition revised and enlarged. pp. 166. 1884.

A very entertaining little volume written in the interests of reformatory work in behalf of the newsboys. The author describes with much force the trials, temptations and wickedness of this element of society, with the dreadful moral depths from which it springs and the revolting associations under which it lives. The descriptions are evidently made from personal observation. He gives also an account of the noble and successful efforts that are being made to rescue these boys and by the power of Christian sympathy and instruction to transform them into virtuous characters. No one can read these pages without feeling moved to join in this most worthy movement of Christian philanthropy.

The royalty derived from the sale of this book is donated by the author to the Newsboys' Aid Society of Philadelphia, although it is deserving of a wide circulation upon its own merits.

BROBST, DIEHL & CO., ALLENTOWN.

Biblical History. Comprising Old and New Testament, told in words of Holy Scripture. Explained by Catechism, parallel Bible verses and Hymn Stanzas and illustrated with 125 engravings and maps. *Old Testament.* pp. 150. 1884.

The advantages of having all Sunday-schools in the land use the same portion of Scripture each Sunday are so manifest that very little justification can be offered for any fraction of the Church making different selections. The International Committee would, however, add a feature of considerable improvement if for one year they would adopt a continuous and complete series of Bible history such as the volume before us presents. It has passed through a number of editions in German, having been prepared in that language by several Philadelphia pastors. The Rev. J. B. Rath has put it into an excellent English dress. That both editions might be used together in schools composed of both English and German pupils, the Text, the References, and the Questions are carefully made to coincide. The profuse illustrations make it a very attractive as well as instructive book to the youngest children.

ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

Among the Stars, or wonderful things in the sky. By Agnes Giberne, Author of "Sun, Moon and Stars," etc. pp. 311. 1885.

The admirable juvenile works of the same author, on Astronomy and Geology gained for her a wide renown. The present volume partakes of the same character, giving scientific truth with uncommon simplicity, and in a pleasing manner, making the study of the celestial world much easier than even her volume on "Sun Moon and Stars." The young will find here all the instruction of a text-book without the appalling dreariness of that species of books. Then, too, the reverence

for the Creator, which science is so well adapted to awaken, is carefully and successfully inculcated, so that the reader obtains at once both an intelligent and devout idea of the nature, vastness and movements of the heavenly bodies. It is a book worthy of high commendation.

Life in the White Bear's Den. By A. L. O. E. Authoress of "The Claremont Tales," "Life in the Eagle's Nest," etc. pp. 306. 1885.

Every new volume from the pen of this gifted and consecrated woman disposes us to pray "God bless the soul that provides such mental and spiritual nutriment for our children." The story opens with the wreck of a vessel on the Atlantic, rescued from which an unconverted young lady is taken on a whaling vessel which lands her at a mission-station in Labrador. This introduces the reader to missionary life among the Esquimaux and to a thrilling and fascinating narrative of the self-devotion and noble evangelistic activity of the Moravian Missionaries, whose cheerful zeal in this cause has shed a glorious lustre on the Christian name. The story is a companion to "*Life in the Eagle's Nest,*" noticed in the January issue of the QUARTERLY, and like its predecessor well calculated to kindle missionary fervor while its lively description and pathetic touches hold the reader as with a spell to the close of the volume.

Return O Shulamite! and other sermons preached in 1884. By C. H. Spurgeon, of London. pp. 379. 1885.

This is a collection of the latest sermons preached by the world-famous London pulpit divine. There are in all seventeen, two of them bearing date as late as November. So far from showing any diminution of interest or power these sermons seem, to one who has for years delighted in reading them, to be growing better and better. What penetration of the human heart they reveal, what a grasp of the vital doctrines of the Gospel, what familiarity with the scope of Christian experience, what zeal for spiritual activity!

As a quondam pastor and now a teacher of those who are preparing to preach, the writer would urge every young minister, in particular, to read at least one of Spurgeon's sermons each week. They will do more than many other professed aids to keep his heart warm with Gospel fire and his mind alive to the intense realities of sin and salvation.

HARPER & BROTHERS, FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. John McClintock, D. D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Supplement. Vol. I.—A—CN. 8vo. 993.

It is now seventeen years since the first volume of this great and successful work appeared. Since that time there has been a marvelous accumulation of knowledge in every branch of religious literature, and a somewhat extended supplement bringing down to the present day all

information covering the topics that fall under the purview of such an *Encyclopædia*, was to be expected. This volume is the first installment of the supplement. It is of the same size as the volumes of the original work and as it gets no further through the alphabet than Cn. the addition promises to reach nearly the same ponderous dimensions as the principal work, but the fear of this is somewhat allayed by the assurance of the preface that "under the following letters of the alphabet the additions will be proportionally much less extensive, as the original articles are more recent as well as more complete."

The most valuable additions pertain to Biblical Geography, ecclesiastical Archæology and Architecture, Apocryphal Literature, Church Councils given according to locality, Liturgics, Buddhism, Norse and other Mythologies. But the main feature, amounting to one-eighth of the present volume, is Necrology, and the aim seems to be to furnish an exhaustive department of clerical biography. A defense of it was deemed necessary in the preface, but no satisfactory defense for this serious drawback is to be tolerated. One cannot rid himself of the idea that the principal interest subserved by it is the interest of book-making. Besides, whatever value may attach to it, is determined by the degree of accuracy, discrimination and completeness observed. Although credit is claimed for "enormous labor" in collecting these memorials, there appears to have been no standard governing the collection. A sketch is given of ALBERT BRIDGES, a colored man who pursued a short course of Study with a view to missionary labor in Africa, but who died before he was ordained or preached a sermon, while men of high eminence in their respective denominations, like Dr. J. C. Backus and Dr. Backus, and Dr. Thomas Bond are omitted. The sketches of Lutherans comprise Acrelius, Arentius, Bachman, Baer, Baker, Baugher, (H. L.), Bergman, (C. F.), Bergmann, (J. E.), Berkemyer, Bolzius, Borchard, Bowers, Brobst, Brown, Brunnholtz, Buhrman, Bunger, Cungeroth, Burrell and Butler.

There is no change or revision of articles previously published in the general work, which some will regard as an unfortunate omission.

A Dictionary of the English Language. Pronouncing, Etymological, and Explanatory. Embracing Scientific and other Terms, Numerous Familiar Terms, and a Copious Selection of Old English Words. By the Rev. James Stormonth, author of "Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language for Schools and Colleges," etc. The Pronunciation carefully revised by the Rev. P. H. Phelp, M. A., Cantah. pp. 1233.

The appearance of this massive volume which is destined to be a competitor for a place along-side of our best standard English Dictionaries, is an event to be noticed in the book-world. The work is based on the author's "Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the

English Language" published in 1871, which was received with marked favor and of which seven large editions have been called for. Ten years of labor have been applied to the development of the work into the dictionary as now published. The ideal dictionary is necessarily a growth, receiving the accumulations and exactness found to be desirable and attainable through years of use. Of such completing process this work already shows most excellent results; and we believe it will be found worthy to rank among standard authorities in the definition and pronunciation of English words. Questions of etymology have been decided in the light of the latest and best philological investigations. The pronunciation followed is distinctly English, unaffected by peculiarities which may be found in some of our American dictionaries, and is indicated by means of the usual marks and accents, and by a respelling in which every vowel is marked and every syllable distinctly shown. The definitions, as far as we have been able to examine them, have mostly a felicitous brevity and clearness. We might raise the question of absolute accuracy in the case of some words, but the work probably presents no more occasion for criticism in this respect than may be found in other lexicons. While the root-significations and past meanings have not been ignored, the aim of the author has been to give the definitions as far as possible according to the present significations in standard English authors. The progress of art and science and industrial activity during recent years has added an immense number of words to our vocabulary, and great care has been taken to include these, with accurate definitions. The whole work, covering the immense range of words usually found in the large dictionaries of our tongue, is saved from being made excessively bulky, by a system of grouping, understood at a glance, under which the leading or key-word is given first, and then those connected with it—the words being printed in broad-faced type, easily catching the eye. The printing is clearly and admirably done.

Four appendixes are added. The first, a collection of the *prefixes* used in the language; the second, a list of abbreviations of words used in writing and printing; the third, of Latin, French, and other Phrases and Quotations; the fourth, a complete list of Scripture Proper Names, with the whole of the proper names found in the Apocrypha, and a collection of Common, Historical, and Classical names, respelt for pronunciation. The Constitution of the U. S. is also added.

This new dictionary can hardly fail to meet with great favor. Besides the features of intrinsic excellence which recommend it, the price at which it may be bought, being less than for our other large dictionaries, will bring it within the reach of almost all.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.
For Sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila.

The Reality of Religion. By Henry J. Vandyke, Jr., D. D., Pastor of the Brick Church, New York. pp. 146. 1884.

A full notice of this excellent little volume appeared in the January number of THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, cf. p. 163.

Egypt and Babylon from Sacred and Profane Sources. By George Rawlinson, M. A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford; Canon of Canterbury Cathedral. pp. 329. 1885.

The oldest book in the world makes constant reference even in its earliest chapters to the two most ancient Empires, Babylon and Egypt. These were the great world-powers at the dawn of human history and with these the Semitic stock which was providentially saved from general intermixture with the great nations of idolatry, came from time to time in contact. The history of Babylon and Egypt is to a considerable extent contained in the books of the Old Testament—a hero of the Hebrews ruling the latter country in the earliest stages of Hebrew history and another hero of that nation presiding over the former in the closing epoch.

As long as profane sources furnished but few accurate and important data on these vast empires of antiquity, the authentic character of Bible statements concerning them was continually challenged by skeptical criticism. It is only of recent years that the excavations in these countries and the deciphering of their hieroglyphics give anything like complete records, and now it turns out that the more thorough the researches and the more complete the results, the fuller is their accord with Scripture testimony. In this department of scholarship Canon Rawlinson is recognized as a master. In the knowledge of ancient nations he has no superior. His judgment is usually discriminative and sound and his statements characterized by accuracy and candor, although his reverent devotion to the sacred records, it is charged, sometimes hurries him to conclusions before they are clearly established to minds that have no bias in favor of Holy Writ.

The present volume is one of great interest and force, and in bringing out the marvelous agreement of the sacred records with the most recent results of historic research in these old countries, it awakens the same question which the Mosaic Cosmogony has pressed on many of the foremost scientists, "Whence did these men obtain this knowledge?"

The Elements of Moral Science. Theoretical and Practical. By Noah Porter, D. D., LL. D., President of Yale College.

President Porter's great work, *The Human Intellect*, has justly placed him in the very front rank of American paychologists. The abridgment of that work, *The Elements of Intellectual Science*, forms an un-

surpassed text-book for College class-room instruction in that department. The value of that work, in both its original and condensed form, consists in its careful and thorough analysis of the psychical realities under the light of consciousness, and its determination, in the induction method, of the fundamental and essential powers and laws of the human intellect. It traverses, indeed, many long-debated points, on which differing opinions must be allowed, but to a remarkable degree it gives statement to the best verified conclusions of analytic psychology.

The appearance of this volume, therefore, on one of the great questions of human interest, resting directly on psychological data, has naturally awakened high expectation. It has come to a public more than ready to receive it with favor. An examination of it shows it to be prepared on the same general method of analysis and conclusion found in the author's other volumes. As his "Intellectual Science" covers only a discussion of the Intellect, he here takes up the phenomena of the Sensibility and the Will, with a view to bring out the psychical facts which are concerned in determining moral agency and ethical science. Of these two great powers, the Sensibility and the Will, he gives, in the early chapters, a very close and interesting analysis. It is specially instructive by reason of its independent thought and sharp criticism of variant views. One of the points by which the reader's attention is soon arrested is the distinction made between the primary and secondary objects in desire, and especially the claim that the primary object, in all desire which is voluntary, is the subjective pleasure or feeling excited. That which is usually called the object of desire is, in truth, only secondary, or the occasion of the desire. Without exception, whatever may be the thing sought, the real object is one's own pleasurable experience, found to be connected with the desired thing. It is implied that this is the case even when the *right* is chosen as over-against the pleasurable. It may be questioned whether this idea has not been pressed too far. It is probable that it would be best not to give full assent to it till after further examination, since, at a single stroke, it sweeps away the possibility of a moral system that does not rest essentially on the sensibility and sum up as a system of utilitarianism.

While high ability and independent thought are evident on every page of the work, it must nevertheless be to many a disappointing book. For, as an offered account of the moral relations and as a theory of ethical science, it presents explanations and reaches conclusions which, it seems to us, must, despite their elaborate presentation, to some degree be regarded as faulty in themselves and as lowering moral sanctions. The originality of the aggregate explanation and system is not, of course, any reason in itself why they should not be accepted—nor a reason why they should. The points in the explanation seem to

be these: 1. Every excitement of the mental sensibility is either pleasant or painful. 2. The primary and ruling object of all voluntary desire is to have the pleasure and to avoid the pain found in the sensibilities. This enjoyment is the "natural good" to which man's nature is adapted. 3. This natural good, as the agreeable in the sensibilities, is found to be of higher and lower grade, or of greater or less *worth.* 4. "*Moral good is the voluntary choice of the highest natural good possible to man, as known to himself, and interpreted as the end of his existence and activities.*" 5. Moral *obligation* is the feeling which enforces a choice of the highest natural good to which, under his reflective reason, he discovers his nature to be adjusted. The following passage fairly sums up the view: "They [the moral relations] are the necessary products or results of two conspicuous human endowments—the reflective intellect and the voluntary impulses and affections. The reflective intellect cannot but find the norm or standard of duty in the natural capacities of man. So soon as it conceives of any ideal whatever for aspiration or control—so soon as it recognizes such an ideal, it necessarily imposes it as a law for the voluntary activities. This ideal, thus recognized and imposed, becomes a moral law: in other words, *so soon as the intellect reflects upon the several sensibilities which are subject to the control of the will, as compared with one another, it must find a standard of ideal desirableness or worth for its springs of action.* So soon as it proposes to itself the question, How are they to be applied or controlled by the will? the reflecting man imposes the ideal upon the choosing man as a law of voluntary action, *i. e.*, of conduct and character. So far, also, as the reflecting or self-conscious man finds in the relative excellence of these springs of action, or in their effects, an indication of the ends or purposes to which man's capacities for action are adapted, so far does he find in this constitution of his being an additional force or law, compelling his natural approval, and requiring his voluntary consent."

The italics in the above quotation are ours, and are used to call attention to what expresses the very heart of the given theory of moral obligation. Against the whole interpretation it must be objected:

1. That, in the last analysis, it resolves all obligation into a *feeling*. This at once shifts the basis of the right from a perceived moral quality of action to an experience in the sensibility. It is true, the author says the emotion must be "peculiar"—arising "from the fact that it is only felt when man is lawgiver, judge and executioner to himself." "It is because the emotion is unique that men appeal to what they call the sense of obligation with the utmost confidence, and that obligation carries with it supreme authority." Still the obligation is reduced to an emotion.

2. That it represents the moral choice as simply a choice of "natural good," discriminating only as between the different degrees or grades

of 'desirableness in the several sensibilities' controlled by the will. The notion of morality gets place only as the choice is concerned with a correct estimate and acceptance of that which is most truly desirable as found in the various experiences of natural good. "The best natural desire or impulse which the occasion calls for or admits must be made supreme; that is, the object which involves such a desire must be chosen. A morally good choice is a choice which selects or prefers the best end possible to the nature of man; in other words, the best natural good." It is true that in making this estimate, through his reflective faculties, it is said, a man is to be guided by the adaptations of his nature to the end of his activities. But still it fails to lift the view to anything higher or other than natural good, *i. e.*, what is pleasurable in the sensibilities. This is the very heart, we will not say of Hedonism, but of Eudæmonism. It assumes that there is no possibility of choice between natural good in the sensibilities and something higher—between the agreeable and the right. In other words, it obliterates, or at least leaves out of view, all essential distinction between utility and rightness in the character of actions, between enjoyment and virtue, and despite all efforts to steer clear of this result, it falls back into the happiness theory of Paley.

3. The theory not only resolves moral obligation into a feeling, and a feeling of natural desirableness, but into a fundamentally *selfish* relation. The eminent author, indeed, refuses to concede this, and claims: "Selfishness is excluded by the fundamental assumption of the theory that man is capable of disinterested delight in the good of others, and that this is a nobler happiness than any form of individual or separate experience." But the author's own analysis of the "primary object" in the desires (pp. 27, 28), compels us to take this so-called "disinterested delight," as at bottom "interested delight"—especially when the rule for the moral good is to be discovered in one's "own natural capacities for higher and lower good." Each man is called upon, it is said, to consider other personalities as having the same capacities for good with himself, and thus an altruistic movement is to be introduced into the choices. Admitting all this, it is yet true that no *obligation* is brought to light in the theory, to choose the good of others, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, except one's own felt *enjoyment* in doing so. The question still returns, 'Is there no quality in beneficent acts in which they become right or obligatory except the subjective pleasure experienced in doing them?' Indeed, is their rightness at all determinable by this alone?

4. The theory gives no satisfactory account of the very *idea of right and wrong*, in contradistinction to the pleasurable and painful, and the *primary ethical law which binds men to seek and choose the right.* Whence the conviction of a necessary and immutable distinction be-

tween right and wrong, and the obligation perceived to be due to the right? In this account moral good is made only transformed natural good, and the "right" disappears except as transformed sensibility, or a natural preference of the agreeable over the painful, when we desire or approve the one rather than the other for ourselves. The supposed imperative to the right is only a felt necessity in one's sensibility to choose the most useful or agreeable. In the author's justifiable recoil from some of the excesses of intuitionalism—such as that which claims that there is no ground of right back of the simple intuition of duty, as something standing utterly inexplicable except in its own intuition—he has swung to the opposite extreme of denying the unquestionably intuitional starting point in the judgment of moral relations. The *idea* of right, with the included reality of obligation to it, must be recognized as an *a priori*, primary idea. The idea is the starting point and is pre-supposed in all inquiries and reasoning on moral relations, and has all the criteria of intuitional truths or principles according to the author's able analysis of intuitional truth in his *Human Intellect.* It may, indeed, be readily admitted that in applying the idea of right and wrong to contemplated action in the various relations of life, the reflective, rather than the intuitional reason is employed. In this part of the process, a judgment of application is involved, in which the moral character of *particular choices or actions* is decided. There may often be doubt *what* act is right, but never whether we are bound to the right. And we perceive that this bond to the right is different, not alone in degree, but in kind, from that which binds us to simply natural good. But the account here given allows only a pseud-idea of the right—that is, one that claims to stand for right but amounts to only a perceived utility for natural good. So the moral imperative is resolved into a mere relation of action to a natural sensibility.

5. The account limits *moral quality to the volitions*—"to the person and his personal volitions." "The object of choice to the will is not itself morally right or wrong." "Primarily and properly, and as we may always say impliedly, the concepts of right and wrong are affirmed of the *voluntary purposes* and of these alone." Afterward, indeed, it is said that they may be affirmed of *external actions*, but only as related to the wrong volition. This is not new teaching; but it is certainly unlooked for from this source. For if a 'volition' may have the quality of rightness from its harmony with the provided capacities and ends of human existence, as judged by the 'reflective reason,' why may not an 'action' be 'right' as in the same harmony? Of course, no *obligation* can be predicated of an action, but only of the moral agent, capable of choosing; but the inquiry here is not after obligation, which belongs to the agent, but after the quality of rightness which belongs to his acts, whether psychical ar physical. Why may not *actions* as well as volitions be either conformed to or violative of what is due to

the relations in which as moral agents we are placed? Moreover, if you exclude moral quality, that is, the quality of rightness or wrongness, from the external *actions* as contemplated or as done, it is pertinent to ask: how can you get virtue or vice, right or wrong, into the volitions that decide for them? What responsibility can the will have on their account? If actions are intrinsically indifferent as to moral quality, how shall the will be either condemned or approved for the choice of them? To assert that actions intrinsically or in themselves have no moral quality, is to open the way for the use of them under the sole law of expediency, for kind ends. President Porter repudiates as emphatically as any one can the casuistry of the maxim, "the end justifies the means," and maintains that his theory is no endorsement of it. But systems of thought, both philosophical and ethical, are often found to contain a logic which leads disciples beyond the master.

In our judgment, the facts of our moral constitution and consciousness are not adequately interpreted in this new attempt. Whatever criticisms the book contains of other systems—and most of them have force and incisiveness worthy of the learned author—the new system which it presents, it seems to us, fails to exhibit some of the most essential features required by a correct and full "Moral Science."

Ecclesiology. A Treatise on the Church and Kingdom of God on Earth. By Edward D. Morris, D. D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Lane Theological Seminary. pp. 187. 1885.

The form of this treatise has been determined by the fact of its being a condensed summary of a series of lectures delivered during the past seventeen years to students of theology. The condensation has been made in order to produce a discussion of the essential features of the Church adapted to the general Christian public. The author's aim has been to circulate what are regarded as correct views on the subject of this divine institution so vitally related to the best interests of individuals, society and the state.

The general conception of the Church as here given is that which is taught in the Presbyterian System. The successive chapters treat of the Church in the Divine Plan, as to its idea, history and reasons; the Impersonal constituents of the Church, in its doctrines, sacraments and ordinances; the Personal Constituents of it, its members and officers; the Church as a Divine Kingdom, with its government, polities and discipline; and the Church in Human Society, as to its unity, growth, and relations. The doctrine set forth concerning the nature and efficacy of baptism and the Lord's Supper, falls short of the Lutheran view, and, we think, is hardly as positive as taught by the Westminster Confession. Strong ground is correctly taken as to the divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath. The distinction between ruling and teaching

functions in the Church is maintained. As to the true relation between Church and State, their separation is, of course, insisted on. We are glad to see that this separation is not viewed as rightly setting these two divine institutions in an attitude of entire independence and isolation. Both institutions are sacredly bound to each other as well as to their common Lord, in the support of those great interests of humanity which they have been alike ordained to serve. Taken all together, the volume is a calm, straight-forward discussion of a subject that is daily assuming larger importance—a valuable contribution to our popular Ecclesiology.

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff. Vol. IV. Mediæval Christianity, from Gregory I. to Gregory VII., A. D. 590–1073. pp. xiii, 799.

In his general introduction in the first volume of this comprehensive work, Dr. Schaff divides church history into nine distinct periods. The first covers the first century of the Christian era; the second extends from the death of St. John to Constantine, the first Christian emperor, A. D. 100–311; the third is from Constantine to Pope Gregory I., A. D. 311 to 590; the fourth, from Gregory I. to Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., A. D. 560–1049 (or 1073). To each of these periods, thus far, has been devoted a separate volume, and, if the same course is pursued throughout, the whole work will embrace nine large volumes. The whole period embraced by the Middle Age, from the ecclesiastical standpoint, is from 590 to 1517, and this volume covers only one of the three sub-divisions, or from 590 to 1073. The next reaches to 1294, and the third to 1517. It will thus be seen how elaborately and comprehensively Dr. Schaff is treating his subject.

This period (590–1073) may seem like a dreary waste to the traveler, but with such a guide as Dr. Schaff objects are invested with a marvelous interest, and he goes through all without fatigue. Like the preceding volumes, the general outline of treatment is on missions, persecutions, church government and discipline, worship or divine service, theology and general Christian literature, and practical morality and religion.

A good idea of the work may be obtained from the subjects of the different chapters. They treat of the Conversion of the Northern and Western Barbarians; Mohammedanism in its Relation to Christianity; the Papal Hierarchy and the Holy Roman Empire; the Conflicts of the Eastern and Western Churches and their Separation; Morals and Religion; Monasticism; Church Discipline; Church and State; Worship and Ceremonies; Doctrinal Controversies; Heretical Sects; the State of Learning; and Biographical Sketches of the Ecclesiastical Writers. The whole is treated with the author's marked perspicuity and vividness of style.

The New Departure in College Education. By James McCosh, President of Princeton College. Paper. pp. 23.

This is the reply of Dr. McCosh to President Eliot, at the meeting of the Nineteenth Century Club in New York, some weeks ago, when the subject of elective studies was under discussion. It accords well with our views, and we give it our hearty approval.

FUNK & WAGNALLS, NEW YORK.

The Theocratic Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus, the Christ, as Covenanted in the Old Testament, and Presented in the New Testament. By Geo. N. H. Peters, A. M. In Three Volumes. pp. 701, 780, 694.

The first impression made on us by an examination of these three massive volumes is of the immense labor, large reading, and tireless industry involved in their preparation. A very broad field of the Church's theological literature has been laid under contribution; and the toil of comparison of views, deductive conclusion, and constructive development, testifies to the author's intense earnestness and capacity for prolonged, careful work. The volumes come as the fruit of thirty years of labor, and enriched with the thought which has, through all the Christian centuries, been accumulating about the important subject examined and discussed.

The Theocratic Kingdom, as understood and explained by the author is one to which the present dispensation of the Church is to give place, set up and organized by Christ at His second coming, at the beginning of the millennial period, a formally appointed and visibly manifested kingdom here on earth and taking the place of earthly kingdoms. The seat of the Kingdom is Palestine, its organization demands the natural restoration of the Jews, its administration rests in the visible reign of Jesus the Christ here on earth. Its establishment involves the destruction of Anti-Christ, the resurrection and gathering of the saints, the translation of living saints, and the perpetuity of the earth. It may give some idea of the scope and method of the whole discussion to state that the evidences and characteristics of this Kingdom, as here delineated are unfolded in a series of two hundred and six propositions—each proposition constituting what might be called a chapter, developed in generic statements and observations. These observations present the proofs, whether in the form of scripture statements, theological authorities or original arguments. Taken all together, the work is among the most elaborate and exhaustive discussions and defenses of the millenarian view of the Kingdom ever published.

The view here set forth has been, in its essential features, held and taught by some in all periods of the Church's history. It can array great names in its catalogue of defenders—at the present time as in the past. At no period, however, has it expressed the Church's faith, as read in its creeds or confessions. As to the importance of "the King-

dom of God," "the Kingdom of Christ," all Christians are agreed. But the question in contention is the nature and form of that Kingdom and its place in the scheme of redemption. While respecting the author's earnestness of conviction as well as conceding the apparent support he finds in certain passages of Scripture, especially in the book of Revelation, we cannot accept this millenarian view as presenting the correct interpretation of the Holy Scriptures on the subject. Those, however, who wish a thesaurus of the arguments by which it is urged and defended, and of information as to its prevalence and conflicts, can hardly find a more complete one than in this work.

Three very full indexes are added—one of the scripture passages used; another, of authors, books, periodicals, &c., quoted or referred to; and a third of subjects. These are very full and make it easy to find any particular item to which any one may wish to refer.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts, being Extracts covering a Comprehensive Circle of Religious and Allied Topics. Edited by Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, M. A., Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M. A., and Rev. Charles Neil, M. A. Vol. III. pp. 520. 1885.

We welcome another volume of this comprehensive and elaborate work. It includes the second, third, fourth, and fifth parts of Section X. on "Virtues, including Excellences," and Section XI. on "The Mosaic Economy." The divisions of the tenth section here given are respectively on Justice, Wisdom, Benevolence, and Self-Control; and the three parts of the eleventh section are (a) The Tabernacle Generally, (b) Ministers and Office-Bearers in the Service of the Tabernacle, (c) Sacrifices and Oblations including Sacred Festivals. To each section there is a satisfactory index.

In a previous notice we spoke of the pains-taking care with which this mammoth work has been prepared, and we are now still more impressed with this fact, after an examination of the present volume. Completeness and judicious arrangement are manifest on every page. The best works on the subjects treated have been thoroughly ransacked by competent men, under a discriminating and watchful superintendence The succeeding volumes will appear at intervals of three months.

Letters from Hell. Given in English by L. W. J. S. With a Preface by George MacDonald, LL. D. pp. 350. 1885.

This work appeared first in Denmark, about eighteen years ago; was recently translated into German and published in a somewhat modified form, passing through twelve editions in a single year; and now we have an English translation from the German, with certain portions pruned or recast and some parts omitted altogether.

Dr. MacDonald says he was so impressed with its imaginative energy and power of truth, while reading the German edition, that he felt like

translating it himself, so that it might be read in this country. He then adds: "When I say the book is full of truth, I do not mean either truth of theory or truth in art, but something far deeper and higher the realities of our relations to God and man and duty—all, in short, that belongs to the conscience. Prominent among these is the awful verity, that we make our fate in unmaking ourselves; that men, in defacing the image of God in themselves, construct for themselves a world of horror and dismay * * that if a man will not have God, he never can be rid of his weary and hateful self."

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, not long ago, in her "Beyond the Gates," gave her conception of what heaven is, what its inhabitants are doing, etc., in an imaginary visit there. In some respects this book reminds us of hers, inasmuch as it gives the author's views of the "pit of woe" in much the same aspects. There is, however, this marked difference: The former is purely imaginative without regard to what the Bible says, while much in the latter finds confirmation in the Scriptures. It is true, there is no special support sought from an appeal to "It is written," but the *animus* of the book is largely characterized by biblical truth. It is not the most delightful reading one can find, as may well be inferred from the subject, but it may be profitable sometimes to be repelled by contemplating the horror of the bottomless pit as well as attracted by contemplating the joys of heaven.

Praise-Songs of Israel. A new rendering of the Book of Psalms. By John DeWitt, D. D., of the Theological Seminary New Brunswick, N. J.; a member of the American Old Testament Revision Company. pp. 219

Dr. DeWitt's connection with the Bible Revision Company is a testimonial to his scholarship, if any were needed, and his rendering is in general accord with their work. There is, however, this difference. The Revisers, while seeking to give the true and full force of the original, were trammeled by the requirement to depart as little as possible from the Authorized Version, but Dr. DeWitt put himself under no such restriction. The chief peculiarity of his translation is in using the tenses more in accordance with advanced grammatical principles than in the King James Version. These changes as well as those in other directions commend themselves, as a whole, adding new beauty and greater force to many cherished parts of this portion of the Scriptures. It makes a fine volume, printed on excellent paper and well bound.

Ludlow's Concentric Chart of History. By James M. Ludlow, D. D.

This chart is fan-shaped, consisting of thirty segments, ten inches long and seven wide at the broad end, and turning on a common centre so that one or more segments can be in view at one time. It gives at a glance the separate and contemporaneous history of each century, and

embraces the chief events of all nations. It is a real *multum in parvo*, convenient for use. It must, however, be seen and examined before its full value can be appreciated.

LITTLE, BROWN & CO., BOSTON.

Cicero de Officiis. Translated with Introduction and Notes by Andrew P. Peabody. pp. xxiv, 254.

Cicero de Senectute. Same. pp. xxxi, 67.

Cicero de Amicitia. Same. pp. xix, 91.

Cicero's works hold a prominent place in the college curriculum most of all on account of their pure Latinity, but all are characterized by such a moral tone, that there is no necessity for expurgation before putting them into the hands of the young, as is the case with the majority of Roman writers. His ethical writings especially reflect credit upon him as a teacher of the young, and may be read with profit by those who have the clear light of Christian revelation. Avoiding the extremes of the Epicureans and Stoics, and holding rather closely to the Peripatetics, his counsels as a whole are in accordance with right principles. It is well, therefore, that these works have appeared in English dress, so that they may have a larger class of readers than in the Latin.

The translations, while not word-for-word, are *literal* in the sense that they give Cicero's views in good, idiomatic English without departing materially from the construction of the Latin. We are especially struck with this in our comparison with the *De Senectute.* The translation is so close, indeed, that it would be well for college students not to have it within too easy reach. The same is substantially true of the *De Officiis* and *De Amicitia.* The Three books are bound alike and present a fine appearance, and the printing is a credit to the house that has published them.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

Light on the Pilgrim's Way. Selections from the writings of Rev. Charles A. Stork, D. D. Edited, with a sketch of his Life, by his Brother, T. B. Stork. pp. 341. 1885.

To the readers of the QUARTERLY no commendation of Dr. Stork's writings is necessary. He appeared so often in these pages and with such acceptance that any description of his style, etc., would be superfluous. The selections found in this book have been taken from his unpublished sermons and articles contributed to the QUARTERLY and *Lutheran Observer* since 1870. We are struck with the discriminating judgment shown in collecting them. The work has been well done, and here we now have a book that will prove a treasure to every Christian believer. It has been well named, and will surely prove a light on the pilgrim's way, as the sermons and articles have already done to those who have heard or read them. It is a capital book for Sunday afternoon, and should always be within easy reach.

Food for the Heavenly Way: or Words of Counsel to Beginners in the Christian Life. pp. 64.

This impresses us as just what the pastor wants for newly confirmed church members. It is supplementary to the catechetical course of instruction, and will not fail to prove helpful to every young church member. A neat confirmation certificate is bound in with the book, and nothing could be more suitable for the pastor to give the members he has just confirmed than this little volume. It was prepared by a Lutheran minister at the request of the Board of Publication, but the author's name does not appear. Whoever it is, it is a credit to him.

A. S. BARNES & CO., NEW YORK.

Hygiene for Young People. Adapted to Intermediate Classes and Common Schools. Prepared under the direction of the Department of Scientific Instruction of the Women's National Christian Temperance Union. With a Preface and Endorsement of Scientific Accuracy by A. B. Palmer, M. D., LL. D., Professor of Pathology and Practice of Medicine in the University of Michigan. pp. 207.

The title page as we have given it quite fully describes this little work. We need only add that it was prepared "with special reference to the influence of alcoholic drinks, stimulants, and narcotics upon the human system." This is kept in view in every chapter, and the whole work is intended as an aid to the cause of temperance by instructing the children as to the harmful influence of alcoholic and narcotic stimulants on the human system. Four or five States have already provided by law for such instruction, and Mrs. Hunt and other leaders of the W. C. T. U. are energetically pushing the work in other States.

THOMAS WHITTAKER, NEW YORK.

For Sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila.

Revelation Universal and Special. By the Rev. William W. Olssen, S. T. D., Professor of Greek and Hebrew, St. Steven's College, New York; Author of "Personality." 1885. pp. 259.

The object of this small volume is to state in another way the grounds on which Christians maintain their confident faith in a divine revelation. The underlying principle of the method is to find the common basis of all our knowledge, guiding practical life and proving valid for its activities. Such basis is found in intuition. This is put as the foundation of all revelation. Revelation is first viewed as universal—under which a considerable amount of religious truth becomes known to all races and tribes. These are the truths of what we call 'natural religion.' This is followed by a discussion of Special Revelation—first, as subjective, and secondly, as objective. The needed attestation of unwritten revelation is pointed out, and then the necessity and fact of a written revela-

tion are traced, with a statement of the features of a proper authentication of it.

Dr. Olssen shows the influence of the present tendency, seen in many quarters, to look on the various religions as differing rather in the degree than in the kind of revelation on which they are based. He passes from tracing the special revelations both subjective and objective among all people, and from the written revelations printed on the rocks of past geologic ages and the pre-Mosaic revelations, to those of our own Scriptures, without any clear pointing out of the generically distinct and supernatural character of the Christian revelation. There is, indeed, a sense in which God is ever revealing himself through conscience and nature and experience, and this great fact forms a good analogical basis for the higher revelation in God's word. But there is danger in this mode of treatment, especially under the impulse of evolutionist theology, to level down Christianity to merely a more fully developed naturalism. The distinction between natural religion and revealed religion may be so reduced as almost to disappear. While the discussion of the subject in this volume is not made very positively assertive in this direction, it shows that the wind of this influence was blowing over its arrangement. The argument given, however, is one of much force and value. It is fresh and interesting. Specially interesting are the points made of the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, as pointing to pre-Mosaic written revelation. In the use, thought to be made of these by Moses, the author seems to follow substantially the conception of Lenormant in his *Beginnings of History*.

A few statements are open to criticism. Among others, the use of the term "intuition" to designate the action of instinct, contrary to all fair usage, or just conception of instinct. So, too, the introductory remarks about the old forms of Christian evidences are unnecessarily and unjustly depreciatory. This fresh view not only does not need such clearing of ground for place to stand, but can stand at all only if the old evidences are true.

LEE AND SHEPARD, BOSTON.

For Sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila.

Evolution and Christianity. Or an Answer to the Development of Infidelity of Modern Times. By Benjamin F. Tefft, D. D., LL. D. Formerly President of Genesse College, New York; Member of the New York Historical Society; Member of the Society of Arts, etc., of Lond.; Author of "Hungary and Kossuth," etc. With an Introductory Letter by Bishop Simpson. pp. 484. 1885.

The general idea on which Dr. Tefft has evidently undertaken the task of this book—and an idea unquestionably correct—is that other than practical workers in science may be thoroughly competent to judge of the soundness of metaphysical conclusions for which scientists often use the facts which their investigations bring to light. The work of

specialists whether in the department of science or religion is very apt to beget one-sidedness and lead into half-views of things. The genuine progress of truth and knowledge requires the sobering influence of broad comparison of theory with theory, in the light of facts of which the specialist often fails to take due note. And the pages of this volume everywhere give evidence that the author is at home in the methods of philosophy and the given facts of Science involved in the hypothesis he discusses—well-posted in the history of opinions and the reasoning employed in its defense. The hypothesis of evolution which he combats is that which represents the universe of matter and mind as having existed potentially in some primordial world-stuff, which, by self-contained and inherent energy, has been unfolding itself, without outside direction or help, through all the past changes into the present cosmos. It is the materialistic and atheistic evolutionism of Spencer, Huxley, Haeckel, and into which Darwinism has largely led its followers. The evolutionism of such writers as Lotze, McCosh and others, is not regarded as evolution in the true sense, inasmuch as it recognizes the creative action of God both at the beginning and in all the development.

Dr. Tefft's work is a distinct and emphatic polemic—only, however, as it has been inspired by an intense conviction of the error and deadliness of the scheme of thought he is meeting. In every part of the discussion we find a man thoroughly in earnest. And who will say that the interests involved do not justify such earnestness? The method of the volume views Evolution as a full antagonism to Christianity. As such it is on its trial before the Christian world. Its rejection is asked for, both because it is not truth and Christianity is. The author begins with the question, what is Evolution, and finds his answer from the writings of its authors, expositors and representative defenders. Then he asks and defines what Christianity is, and the grounds on which its truth is vindicated. The relations between the two systems are pointed out. The confessions of even leading evolutionary scientists, as well as the judgment of the best philosophy of the world, are arrayed to show the utter failure of the materialistic and atheistic scheme to explain all the great phenomena of nature, such as the origin of life, of sensation, of self-consciousness, self-determination or free-will, moral law, and personality. In view of all the facts in the case, the author submits to the reader the decision between this unproved hypothesis, with its short-comings, irreligion and atheism, and Christianity, of whose divine truth Christendom itself is the proof, and of whose beneficent power all believers are conscious and all the world's worthy progress is the living witness.

The author writes with transparent clearness and much strength. His pen is pointed and sharp. Passages of finest quality abound in his pages. Some things are, indeed, open to criticism. We do not like the

intensity of his picture of the humble origin and appearance of Christ and his apostles. He obtains an overdrawn contrast by putting their condition in comparison, not with the common condition in that day and land, but with our ideas as shaped in our own modern life. But it is not necessary to detail points from which we dissent. The general aim is most worthy, and a useful discussion has been given. Whatever may be the outcome or settlement of the scientific questions involved in the subject, there can be but one judgment rightly given as to the materialistic evolution here discussed. Its overthrow is called for, not less in the interest of a true scientific explanation of nature, than by all the high interests of moral and spiritual life; and this work of Dr. Tefft's will do good.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO., BOSTON.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The Religious Aspect of Philosophy. A Critique of the Bases of Conduct and of Faith. By Josiah Royce, Ph. D., Instructor in Philosophy in Harvard College. pp. 484. 1885.

For a metaphysical discussion, this is a bright, readable and racy volume. The author is a young man, and his book is full of evidence of broad familiarity with the history of philosophy, of vivacious, independent thinking, and large self-consciousness. Though it deals with philosophical questions, its end is not philosophy, but the ethical and religious problems on which it may give some light. The aim is to determine whether any basis can be found for ethics and religion.

Dr. Royce's standpoint, or the starting ground from which he moves, is that of absolute skepticism—skepticism in no qualified sense, but sweeping and thorough. This he claims to be the true method of the philosopher. "Doubting everything is once for all a necessary element in the organism of philosophic reflection." "As for doubt on religious questions, this is for a truth-seeker not only a privilege but a duty; and as we shall experience all through this study, doubt has a curious and very valuable place in philosophy."

In the spirit of thorough-going doubt of everything, our philosopher, therefore, enters on his search, first, for a moral ideal, and, secondly, for religious truth. His method in each case, is to show the absolute error, contradictoriness and nonsense of all that the past generations of philosophers have imagined to be truth—with wonderful ease and celerity reducing all things to chaos, as the necessary condition for his creative work in a true moral and religious cosmos. Out of the contradictions of all ethical theories, he finds relative truth and an ethical ideal. We have a real moral insight—every one being in possession of an ideal. "You cannot get away from that ideal save by repeating the very process that has brought you to it. Your moral insight is attained, and the foundation of your doctrine is no longer a particular aim that is accepted by a mere caprice of one individual, but is the necessary aim that

arises in the mind of any one who actually realizes the warfare of the particular aims. It is the ideal of ideals. It is the absolute ideal that arises for you out of the consideration of the separate ideals. This ideal is relative only to the insight that comprehends the whole moral world." When this is applied to men as related to one another it yields a rule of duty: "Act as a being would act who included thy will and thy neighbor's will in the unity of one life, and who had therefore to suffer the consequences for the aims of both that will follow from the act of either." Many ordinary philosophers will wonder in what respect this ideal and rule are truer or more practicable than some ethical conceptions and laws they have heard from less advanced thinkers.

With insight into ethical being partially attained, the author passes on to see whether philosophy can do anything for religion. In his search he goes through the wilderness of the philosophies and finds what he has looked for. Though he has tried to doubt everything, he finds that there can be error only if there is some truth, and finite fragmentary thought only if there is infinite thought. So he discovers the truth in the Unity of Infinite Thought, an Infinite Seer. This Infinite Thought is an Infinite Presence, All-Seeing, All-Judging. This Universal Infinite Thought is not to be understood as being God in the common sense. The author tells us that though in the discussion he has used the word God, no reader is obliged to suppose his idea is the ordinary one: "As my thought at any time, and however engaged, combines several fragmentary thoughts into the unity of one conscious moment, so we affirm does the Universal Thought combine the thoughts of all of us into an absolute unity of thought, together with all the objects and all the thoughts about these objects that are or have been, or will be, or can be, in the Universe. This Universal Thought is what we have ventured, for the sake of convenience, to call God." This Thought is not a Creator, or a Power, or a Cause. "God as a Power would be nothing, or finite. God as Thought can be and is all in all. And if this is philosophy, traditional Theism can do what it wishes to do about the matter."

All this is dreary enough, and is instructive as the outcome of human knowledge to one who has turned his back on Christian Theism, rejected a Creator and a heavenly Father, and is determined that absolute skepticism and poilosophical "postulates" shall yield him the only truth by which he will live. Yet we confess we have been instructed in reading this book, not alone from the constant evidence that no thinking man can get utterly away from the Infinite Presence and Thought of the intelligent Creator of the world, but from the many pages of incisive and brilliant criticism of various philosophical and ethical theories.

Paradise Found. The Cradle of the Human race at the North Pole. A Study of the Prehistoric World. By William F. Warren, S. T. D., LL. D., President of Boston University, etc.

When a man of scholarly attainments, after years of investigation,

confidently claims to have discovered new truth in any field of human thought or history, he deserves a calm and unprejudiced hearing, however much his conclusions may contravene our customary beliefs. Such a hearing we have tried to give President Warren in his erudite attempt to fix the site of Paradise and the origin of the human race at the North Pole. Dr. Warren relies for the proof of his hypothesis mainly upon two classes of arguments, the scientific and the mythological. Under the first he claims that at the North Pole, largely because of the low temperature, there is much more daylight in the course of a year than anywhere else on the earth (pp. 60–70). Having made the cold do service in providing additional daylight, he has no more use for it, and a little further on he proves that the polar region was formerly much warmer than now and capable of supporting human life in comfort (pp. 83–86). Though the long days and nights beyond the artic circle would seem adapted to beings constituted very differently from men of the present day, such a consideration is not allowed to weigh much in the writer's mind against his theory. In the argument from mythology, testimony is cited from the myths and traditions of many nations to show that the north was the starting-point of the race, and that the heaven directly above the pole was the dwelling-place of the gods. Whatever favors the theory is assumed to have great weight, whatever contradicts it is lightly tossed aside. The unquestioned fact that the Hebrews in estimating direction stood with the face to the east, putting the south on the right hand and the north on the left, is overbalanced, with all its natural inferences, by supposing a different custom before the time of Abraham, when primitive races may have faced to the north instead of the east. The familiar and pervading belief that the north is the abode of evil and the south of good spirits, the former being assigned to the left and the latter to the right hand, is reversed with scarcely a sign of hesitation. Dr. Warren's diagram of "The World of Homer" seems to us full of absurdities. If Homer conceived of the earth as a sphere, it is incredible that, beholding the sun in the southern heavens during half the year, he should think of the southern hemisphere as the sunless and starless Hades. Besides, if Homer really testifies to the north as the original Paradise, and if his testimony is worth anything there, it ought to be equally valid as to the existence of Hades in the south. Men may believe that Paradise has been destroyed, but they will not so easily accept the doctrine that Hades is not now where it was in the past. But to us the most surprising thing shown by the book is not the author's own confidence in his work or his ability to cite from five hundred or more writers, passages and expressions apparently confirmatory of different parts of his argument, but the approval, even though qualified, given by such scholars as Mr. Gladstone, Prof. Sayce, Prof. Whitney, Dr. Crosby and others to the theory advanced about the cosmogony of the ancients. Were it not

for this sober endorsement, it would be easy to believe that Dr. Warren was trying to hoax the learned world. J. A. H.

Edgar Allen Poe. By George E. Woodberry. pp. 340. 1885.

Here we have another volume of the "American Men of Letters" series, edited by Charles Dudley Warner. Poe has long been an enigma in the literary world, and if Mr. Woodberry has not solved it he has at least given an impartial portrayal of the many-sided and conflicting features that make the character of the man such a puzzle. Whatever may be said of his poetry or his intellectual genius, there is not much to be admired in his character. Visionary, vacillating, quarrelsome, mendacious, intemperate, conceited, with little or no strength of will, no settled moral or religious principles, no capacity for business, he is an example of almost utter helplessness. That he has not sunk into forgetfulness must be owing to an intellectual brilliancy which was peculiar in its wild, weird productions, with such adaptation of sound to sense, that they have attracted attention notwithstanding the unattractive character of the man. Much that has been in dispute Mr. Woodberry has brought out into the clear light of day, and we thus have a fair, impartial history of the strange and puzzling man Poe was.

Lamps and Paths. By Theodore Munger. Author of "On the Threshold." pp. 231. 1885.

At North Adams a Sunday in June, each year, is devoted to a special service for the children of the congregation. It is made a festival of flowers, a day of light and joy. This volume is made up of discourses to the children and young people on these occasions. They are substantial without being heavy, simple without being childish, full of sweet truth and good counsel, all put in form attractive to those for whom they are meant. Such books ought to supersede much of the story-book literature with which our Sunday-schools and homes are deluged. This is a second edition of this book, and the author has added a Pastoral Address made to a number of young persons received into Church, and a discourse on Home in its Relations to Character, full of excellent things.

THE PILGER PUBLISHING HOUSE, READING, PA.

Stories from Bible History, for Home and School. pp. 166.

This little volume has been prepared by Rev. C. Elvin Houpt, of Lancaster, Pa., to familiarize the children with the facts of Bible History and the truths of Christianity. Beginning with the Creation it takes up the chief incidents found in both Old and New Testaments, bringing out their relations and their lessons. The stories are followed by questions for review, and by notes defining the harder words. The volume is full of illustrations, some of which are very good, some not. The plan of the work is excellent, and well suited to interest and instruct the little ones.

FRANKE & SCHNEIDER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Map of Egypt, the Sinaitic Peninsula and the Promised Land. Edited by Rev. Louis H. Schneider. Compiled and Delineated by Max Francke.

This Map pleases us very much. It is of convenient size for the wall, prepared according to the latest and best results of exploration and survey, and with a technical execution unsurpassed by any similar map. It is exceedingly cheap—on good paper for 50 cents, on finest bond paper for 75 cents, and on linen with rollers for $1.25, postpaid. *A Companion* to the map, contains appropriate Historical and Descriptive Notes.

LUTHERISCHER CONCORDIA-VERLAG, ST. LOUIS.

Der Tod des Frommen und der Tod des Gottlosen. Eine Sammlung von geschichtlichen Begebenheiten aus alter und neuer Zeit. pp. 121. 1884.

In these pages Pastor H. C. W. Stechholtz gives a series of dying experiences and death-bed testimonies from a number of godly and ungodly persons. The first collection comprises such illustrious names as Ignatius, Mathesius, Polycarp, Conrad Weiser, Bernhard of Weimar, Frederick the Wise, Klopstock, Gustavus Adolphus, Gellert, Luther, Arndt, and many who unknown to earthly fame gave touching evidence that their names were enrolled in heaven. Part II. records the terrible forbodings and wailings of despair which have accompanied the dying scenes of ungodly men. The little volume is well written and ought to find its way into many German Christian homes. It will also prove helpful to pastors, furnishing them with thrilling and well-authenticated illustrations of the blessedness of the righteous in their death and of the awful terrors that overhang the wicked as they enter without hope into the dark valley.

Gott Segne Dich. By August Crull, Professor in the Fort Wayne College. 1884.

This is a careful collection of extracts of German poetry intended for albums, and also as "wish-verses" for New Years, birth days, weddings, and other important occasions. It contains also some few English selections. The collection is marked by a healthy Christian Spirit, and is devoid of all sentimental trash such as so often disfigures the pages of an autograph album. Print and binding are excellent. G. H. S.

Concordanz Zum Kirchen-Gesangbuch fur ev-luth. Gemeinden Ungeanderter Augsburgischer Confession. pp. 294. 1885.

The Primer. pp. 54. Like all the publications of this house, well gotten-up.

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

JULY, 1885.

ARTICLE I.

THE DOCTRINE OF ELECTION.

By Rev. S. A. Repass, D. D., Staunton, Va.

The dogma touching Election, or Predestination, has been, almost from the beginning, an apple of discord among Christians. In the formation of the doctrinal system by the Church it has occupied a place of the first importance. While not the first truth which the human intellect sought to formulate it received early recognition by the Fathers, and with unusual persistency pressed upon them for consideration and settlement. As a doctrine of the Church it had its origin in an age of controversy, when the camp of the Lord was divided touching the question of the supreme divinity of Jesus Christ, that truth which holds by right divine the central position in the inspired revelation made by God. Around it in every age has been waged the fiercest theological combat. The strife at times became so violent, that, when it has paused for a moment, the wish of Herder seemed natural, "Perish the hand which recalls the struggle from the wide stream of forgetfulness." Yet, the question would not consent to be put aside. Both before and after the Reformation it claimed and demanded recognition at the hands of the defenders of truth, and wherever and whenever men have thought profoundly concerning the nature of God, or the reve-

lation he has made in the divine word, or concerning the nature of the moral creature, the question has thrust itself forward for consideration. And it has received it. It will not "down" at the bidding of piety or logic. No age or system of truth has been able either to avoid its consideration or the consequences growing from the controversy. In the early Church this was the *casus belli* between Augustinianism and the various forms of Pelagianism. At a later period, when the Church of Rome had well nigh suppressed all freedom of thought, a sharp controversy arose between the Jansenists and Jesuits. In the Reformation of the 16th century, while the form of sound words and the pure life of the Gospel was revived, there was at the same time a revival of this age-long controversy; and here again, as of old, it excited the bitterest opposition in the Church, and continued its work of dividing the body of Christ. It has agitated every form of Protestantism, and divided it into hostile camps. The rigid Supralapsarianism taught at Geneva by Calvin was disputed by Castellio and Bolsec. At the Synod of Dort, while this view was maintained against the Universalism of the Remonstrants, it took the milder form of Sublapsarianism; and Arminianism in all its modified phases has continued its powerful protest for more than three centuries against the rigid absolutism of Beza. The Methodist Church has its respective Arminian and Calvinistic parties. The Baptists of England and America have divided on the same question. While the Anglican Church, and its daughter, the Protestant Episcopal of the United States, have not formally separated on this question it has none the less excited a warm spirit of controversy within that communion. It has not yet been settled amongst themselves whether they are Arminian or Calvinistic. If that shall be once determined it will open the way for at least a more consistent, if not a more fierce controversy. And has our Evangelical Lutheran Church escaped this question, so rife with contention? Exceptionally pure in the faith, and consistent in its maintenance, with her latest symbol so pronounced in its utterances on this doctrine, and with such an array of distinguished defenders of that confession in all its parts, surely here we might expect to be spared trouble from this source. But the

history of the Lutheran Church in this decade, and in our own country dispels that hope. The Missouri Synod, that bulwark of Lutheran orthodoxy, launching upon this sea of controversy, has disturbed the calm heretofore existing on our waters. Two hostile parties are arrayed against each other; and the end is not yet.

It would be interesting to inquire into the cause of this general want of agreement on this doctrine. The differences existing here are perhaps without a parallel. Surely no other doctrine has produced so much disturbance, or has been the source of so much fruitful division. Is not the reason found in the very nature of the questions involved? The truth touching this subject involves the profoundest mysteries. And principal among these is this: *The active relation of the sovereign God to the moral creature, man; and that creature fallen, totally depraved, but at the same time the subject of redemption.* If God be sovereign in grace, which is certainly the clear teaching of holy scripture; and if the moral creature be totally depraved and therefore wholly dependent upon God both as to willing and doing good, it follows as the inexorable conclusion that the cause of human salvation lies wholly outside of the creature. It is moreover a doctrine of revelation, and a conclusion reached by the right use of reason, that all are not saved. "Many are called, but few chosen" is the clear affirmation of the divine word. That the moral creature, possessed of a divinely given freedom, having will in liberty, and that will perverted, can and does withstand God here and now, and therefore holds within himself the power to continue such resistance throughout eternity—this follows as a corollary upon the truth of the possession of reason and the moral nature by the free creature. Where then may be found the explanation of these two facts, *salvation*, and *eternal condemnation?* Is it this, that God, out of the good pleasure of his sovereign will, and from eternity, elected or predestinated some to eternal life "for the glory of his grace;" and that the rest he passed by, leaving them under condemnation, "for the glory of his justice?" Or, does the election on the one hand, and as well the condemnation on the other, find its sole principal cause in the sovereign will of God?

Is that the explanation of the fact presented in the divergent destinies of the race? Our present answer to the question cannot be given without an investigation of certain central facts and truths which constitute a part of that answer itself. The practical importance of the question, no less than the prominence given to it in the history of religious controversy, demand careful and serious consideration. And our appeal must be to the word of God. When that speaks clearly its utterances must be received as final. Human reason must be exercised in the inquiry, not as the judge of what the Scriptures should teach, or may be made to teach, but in the determination of what its concurrent testimony is and means. In this article we cannot undertake to introduce the full body of Scripture proof bearing upon this subject. Our aim shall be rather to set forth certain leading facts and truths which will form the premises to the conclusion of the argument. The inquiry should be pursued in an humble spirit, and with that supreme reverence for the word of God which shows itself in devout submission to its teachings. We dare not undertake the defence of existing systems until we have assured ourselves that they are correct human expressions of the mind of the Spirit as made known in the inspired Scriptures.

"When we speak of Predestination, or Election" (the terms are grammatical synonyms), "we express the confession that *every believer, who is saved, is saved in accordance with the will of God, who has called and elected him, as distinguished from the unbeliever, to eternal life.*" It is true that in this definition there is no reference to that order by which God carries forward and perfects the decree of salvation with respect to the elect. That has its place in the discussion. God, as the author of salvation, chooses from the mass of fallen and condemned men, some to eternal life; these as distinguished from those cast away, or left, or from the reprobate, have been from all eternity present to the mind of God, and known to him as his elect ones. That we are justified in speaking of such a fore-ordaining to eternal life will hardly be questioned by any who know the Scriptures, or who recognize their authority. In a general way this truth has its ground in the doctrine of Providence. If God orders and

ordains everything with reference to the temporal lot of man, orders it through a providence infinitely wise, though complicated, certainly that providence has a place in determining, and actively, his eternal destiny. That "every one is the arbiter of his own destiny" is not true. The affirmation contains an important truth as over against fatalism, or the theory of necessity. But in the general sense in which it is often employed it contradicts the truth of an active providence of God over his creatures. To believe in a providence and reject every form of predestination is a folly, and inconsistent.

Certainly holy Scripture speaks on this subject in such a manner as to remove all ground of doubt as to the fact under consideration. The passages adduced are only a few of those that might be collected, but they are more than sufficient to prove that the doctrine of Election, *as defined*, is a clearly revealed truth of God's word. "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight," (Matt. 11 : 25, 26). "And there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect," (Matt. 24 : 24). "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me.—And this is the Father's will that hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day," (John 6 : 37, 39). "As thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him. Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am," (John 17 : 2, 24). "And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed," (Acts 13 : 48). "Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth," (James 1 : 18). "Elect according to the foreknowledge of God, the Father," (1 Pet. 1 : 2). "But ye are a chosen generation," (1 Pet. 2 : 9). "Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure," (2 Pet. 1 : 10). "According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world," (Eph. 1 : 4). "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the

called according to his purpose. For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his son. * * Morover, whom he did predestinate them he also called," etc., (Rom. 8 : 28–30). Also Rom. Chaps. 9–11. All the Apostles and their contemporary witnesses without exception agree with their Master in this teaching. That Election in the sense in which the term has been defined is a most clearly taught truth of the Scriptures cannot be questioned by any who accept their authority. And whatever differences of view exist touching the nature of Election there is a general agreement amongst Christians as to the fact that this is a doctrine of the word of God.

The way in which this divine election is carried out is entitled to special attention. This is a subject of revelation no less than the doctrine itself. How God executes this his eternal purpose concerning "his own elect" has been clearly made known by inspiration. In that eternal decree their is embraced an order, one divinely revealed, according to which the gracious purpose of God brings salvation to men, and carries it forward to the day of complete redemption. This order has its beginning most clearly defined, its advancing stages, these leading on "from grace to grace," until grace issues in glory. The doctrine of election itself has been often charged with disorder and arbitrariness, as though God had predestinated some to eternal life, not only without any cause other than his own sovereign will, but that he accomplishes that end and purpose without regard to any established order or agency. In this sense neither is the election absolute, nor the manner in which it is carried out arbitrary. God reveals not only the one as a fact, but also the other in the way by which it is executed, and therein proceeds in harmony with his own being and attibutes. Devout attention to that divine order may not resolve the mystery, but it cannot fail to excite the deepest adoration for the wonderful condescension and benevolence of God.

Election, according to its formal notion, has respect to the separation of some men "from the common mass of corruption, and their adoption into the inheritance of eternal salvation." The whole race of mankind is under the curse of the all-holy

God. "There is no difference" between men as regards their standing before God by nature, "for all have sinned." Viewing humanity as a unit, utterly depraved and ruined, our older writers expressed its condition graphically and truly when they characterized it as a "mass of corruption." In his universal benevolence God purposed to bring salvation to this lost race. Infinite pity towards our fallen humanity moved him to provide redemption. "He gave his only begotten son," "who knew no sin, to be sin for us." This eternal son of God became man by being born of a virgin. "Conceived by the Holy Ghost" he was "without sin" in his nature. In his life from Bethlehem to Calvary he rendered to the most holy law of God a perfect active obedience. In his sufferings, as these marked his history in every period from the manger to the cross, and specially in that most bitter agony of soul which he experienced from Gethsemane to Calvary, he made "his soul an offering for sin." He was the divinely appointed sacrifice for sin, and both by what he did and suffered he "taketh away," or "bare the sin of the world." Having finished the work of the Father he was "raised from the dead, ascended to the right hand of power, and thereby opened the kingdom of heaven to men." This is "the salvation of God;" "for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

As these Scriptures teach the doctrine that "every believer who is saved, is saved in accordance with the will of God, who has called and elected him, as distinguished from the unbeliever to eternal life;" so do they as certainly teach that this election is made in Christ. "According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world. Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself," (Eph. 1 : 4, 5). "God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth: Whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ," (2 Thess. 2 : 13, 14). "Who hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began," (2 Tim. 1 : 9). "Elect according to the fore-knowledge of God the

Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ," (1 Pet. 1 : 2). "For God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ," (1 Thess. 5 : 9). As general proof passages there might be quoted here all those that declare salvation by Christ. These embrace the great body of our New Testament Scriptures, as well as involve, as to their substance, the dispensation of Moses and the Prophets.

The connection existing between the divine election and the way by which it is accomplished is most intimate. While we may distinguish in thought between them they will not allow of actual separation. Both were together in the mind of God from eternity, and to him who saw the end from the beginning there was as clearly present and known the way of salvation as were those who were chosen therein to eternal life. The Word was "with" or rather "toward" God from "the beginning," and that Word in time became "manifest in the flesh," that he might be the way of life to fallen men. "God hath chosen us *in him* before the foundation of the world." The revelation of this precious truth was not a revelation *to* God, but the disclosing of a purpose hidden in him before men, or worlds, or angels had existence. God may distinguish between the actual and the possible as these relate to time and the conduct of the free creature in determining his destiny, but the distinction has no place as regards the eternal existence of the Son both in his relation to the Trinity and the race to be created. While the fall was not a necessity it was still fore-known in the God-head from eternity. The purpose to predestinate some to eternal life according to the good pleasure of his will was common to the Trinity, and the decree in its eternal conception enclosed the incarnate life and work of the Son. As a person he was the *in*forming cause of the decree no less than the one by and through whom it should be accomplished in the future ages. This truth claims special prominence in the discussion. The doctrine of the "decretum salutis" must never give way to that of a "prædestinatio ad salutem." The one sees all in Christ, who is *par excellence* the elect of God; the other undertakes to pry into the secrets of God. The one can only "increase a dangerous malady, and

even cherishes a miserable heresy," often "under the banner of a lofty orthodoxy:" the other is a most precious truth.

The doctrine of election as taught in the Scriptures includes faith in Christ as a condition, or as the "external less principal cause." It need not concern us now to determine whether this election is *unto* faith or *through* faith. That faith has place in the divine plan of God in saving men by Christ, that it is not, and cannot be accomplished otherwise than with, through, or by means of faith, can be as little questioned as the fact of the efficient cause itself. In his relation to the free moral creature God acts in harmony with himself and his work, and although that creature has fallen under the power of sin, yet the salvation provided does not reach and rescue him as an *opus operatum.* Neither the redemption itself, nor the way by which it lays hold on or is laid hold of, is a piece of heavenly machinery effecting its work by necessity of inexorable law. Analogous to the union of the divine and the human in the most holy incarnation of the Son of God is that union effected between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man in conversion. Both must be apprehended and apprehending, and on the part of man this act of laying hold on God in Christ is faith. This is the birth-act of the soul, or if you will the birth-act of Christ in the soul. It constitutes him who exercises it and in whom it has taken place a child of God. He is now in a state of salvation, has and holds the secret of the Lord, is, in a word, the peculiar favorite of the Father. As regards him he has entered upon the first stage of the way of his election, and this leading on from "grace to grace" issues in the actual and full inheritance of eternal life. The decree of election, even when viewed as eternal, embraces the faith of its object. And with this agrees the witness of the word of God. "And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed," (Acts 13 : 48). "But we are bound to give thanks always to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth," (2 Thess. 2 : 13). "That we should be to the praise of

his glory who first trusted in Christ," (Eph. 1 : 12). Those who "were ordained to eternal life believed." Those who were "chosen to eternal life" were chosen through "belief of the truth." It was those who "trusted in Christ" who shall "be to the praise of his glory." It is as true that we are saved "through faith" as that we are saved "by grace." This is a law in the kingdom of God that reaches all who are made partakers of his eternal glory.

The benevolence of God so signally shown in the salvation by Christ has expressed itself throughout in the institution of that entire "series of means" which has respect to the offer of saving grace to the individual. In the word and sacraments "as means of grace" is conveyed and offered to sinners the salvation in Christ. He who receives the grace-bearing word, or means, in faith, or who interposes no obstacle to the work of God in the heart, becomes a partaker in this salvation, and is engrafted into Christ. The whole order is divine in its origin and principle, and in its application to the objects of election, lost men, constant regard is had to these gracious institutions which God himself has established. The election is eternal. It is made in the Son, who, "in the fullness of time," became man; accomplished in the individual through faith in Christ as presented in word and sacrament. Consequent upon the act of faith, or the reception of the grace of the Gospel, is the life of faith which is manifest in obedience. Eternal life involves the complete sanctification of the redeemed human nature, and is, as regards the saved, the end of election. "Elect according to the fore-knowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ," (1 Pet. 1 : 2). From the beginning to the completion of the gracious work the same divine principle is actively present, operating toward the end which God had in mind from eternity. Each member of the series in this order stands in a living relation to what precedes and follows. The decree and the way of its execution are alike divine, and while God is not bound to his own order he does honor the institutions of his own appointment, and accords man the assurance of salvation only through obedience to them.

While insisting upon the importance of having due regard to all these steps in accomplishing the decree of election we are to distinguish between the different causes that enter into this act and contribute to its completion. "The *efficient cause* of election is the will of the Triune God, freely decreeing. The *impulsive moving or internal cause* is the purely gratuitous grace of God. The *moving external cause* is the merit of Christ, regarded with respect to foreseen final application. As the *external less principal cause*, some state, Faith in Christ, and this final," (Schmid's *Doctrinal Theology*).

There need be no controversy concerning the questions introduced into this discussion as far as it has been conducted. We have purposely avoided definitions and phraseology to which exceptions might be taken even by those who hold a different view of the doctrine. Objections may be made as to more or less full or correct statements in certain features of the argument, as well as to the too general character of some of the definitions employed. As regards all that is substantial, or pertinent to the argument proper, we claim to have presented the concurrent view of the Christian church. It is well to know wherein we agree, in order that the differences, if any such there be, may stand out in clearer light.

It has been shown that the doctrine of election, as already defined, is unequivocably taught in the Scriptures. That it is made through faith in Christ, who is the Author of salvation, and embraces the elements of word and sacrament as means contributing to that end—faith manifested in obedience, and leading on to complete sanctification—these have been set forward as clearly made known in the word of God, and contained as integral parts in the divine order according to which the eternal decree is carried out. The decree and the way of its execution are of God, and give to him all the glory. It magnifies the divine wisdom and love, and while humbling the creature to the lowest degree of abasement, it yet lifts him above the angels, even into participation with the nature of God himself. What other language can give expression to the heart than this: "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake."

The relation of Election, or Predestination to faith, demands careful consideration. On this question the discussion might as properly turn upon the connection between the decree of salvation and the entire order of means through which it is effected. For the real issue before us is this: Is that decree absolute in such a sense that no determining cause was present to the mind of God other than the simple will to save some? Was Christ himself no more than a man to this end? Is faith itself to be regarded as an end of election, or is it the way thereto, the eye through which God viewed his chosen ones? But while the further study of the subject might be presented under this general form we prefer to narrow the argument to this single question, *The relation of election to faith.* In this way what may be lost in general completeness will be more than gained in clearness.

The statement has already been made as one that is generally accepted, that faith does enter into election as a constituent part of the plan by which it is effected. It had its place in the mind of God along with the decree itself as a means without which it would not be extended. It is not claimed to be a mere afterthought of the Almighty. The pivotal question is, Has God elected to eternal life with reference to faith fore-seen or foreknown? Did *prescience* or *predestination* have logical precedence in the divine mind? Was this election *unto* faith, or *through* faith? It is admitted by all that this decree was made "according to the good pleasure of his will," that he owed salvation to no one of his fallen creatures. The scheme of saving mercy is throughout sovereign, man concurs in no other sense than as the subject of redemption. But was this act of sovereign grace without any causal reference to the conduct of the creature in his relation to the offered salvation? Speaking after the manner of men, was predestination prior in thought in the eternal mind to the faith of those who should be saved? Is the faith on account of the election, or is it the less principal and final cause? But why multiply questions to emphasize the divergence of view upon this capital doctrine? We have reached the crucial point in the discussion, the real arena of controversy in the past and present. The question presses for a decision.

Let us delay it no further. Only let us not forget that the true end of war is peace, and that the weapons of our warfare are spiritual.

The proposition that God desires the salvation of all men is affirmed with confidence to be a truth clearly revealed in the Scriptures. And yet it is as openly denied by Calvinistic writers in high authority. Spanheim in his treatise on this subject states the divergent opinions in this form: "Is there in God a general or antecedent will to save all men and every man, which will is serious, indeed, yet not absolute, but ordinate and conditioned by faith and perseverance; in accordance with which therefore, He first gave his only begotten Son, who, by his death, should merit righteousness and life for them all—a universal redemption; and secondly offers his grace to all without exception, by calling them all, desiring to confer his grace through the ordinary means, to call all through the gospel, to correct, regenerate, justify, adopt, and glorify them all, unless men themselves reject it. The Lutherans affirm it; our party denies it. The same question has been stated in this form: "Does God intend to confer his grace upon all men through the ordinary means, and does he therefore will to call, correct, regenerate, justify, adopt, and glorify them all? The Ritellenses affirm this when a conditioned, though serious will is understood by it; but they deny it, when an absolute will, or one that acts not through the ordinate, but through the absolute power of God is understood. The theologians of Marburg, however, deny it in both senses." (Quoted in anti-Calvinism). Concerning the absolute decree Van Oosterzee summarizes Calvin's view in the following: "According to the reformer, God knows not only who will be saved, or not, but he has fixed this for every one by an irrevocable decree. This decree was not first made in consequence of the fall, but must, as quite independent of it, be considered as free and eternal, so that even the fall itself is included in it. In consequence then of this decree, as part of mankind is intended to be saved, another part is irrevocably laid under the ban of eternal rejection (reprobatio). All are, indeed, outwardly called by the gospel, but that calling on the part of God, so far as regards the reprobate, is in no way

seriously intended. To the elect alone is given the special irresistible grace necessary for belief and conversion; while the rest, even though using outwardly the means of grace, being deprived of his higher aid, do not become better, but worse. Yet in this God acts not with injustice, though his acts are incomprehensible, since he only renders to the sinner, already fallen in Adam, what his own guilt has deserved; while, on the other hand, it is nothing but grace when he rescues a few from the abyss in which all without distinction were sunk." (Christian Dogmatics, pp. 451–2). The view is certainly lucidly expressed in these quotations. "He that runneth may read," and understand.

The concurrent view of the Lutheran Church is clearly stated by Pfeiffer: "The disputed question, then, is whether, by an act of his antecedent will, God wills seriously and earnestly that all men should be saved, so that he not only desires their salvation as an end, but that he will also, through means of grace sufficient unto that end, promote their salvation, and give them not only, objectively, what they are to believe, but also, subjectively, the power to believe. We affirm it; the Reformed deny it." (Anti-Calvinism). And again: "God will thus have all men to be saved, not only *voluntate complacentiae*, so that he is pleased in case it takes place, but also *voluntate efficaciae*, so that he gives assistance to all *that* it may take place." It is maintained that those Scriptures that offer salvation to all who hear the Gospel is a true expression of the will of God. While secret things belong unto God, and dare not be pried into by the creature, it cannot be that he who "is light" can in his revelation contradict himself; or that his will, made known in the word of inspiration, stands opposed either in form or in fact to his being. God seriously wills the salvation of all who hear the messages of grace. The reprobate are those who, hearing the word, reject the offered salvation together with the grace to believe it. Not that they are "irrevocably laid under the ban of eternal rejection;" but because they *would not* believe have they been assigned to final condemnation.

Standing in close connection with this thought, indeed es-

sentially involved in it, is the question of the resistibility of divine grace. It is not whether grace is God's gift, rather than the result of human endeavor. That it is the former we affirm as positively as they, resting upon the "thus saith the Lord." But may that grace which is offered in the gospel, the grace to repent and believe, be resisted by those whom God seriously desires to save? Can these withstand, and withstanding frustrate the gracious purpose of God regarding them? So we teach, and so we believe. And here again we think we have the witness of the word as the basis of our confession.

In the doctrine of the *means of grace* we have a most important aid to the understanding of the subject before us. These, the word and the sacraments, are the divine order according to which the gracious purpose of God is made known, offered, and applied. As the name, *means of grace*, imports they occupy the place between the salvation in Christ and man considered as its object. This must not be understood as implying that they stand in the way of that salvation, and thereby keep Christ from the heart. To put the sacraments, or the word, in the place of Christ is an error which the Church of Rome would condemn. But that they are the divinely appointed means in and through which the most holy Trinity approaches men with the offer of eternal life, sincerely desiring to work repentance and faith in the heart, is a position which the Lutheran Church has always been forward to maintain. And thus vital with divine energies these means, consisting of elements earthly and heavenly, are adapted to human comprehension. They appeal to man's sense-perception and intelligence, and through these to his moral and spiritual nature. Attention, the exercise of a faculty of our being, may be given to the word read and heard, and which the sinner may resist, yea cannot but resist left to himself, it is still true that "faith cometh by hearing" the word of God. In the sacraments, which are a visible word, the same gracious effect is wrought through human organs; the water and word in baptism, the body and blood in the holy supper, these bearing and offering, and, when resistance is not made, actually conferring the grace of the gospel. The natural eye does not see Christ in his beauty, nor does the natural ear hear

his own proper voice. But these organs do lead into the heart, and become the means of apprehending what is spiritual and divine. The heart dead in sin is made alive by the quickening word of God heard with the outward ear. As means intended to lead to faith Paul mentions the word and the sent preacher, and answering to these on the part of the sinner is *hearing*. The Gospel brings salvation to man; hearing brings him faith.

It cannot be objected to this that the apostle has in mind a spiritual hearing, any more than that he is forced to hear. The contents of the revelation which the Gospel brings to men is supernatural, but the method by which it is published is through the use of natural agencies; and these addressed to natural organs, exercised in a natural way, press into the heart and conscience of the sinner, and open his spirit to the faith and life in Christ. Is this to naturalize the work of regeneration? Not any more than is sanctification a process of nature. Man as dead in sin is incapable of any spiritual movement. Without spiritual energies he is approached by the quickening power of the gospel, which we preach. This is addressed to the heart through the ear, the eye, the mouth, and in giving heed thereto God works repentance, faith and salvation. Man may refuse to hear, or hearing to attend upon God's message. This is resistance to the divine will and offer of life. The word of the Gospel is carried in earthen vessels, but its real power is divine, and it comes to all who hear with the same intent. And it is claimed that this in no wise militates against the sovereignty of God, or the total depravity of man as taught in holy Scripture. That God should make use of our natural faculties and senses to work in us receptive faith, or that we should employ our natural powers in the way of attending to the divine message, honors no one but God. What honor is it to the prisoner that he permits himself to be led forth to liberty? to the beggar that he allows himself to be fed? to the man sick that he suffers the physician to prescribe for his body? No more does it rob God of his honor in human salvation when the creature permits his moral nature to be wrought upon by the Spirit through the word. We are enclosed by a sensible world; are the center of a visible order of existence and material life. Sin

has blinded us to realities that lie in concealment around us, or that exist beyond the sphere in which we move. Occupied with our little world we imagine that it is a universe, and, like children in their mimic exploits, make our empty boasts of wisdom and power. In the darkness of our moral and spiritual eclipse we are ignorant of all relations save those that bind us to the world we inhabit. The feeble spark that glimmers in this obscurity does little more than reveal the deep darkness by which we are enclosed on every side. Sensible objects and sounds close sight and hearing. Blind and deaf we stumble on, ignorant alike of our origin and destiny; until God's revelation of deliverance is published. It is made known to us in the way of natural hearing and seeing. It offers the light and the spiritual eye to discern it; the spiritual ear to apprehend it, and arises as a very sun of righteousness upon this lower world. But here as in the resurrection, it is first the natural, then the spiritual; the spiritual through the natural. In conversion man concurs with God as the subject of redemption, and when the eternal decree of election is fully manifested in glory then will be realized the perfect union of the holy spiritual and the holy natural.

Since we dare not pry into the unrevealed mysteries of the Godhead neither logic nor speculation can lead us in our investigation. Keeping our stand by the word of God it is maintained that the means of grace present and bring to all alike the common blessings of salvation. As there is before God "no difference" among men in their moral relation to him by nature, so is there none in his will touching the purpose of these means in their application. He sincerely desires and wills the salvation of all without exception, not only all sorts or classes of men, but ALL men. When that salvation is resisted, or is ineffectual, the primary cause is not in the absolute decree of the Almighty, but in the unbelief of the creature. Both the word and works of God declare it. And as all men stand present before him from the beginning, their use and abuse of the means alike known, the decree was with respect to their attitude towards these offers of life. In the light of the divine omniscience the conduct of the creature was as truly recognized and

foreknown as the order in which the grace of God would be presented and applied; as truly involved in the purpose to elect and save some as was that purpose conceived according to the sovereign pleasure of the Almighty. The faith by which we believe is of God, but it is begotten by the word of truth as heard, read, or received in sacrament. As divine acts they work the grace of faith wherever conscious resistance is not offered. As God desires, sincerely wills the salvation of all men, and comes to them through a system of means adapted to that end, and as well adapted to the constitution and necessities of his creatures, he offers to all the same blessings, and earnestly seeks to work efficaciously in all. Of a dead word of God, or of empty sacraments, we know nothing and will hear nothing. They are not one thing to some and quite a different thing to others; to one class of men freighted with saving grace, to another bare signs. God is not a formalist that he should enact ceremonies that mean and convey nothing; much less that he should make promises and offers by word and acts that do not sincerely express his most secret will and desire. This would be to charge him with doing what would be condemned in his creatures. It is unbelief that brings condemnation, and unbelief is resistance to the gracious will of God. While man cannot unaided accept the offered salvation, he can refuse to receive it by neglecting the means appointed to convey it. "How shall we escape if we *neglect* so great salvation?" If he could do neither the one nor the other, were in a truly passive position as regards receiving and rejecting, the faulty premise in the argument of Calvinism would be removed. The boastful logic of that system is broken upon the doctrine of the means of grace as taught and held by the Lutheran Church.

The conclusion to which the argument leads can be no other than this: That God elects or predestinates to eternal life with reference to fore-seen faith wrought through the word and sacraments, and manifest in a life of obedience. The elect are "kept by the power of God," but kept "through faith unto salvation;" and both the election and the keeping are effected by the means of grace. In Christ, who is the true book of life, we are made acquainted with the gracious purpose of God concern-

ing lost men: "He gave his life a ransom for all." In the Gospel all are called unto salvation, and those effectually called who do not reject the purpose of divine grace. The major premise of the argument touching reprobation dare not be laid in the eternal decree of God, but in the rejection by man of proffered life.

The argument, it is again affirmed, is based upon the Scriptures and sustained by them. "God our Saviour; who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth," (1 Tim. 2 : 4). "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men," (Tit. 2 : 11). "The Lord is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance," (2 Pet. 3 : 9). "For God hath included them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all," (Rom. 11 : 32). "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved," (John 3 : 16, 17). "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word," (John 17 : 20). For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his son, that he might be the first born among many brethren," (Rom. 8 : 29). If it be maintained that *fore-knowledge* as used in this last passage refers to that *approval* with which God regarded the elect from eternity, rather than to their faith, its true meaning could be given in this form: "For whom he did predestinate, he also did predestinate," an instance of unmeaning tautology which no one should be willing to charge upon the Scriptures.

It has been shown to be a doctrine taught in the Scriptures, that "every believer, who is saved, is saved in accordance with the will of God, who has called and elected him, as distinguished from the unbeliever, to eternal life." This election has been made in Christ, "who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world" to redeem us "with the precious blood." In the Gospel with its attendant means that redemption is brought and offered to all men without exception, and is actually conferred upon all who do not resist. The faith that comes by hear-

ing is God's gift, and is wrought through means which are replete with gracious energies. To neglect or to misuse these frustrates the divine saving purpose. In the exercise of that attention which the sinner can give to these grace-conveying agencies they produce receptive faith. What the sinner's attitude would be was open to the divine prescience from the beginning; and is not a bare effect of the absolute decree. Several causes were embraced in the eternal act, each in its own order and relation. As a comprehensive definition of the doctrine, one that contains a clear summary of this discussion, we quote the following: "Predestination is an act of the divine will, by which, before the foundations of the earth were laid, not according to our works, but out of pure mercy, according to his purpose and design, which he purposed in himself in consideration of the merit of Christ to be apprehended by faith, God ordained to eternal life for the praise of his glorious grace such men as, by the power of the Holy Ghost, through the preaching of the gospel, would perseveringly and to the end believe in Christ," (Quenstedt, in Doctrinal Theology of the Ev. Luth. Church).

The doctrine as thus presented honors God, humbles man, and rests in holy scripture. It maintains the sovereignty of grace (though not that arbitrary conception of it presented by some), and carries an earnest of hope for the race. On the one hand it gives no place for presumption or boasting to any, reminding all alike that their standing is in faith. On the other it chases despair from the heart of fallen humanity, and discloses to its view a God who "is no respecter of persons." God is just as he is merciful, but the dogma of absolute predestination as maintained by Calvinists would appear to impeach both the divine justice and mercy. For disown it as they may a partiality bearing the taint of injustice attaches to the system. It makes its boast of the rigid logic with which the view has been defended, and of its agreement with the tenor of revelation. We will accept neither the logic, nor the interpretation of the Scriptures which it employs. Not God with his hidden decree, but "God manifest in the flesh" is the *alpha* and the *omega* of this truth. And here will we rest, confident in the truth of God's word, and assured of his gracious love.

From the conclusion reached it would be interesting to examine the related question, Can the elect fall away and be finally lost? The word of God does not so much explain as declare the truth. What is the answer to this question as given by inspiration? "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand," (John 10 : 27, 28). "Of them whom thou gavest me I have lost none," (John 18 : 9). "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity," (2 Tim. 2 : 19). "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure," (Phil. 2 : 12). "But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway," (1 Cor. 9 : 27). "Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall," (1 Cor. 10 : 12). No doubt attaches to the salvation of him who stands in this truth, however he may be puzzled to understand it. Present safety is found in the way of believing obedience to the divine will. Along each step of that way the grace of God is pledged to lead and keep the believer. And when the end is reached, as it will be by all who remain "faithful until death," then will appear in still clearer light the fact that all is to the "praise of his glory." The eternal song of the redeemed shall be, "Saved by grace,"—"Kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation."

ARTICLE II.

THE MINISTER AND THE BIBLE LANGUAGES.

By Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph. D., Capital University, Columbus, O.

At no period in the history of the Church have the intellectual and the practical demands on the ministry been greater than in our own day and date. The agencies that are acting from within the Church as also the influences that affect her weal and woe from without, conspire together to make the pastor's calling one of great labor. Even if ours is not exactly a thinking age, it is nevertheless a reading age and one that is willing to adopt, or at least to be influenced by, what others have thought out. Over against all the social, religious and theological problems of the day the minister must assume an intelligent attitude, and in order to do so he must be acquainted with the thoughts and feelings that move the hearts and minds of men. In other words, he must read, ponder, reflect, observe. Upon this his success depends. "*Qui non profecit, deficit*" is true in a peculiar sense of the pastor in our day.

A minister then must be a student, or his work will result in a fiasco. A pastor who attempts to get along with the education and training which he received in his college and seminary course, and is not zealous through daily study and work to sharpen the edges of his intellectual power; to grow intensively and extensively in knowledge, human and divine, is sealing his own doom. *Oratio, meditatio, tentatio faciunt theologum* was father Luther's favorite saying. To the conscientious discharge of the first two duties the needs of the hour will of themselves urge an earnest minister; and a faithful work in the vineyard of the Lord will of itself bring an abundance of the last mentioned blessing. Especially is all this the case in our own restless age.

To the credit of the ministers of America it must be said, that as a class they have not been and are not unmindful of the duty of "*meditatio.*" But when the factors and interests that control our public life in Church and community are so mani-

fold as at present, it is not an easy matter to decide just what direction the efforts in the pastor's study and intellectual work should take. There are so many old and new departments of knowledge that attract by their interesting and instructive character, and whose pursuit might directly or indirectly help a minister in his pulpit and pastoral work. But no one could dream of devoting himself to all or even to many such branches, and accordingly the anxious inquiry arises as to what branch or branches should engage the pastor's attention in the hours not occupied by pulpit preparation or pastoral duties. Polymathy is generally superficial, and he cannot think of making this his aim. What then shall he select? No answer to this could be given that would suit all cases. A minister's calling is to proclaim the word of truth unto the salvation of men, and from this standpoint he should select his study and work. His likes or dislikes in the matter should count for little or nothing; the needs of his office and such pursuits and studies as will in the best and most successful manner aid him to attain the ideal of his mission are the decisive factors. As the interests of the welfare of Zion are not of a similar nature at all places and times and under all circumstances, the intellectual pursuits of pastors cannot be exactly the same everywhere.

But there is one of these that is entitled to the distinction of being necessary in all cases to a minister's success, and that is the study of God's word. That word is the power unto salvation, and to preach that word is his highest mission. In order that this word may be studied to the best advantage, the pursuit of the Bible languages is an absolute necessity. It is a gratifying sign that the interest in these is increasing daily in the ministry of this land, and pulpit and pew will be the gainer the greater this interest becomes.

There are a number of excellent reasons why the study of these languages should occupy a large proportion of the preacher's leisure hours. It should be to him a matter of conscience to be able to read the word of his God in the languages in which he saw fit to reveal his great truths. The minister is an embassador of the King of kings, of the Lord of lords, bringing the message of pardon to condemned felons, and yet he often can-

not read the words of his message! He has not an intelligent knowledge of the languages of the Bible, and as a consequence his whole theological system, all his preaching and gospel work must rest upon second-hand authority. He cannot of himself be certain of the exact truth or non-truth of what he teaches to others as the word and will of the Almighty. Personally he cannot be perfectly sure of his faith and doctrine, but only in so far as he trusts the translations and explanations made by others from the original tongues. It would seem as though a minister's conscience would compel him for the sake of his own assurance to secure such an acquaintance with these languages that he can understand what he reads. A prominent teacher of Hebrew recently remarked that "the American preachers were becoming ashamed of the fact that they could not understand the languages in which the Lord spoke through the prophets and apostles." Such a healthy shame augurs well for the ministry of our country.

In the second place, what conscience urges, practical benefit and advantages also suggest. It is virtually an axiom among philologists, that no translation can take the place of an original writing. The original always presents a world to the student of which a translation can reproduce nothing. This is eminently true of the Bible. Although the best of scholars have made our version of the Bible, yet those who are able and who have in the preparation of their sermons gone to the original with an intelligent knowledge of the language, have there, at the original source found what no translation or commentary could supply. No one would indeed dream of asking a pastor to become a specialist in Hebrew or New Testament Greek in order to draw from the pure and unadulterated fountain, in order to study the *ipsissima verba* of God's revelation; nor is this necessary. Only a fair and intelligent understanding of the principles and facts of these languages is necessary; and this is necessary too for the proper use of a commentary. Using a commentary to actual advantage is almost an unknown art. It is almost easier to write a commentary than it is to use one correctly. If in the preparation of sermons the rule of consulting and studying the original text for the purpose of drawing

from it the truths of God which it conveys, were more in vogue among ministers, we would find more passages of scripture used as texts for sermons and fewer as pretexts. The point we here wish to make can really be proved *in abstracto* only in part, namely that the study of the very words which should furnish us the basis for our sermons is naturally the best source from which to draw the substance of these sermons; but practically we doubt not, that all who have made conscientious use of their Hebrew and Greek Testaments in the preparation for the pulpit have found this a most thankful work.

Another reason also pleads for the same cause. The tendency of evangelical theology is toward a reconstruction of the older systems on the basis of a Biblical theology. The theoretical interests of theology lie in the direction of a closer study of the Bible itself and less of books concerning and about the Bible. But who could think of securing an intelligent idea of Biblical theology without a knowledge of the Biblical languages? Practically this theoretical interest is seen in the endeavors to break down as much as possible denominationalism and substitute in its place a united Christianity. But if denominationalism is to disappear and not take away with it also Christianity, then the union of Christian churches can take place only on the basis of a common recognition of the one and sole truth of God's word. A Christian union based merely upon an ignoring of the differences as they exist between the denominations will prove a rotten peace and react with a vengeance upon Protestantism. If there is practical church life there must be a real union of hearts and hands, it must be based on oneness in the faith of God's word, and in order to achieve this, that one word of God must again be made the cynosure of all eyes, the chief and central point of Christian study and research. From a theoretical and practical side then the life and tendencies of the evangelical church of our day, if its development is to have of a healthy outcome, suggests and even demands that pastors should study as much as possible the language of the Bible.

But how is this to be done? In many or most cases the linguistic training in college and seminary will suffice to give the

minister a satisfactory foundation upon which he can build further. But where such a foundation is wanting, other ways can and must be resorted to. For the Greek of the New Testament he will experience no great difficulty, as text books, leaders and other helps can be found in abundance. The study of Hebrew is a somewhat more difficult matter. But even here the way is being made easy. Aids for its pursuit are increasing every year; and when a company of pastors can through private study produce so excellent a work as the Commentary on Esther recently published by the Lowell Hebrew Club, we need have no fear that energy in the good cause will fail of its results. And in case other help is needed, we have the American Institute of Hebrew with its Correspondence school, with headquarters at Morgan Park, Ill., and its four Summer schools. Our readers are probably aware that this Institute, which the indefatigable energy of Professor William R. Harper, of Morgan Park, conducted as a private establishment for about five years, has since last Winter assumed a national form, which is managed by the leading Hebrew professors in the various seminaries of the United States. The Correspondence school has an excellent record, having now on its roll over six hundred members, pastors, students in colleges and seminaries, missionaries, laymen and others, in nearly every State of the Union, in England, Ireland, Turkey, Japan, India and South America. Probably nothing has contributed more to that remarkable interest in Hebrew and the study of the Old Testament, now such a prominent feature in American church life, as the work of this Institute. Such a study can result only in good; the more we study the Bible, the more biblical our sermons and church work becomes, the sounder and safer will the church's growth and prosperity be.

ARTICLE III.

THE COMPARATIVELY SMALL SUCCESS OF CHRIST'S PERSONAL MINISTRY.

By Rev. W. H. Luckenbach, A. M., Germantown, N. Y.

Christ's extraordinary ministry was a positive, irrefragable testimony to the prime truth of the Divine Existence. Never had men observed such overpowering proofs that God is, as when He stood before them impersonated—revealed in an appreciable form. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him," (John 1 : 18).

It was a testimony, also, to the divine will. "I seek not mine own will," said He, "but the will of the Father which hath sent me," (John 5 : 30). "For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me," (John 6 : 38).

And a testimony to the divine love. It was a ministry that unfolded to the world the profound significance of a predicate which no logical theist had ever directly affirmed of the mysteriously infinite, or infinitely mysterious subject, GOD. Gradually was it evolved before the world, by Christ's demonstrative mission, till it was made so plain upon the cross,—the climax of His sacrificial life and work,—"that he may run that readeth," (Hab. 2 : 2), the deep, deep predicate, that "God *is love*," (1 John 4 : 8).

But few, however, of the multitudes which thronged about Him and hung upon His lips, which tracked Him from village to village, and from the mountain-side to the very water-line of the sea where the pressure compelled Him to take to a boat and float out of their reach, enrolled themselves with His disciples. Though He exhibited all the excellencies of a peerless orator,—of voice, of manner, and of matter,—to so high a degree that even His enemies were constrained to say, "Never man spake like this man," (John 7 : 46), yet His eloquence had but little effect in persuading the masses to espouse His cause, and fel-

lowship with Him. He uttered exhortations which, one would think, should have melted to tears the veriest wretches of the motley crowds which gathered about Him from time to time. He taught them in parables whose meaning is deeper than the sea. He made them promises "exceeding great and precious." He illustrated practical truths whose observance would have royalized the vilest of the vile; and He supplemented His teachings with miracles which, it seems strange to us, did not at once command the unquestioning belief of all who witnessed them, in the divinity of His origin, His person, and His mission.

Yet His ministry was comparatively a failure, in respect of the number whom his preaching converted to his cause. It was remarkable to John the Baptist that all who heard Him, at the very beginning of His public ministry, did not immediately yield to the power of His gospel. There is deep pathos,—the tenderness begotten of disappointed expectation,—in his answer to his envious disciples, who, mistakingly measuring Christ's success by the number of His hearears,—a specious numerical test which too often even yet occasions false estimates of the actual amount of good accomplished by preaching—complained to him, that "all men come to him:"—"And what he hath seen and heard," said the sturdy champion, "that he testifieth; and no man receiveth his testimony," (John 3 : 32). It is evident, too, that after the tragic end of His ministry, His isolated, lonely disciples, indulging in depression which bordered closely on despair, were deeply disappointed, if not really chagrined, that greater temporal successes had not attended His preaching, one of which would have been larger accessions to the company of His followers.

As many minds would not be satisfied with an abrupt and unqualified "no," as answering the query, "Was Christ's ministry a failure?" let us cast about us for reasons explaining the anomalous fact, that He himself was less successful in winning men to the gospel than many of His ministers from His own down even to the present age.

I. IT WAS HIS DISTINCTIVE AND EMINENT MISSION, LESS TO PREACH HIS OWN GOSPEL THAN OTHERWISE TO WORK OUT ITS SUBLIME END.

Preaching is but a minor, and never has been the most distinguishing, feature of His gospel of grace. It was after Christ's resurrection that it acquired the high importance which the church, since that epoch, has ever rightly attached to it.

The circumstances explaining this fact are briefly as follows: All the phenomena of Christ's life and ministry had unexpectedly ceased to startle the world, and had become items of history. The abrupt termination of His mission, as His disciples thought, put them in a dilemma which they had not anticipated. They were doubtful now of any great results from the work in which they had co-operated with Him prior to His crucifixion, and they were as ignorant as children of what was further expected of them. It was a sad, sad meal at which "the eleven sat," (Mark 16 : 14), in some obscure room at Jerusalem shortly after they had witnessed the fearful tableau of their Master's death on Calvary. But it was in that scene that the moment came when a new revelation was to inspirit them to further and more heroic effort to establish the gospel on earth,—the revelation of the intimate, direct relation which *preaching* it was henceforth to sustain to that grand end, down even "to the last syllable of recorded time." Appearing to the disconsolate "eleven as they sat at meat," it is with such a tone of authority mingled with that of encouragement as none of them could mistake, that Christ says, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned," (Mark 16 : 15, 16). Conceding, as we must, that Christ's own, unparalled sacrifice is the first, and that the power of the Holy Spirit, which was shortly afterward bestowed upon His disciples so copiously, is the second, it follows, that *preaching the gospel* is but the third, in the order of importance, as a factor in the salvation of the world.

It is too plain to need proof, that Christ appeared on earth to act, not merely the professional preacher, but the Saviour. It was an integral part of his divine mission to live as it were, a

pictorial life,—a life of holiness. It was to be so heavenly in respect of its moral purity or of its absolute freedom from blemish or taint of any kind, that men might see, almost at a glance, the kind and degree of fitness that would entitle them to heaven, without any interposing sacrificial scheme or plan of salvation. This certainly was one of his controlling motives in all his ministerial career. And really, by the contrast of his extraordinary with the ordinary life of man, he made holiness so charmingly visible and man's guiltiness so apparent, that we can scarcely study his phenomenal biography without feeling, too deeply to be expressed, our need of infinite grace, in order, first to such holiness, and then to the attainment of heaven.

His sinless life was a pre-requisite to his atonement. Not less, indeed, than was blood at last requisite to complete the fact of his sacrifice. And, as growing out of such sinlessness, a purely benevolent manner towards sinful man was to foreshadow the crowning evidencs of his love for him on Calvary. His whole guileless life was a long, beautiful demonstration of His fitness for his extraordinary mission,—a demonstration of which His crucifixion with a vile sinner on either side of Him was but the logical, incontrovertible conclusion. Could we magnify so willingly and fervently His love as displayed upon the cross, if this act had been its single, *only* illustration? What differences, in this event, would appear between His and the crucifixion of the two thieves? Would we not have needed His historic life to determine the rank that belonged to Him? Would we not, if we had stood near Him, have concluded that at most he was but some martyr, dying in vindication of some principle for the maintenance of which he thought life itself a cheap sacrifice? If not, in all probability we would easily have agreed with the Scribes and Pharisees that He was a blasphemer in claiming to die on the cross as the Son of God.

It is an accepted rule of ethics that we are to determine character, not by one single, isolated act of a man's life, be it glorious or infamous, but by acts, movements and manners,—visible signs or indices of the invisible soul,—continued or repeated, throughout an extended period. Applying this rule, then, to the instance in hand, it cannot be determined from His

single act of dying for others, glorious as it was *per se*, that Christ was all that he claimed to be. The fearful natural phenomena which were witnessed at the time of His death might have suggested an approximate idea of His origin and majesty. Yet, if, like Cornelius, we would have been moved to exclaim, "Truly this was the Son of God," (Matt. 27 : 54) like him, also, we would have been ignorant of the great, divine purpose which was working towards completion. It has often transpired in the history of man that one has died for others while his corpse has not merited the funeral honors due even to a martyr.

We argue then, for Christ's life, that it was as important in the economy of salvation as His death; that as much by that as by his death, and more by that than by the single office of preaching, He enlightened the world on the nature and the end of His mission. Preaching was to him an office of but minor importance as compared with His exclusive and superlative work as the Saviour of sinners. This could not be equaled either by the best qualified of His apostles or by any one of their successors in any succeeding age. He only could bridge the chasm which existed between man and his Maker. He only could lay its foundations. He only could construct it to remain—to challenge the tests of all coming time. And in that work so patiently and calmly prosecuted in the face of difficulties, persecutions and discouragements which would have completely crushed the average man, till He triumphantly announced to the world amid the agonies of the cross that it was "finished," more than in the number converted by His preaching, consisted His success. Again,

II. IT WAS BUT THE FULFILLMENT OF PROPHECY THAT HIS PREACHING SHOULD BE COMPARATIVELY UNSUCCESSFUL IN WINNING CONVERTS TO HIS GOSPEL.

He was to come unto His own, but they were to reject Him. His ministry was to be limited to a people whose unbelief and prejudice were to eventuate as well in their own destruction as in His death. Paul represents Him as repeating Isaiah's touching complaint of the obstinancy and perverseness of His spiritual

kith and kin, "All day long I have stretched forth my hands"—an impressive gesture of earnest entreaty for audience,—"unto a disobedient and gainsaying people," (Rom. 10 : 21.)

It is interesting to note, in the fact of Christ's poor success among His own people, how inflexible is divine prophecy. We cannot make it accord with what we, in our ignorance of the arcana of the divine government, may think is "the fitness of things." It so baffles our judgment of events and circumstances transpiring on earth, and, perhaps, directly before our eyes, that often we ignorantly call effects causes, and causes effects. Its very inflexibility proves its inspiration. Were it not inflexible, or could it be turned and twisted to suit our notions of things, or our limited views of the relations of this world's affairs to the divine mind, it would not be divine prophecy. The instance before us illustrates this feature of prophecy. It seems to us that in no place where Christ preached should there have remained one infidel to contradict Him, nor one libertine to revel in licentiousness, nor one harlot to ply her damning business, nor one pharisee to stalk the streets,—the impersonation of hypocrisy, nor one sinner of any type that could longer love sin. We think that the matchless eloquence attributed to Him, backed by his infinite resources to this end, ought to have converted the world. We think that His miracles, parables, discourses and conversations, His tenderness, pity, and love, ought not to have failed to reduce the whole race of ruined sinners to deepest homage and appreciation at His feet. We expect the ice to melt when the warm sun gleams upon it. We expect barriers to give way when their strength is not equal to the momentum of the rushing on-coming floods. We are confounded when there is no apparent cause to explain anomalous results. And the phenomenon must either remain inexplicable, in spite of persistent efforts to unravel it, or it must be attributed to the interposition of a supernatural agency. Superstition imagines that *it* can explain many remarkable things in the department of religion. And philosophy gravely attempts to account for others. And science allows us but a very roundabout mode of communication with Providence even when it graciously concedes that there *is* some such power somewhere out of

our direct vision. But this is still our Christian faith that the ETERNAL ONE—the LORD GOD ALMIGHTY—directly and indirectly concerns Himself in *all* mundane affairs, and in no way more distinguishingly than in the accomplishment of prophecy.

This, then, may satisfactorily explain Christ's failure to convert even his own people whose minds were not naturally very inflexible, as their previous history plainly proves. The fact alone of their deep and violent prejudices does not fully account for their rejection of Him. Greater prejudices than theirs have been overcome by less powerful means than Christ could command. Who can think for a moment that the power which conquered demons could not annihilate a human prejudice? Not, then, as the distinguished Saurin says, that they were "a prodigy of hardness of heart," but the masses of Israel yielded not to Christ's ministry, whose success in our fallible judgment should have been commensurate with His resources, because they were restrained in order to the consummation of prophecy. Acting upon their prejudices as occasioning Him to address them in the semi-ambiguous style of the parable, Christ himself tells the reason of His unsuccess among them,—"in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith: By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive. For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them. (Mat. 13 : 14, 15.)

This, one would think, were enough to explain Christ's *un*successful, personal ministry. But there are other considerations quite as interesting, and, perhaps, quite as important.

III. HAD THE WORLD BEEN CONVERTED TO HIS GOSPEL WITHIN THE SHORT PERIOD OF HIS PUBLIC MINISTRY, THE FACT WOULD NOT HAVE ACCORDED WITH THE DIVINE ECONOMY, AS MANIFESTED FROM THE BEGINNING OF CREATION, BOTH IN THE KINGDOM OF NATURE AND OF GRACE.

Gradual, not hasty or immediate development of life, natural, mental, and spiritual, is one of its most prominent features. It

is beyond the reach of thought,—the period anterior to the creation of man. It is an antiquity inexpressible by numerical notation which is so sublimely shadowed in the first two periods of revelation: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the deep," (Gen. 1 : 1, 2.) What grand evolutions and revolutions of insensate matter occurred; what startling phenomena caused by the action of attractive and repellant forces; what wonderful mechanical and chemical movements agitated the vast mass of chaos, and what equally wonderful developments of organic life appeared, as, in the progress of one long, long period after another, "the Spirit of God" brooded over the profound abyss, and communicated to it productive virtue, geology has but imperfectly delineated. How long it was before God's ideal of this beautiful world,—beautiful as it still remains even under the curse of sin,—who can tell?

And still is it His law, that natural ends shall be gained, or natural objects be perfected, not instantly or hurriedly, but gradually. First the root, then the slender plant, and then long years elapse before a tree is matured. And the tree matured, first the bud, then the blossom, then the fruit. Night approaches, not in bulk, or in one great, undivided mass of darkness, but it results from the gradual disappearance of light. It is the product of countless shadows, slowly silently aggregating, till through them, one by one, the stars appear,

> "Shining in order, like a living hymn
> Written in light."

And day breaks upon the earth not suddenly. The faint dawn increases slowly,—by immeasurable degrees—till the glory of the sun fringes the mountains, and ere-while gilds the dark recesses of valley and forest. God works in nature, not by leaps and starts. Even the flash of lightning is but the sudden, startling issue of forces which had been gradually and slowly co-operating with each other for some time previously.

It is in this manner, too, that He works in the kingdom of grace. Scarcely had man been created—the climax of God's handiwork—before he sinned. And the first anguish he felt was

still piercing his stricken soul when the first promise of a Redeemer fell upon his ear. If he had been asked *when* the "seed" of the woman should "bruise" the serpent's "head," or the appropriate time should arrive for His more direct interposition to remove the evil then initiated into His new world, God's response would have been silence. For a thought of His infinite mind from all eternity was just then beginning to find expression, and surely fallen Adam could not have grasped it,—a thought, or a mysterious, divine conception which our ruined race was not clearly to understand for forty full, round centuries! And for aught that some sanguine interpreters of the signs of a nearer millennium may agree to the contrary notwithstanding, it really seems to be the divine purpose, that from the day of Christ's birth forty full, round centuries more should elapse, before the ultimate results of His great redemptive scheme shall be known and enjoyed by the whole then Christianized race of men.

The history of redemption, as well as that of creation, strikingly proves God's mode of accomplishing great ends. It is not a rapid method. He works neither hastily, nor noisily, but slowly and quietly. No sense of limitation of time or of means by which His will may be consummated, or His counsels may ultimately come to prevail, ever flurries THE INFINITE. God is never disturbed. The world may reel to and fro, in excitement about objects of real or of fictitious worth; nation may war against nation, or human projects and interests bristle against each other, till the fears and alarms of men shall command the attention and sympathy of the very angels, yet behind the confused, perplexing, uninterpretable panorama of mundane, temporal things, and invisible to our ken, God sits in His pavilion of mysterious cloud and darkness with eneffable composure,—composure deep, profound as His justice and love, demonstrated to *our* fallen, guilty race more remarkably, perhaps, than to any other species of His rational creatures, peopling, probably, other worlds than ours. Hurry and bustle appear in our, but never in His movements. Restless, fretful, and ever passionate, we become, at the delay of success. Our impatient ambition craves it immediately. And this in face of the truth that our

Maker, able as He is to command the fulfilment of His will otherwise, is yet content to accomplish it only mediately. The impatience of ignorant zeal now and then finds expression in the insolent inquiry,—insolent in that it implies that God's mode of doing things is too slow, or that it dictates to Him *how* He should work—"why has not the world been converted long ago?" And it is reproved—that unchristian complaint under the guise of gospel zeal—and the complainer is silenced by the expostulation which speaks as well the language of love as of authority. "Be still, and know that I am God. I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth," (Psa. 46 : 10.)

Another truth illustrated in the divine economy of things is, that slow, not rapid, growths are most permanent. The fungus which appears in a night lives but a day, but the oak which has been growing a score of years lasts an age. It is as transient as beautiful,—the misty, multi-colored arch which adorns the brow of the retiring storm, but the brilliance of the gem whose constituent elements it took nature an inconceivable period to crystallize, shall vanish only in the fires which are ordained to purify, if not consume, the globe. Our own *human* works testify to this truth. The monumental pyramid still challenges the dissolving forces of time, while many an Arab's tent at its base, which was constructed in a moment, has been as quickly swept away by eddying wind and whirling sand. The permanent, thus, in nature or art grows slowly.

Let them, then, who see no reason why Christianity—the work of God—should not, even in Christ's own day, have regenerated our whole race, be content with its slow development. Though its progress be slow, yet its results shall endure. Doubtless the broad commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," (Mark 16 : 15) would have startled the apostles and made them hesitate to undertake the mighty work, but for the three pledges of ultimate success which the Master gave them; the first, the promise of His presence, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen," (Matt. 28 : 30); the second, His parable which figuratively sets forth its development in the individual, "The

kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened," (Matt. 13 : 33); and the third, His parable which figuratively represents its extension throughout the whole earth, "The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and sowed in his field: Which indeed is the least of all seeds: but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof," (Matt. 13 : 31, 32,)

But further: It has doubtless been observed by all critical readers of His biography, that

IV. IN ALL HIS MINISTRY CHRIST DEFERRED TO THE CONTEMPLATED AGENCY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE CONVERSION OF THE WORLD TO HIS GOSPEL.

This deference proved both His high estimate of the prophecies relating to the Spirit's effusion, and the great value that He put upon the Spirit's offices. He instructed His disciples to expect the power of the Spirit, in order to the conviction of the impenitent world. He waived, as it were, His own mightiness to that end, so that, in due time, the equal mightiness of the Spirit should appear in the evolution of the gospel scheme of salvation. No one doubts what He *could* have done to convert men, independently of the Spirit's agency. But more of the divinity which conceived the system of saving mercy, thus far developed, was to appear to the world. God, the Spirit, had yet a part to enact, and neither God, the Father, nor God, the Son, would interfere with it. The unity of the wonderful plan *per se*, and its perfect adaptation to all sinners of all ages and all lands presuppose its conception by one divine mind. Nor less does it appear, now that Christ Jesus takes hold of it and so distinguishingly consummates His part of the plan, that that divine Mind contemplated a *triple* agency, in order to its final and complete success. As two-thirds of the work of human redemption, so to speak, were finished when Christ, taking His glorified human nature with Him, returned to his native heaven, there remained a third influential agency, the work of which was to continue through all coming time and was to

cease only when there were no more impenitent sinners to be influenced to the reception of the Lord Jesus Christ as the divine Saviour. The wonderful results of that agency—results to be eventually realized by the entire fallen race of man,—were typified by the supernatural events of the day of Pentecost.

Hence Christ's deep, pronounced regard for the work and offices of the Holy Spirit. It was more His specific purpose to supply the necessary facts for the use of this expected Agent through all the ages which were to elapse before the second coming of the Son of God, than personally or immediately to reduce the world to His Gospel. "Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth. * * He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you," (John 16 : 13, 14.) "And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment," (John 16 : 8.)

But one more reason explanatory of the seeming failure of Christ's personal ministry:

V. IT WAS HIS PURPOSE AND PROPHECY, THAT THE SUCCESS OF HIS MISSION SHOULD APPEAR ONLY AFTER ITS VISIBLE OCULAR TERMINATION.

The hero is most lauded when the campaign is successfully closed. We crown him with laurel when his work is done. Till then he is content to be misunderstood, to be reproached by his friends, and harassed by his enemies, and otherwise to suffer. Then only his plan appears in all its completeness, and the reproachful are silenced, and the cowardly repent of their fears and opposition, and the sympathy and co-operation of his allies are vindicated.

So was it with the patient, uncomplaining Redeemer. It was only in mysterious hints and ambiguous figures that He alluded to the cross,—the visible end of His ministry. Some dark crisis, He intimated now and then, was approaching whose harrowing details He would not reveal to His disciples,—some crisis which, more than all that they had endured, was to test their attachment to Him and their faith in His Gospel. A presentiment of doom oppressed Him, and His vague suggestions gave them

no clue as to its nature. He was to die, and the mode, and the phenomena, and the purpose of His sacrificial death were thenceforth to the end of time to constitute, in connection with the Spirit's agency, *the* power which should move the world to repentance. He intended that His cross should make more converts than His preaching; that the tragedy to be enacted on Calvary should more profoundly impress the world with a sense of the guiltiness of sin, and of the magnitude of the means necessary to salvation from sin, than anything He had said or done, in all His previous sinless life. It is still a mystery that His personal ministry failed to convert the world, if this hypothesis be not correct.

Could He not have preached His own cross, before He was nailed to it, as successfully as His apostles preached it subsequently? Could He not have used for His purpose as well the anticipated fact of His death, knowing as only He could know its infinite significance, as any event or circumstance which had occurred, lately or remotely, in the long history of redemption? Would such anticipatory preaching of the cross by the Expectant himself who was devotedly preparing himself for the sacrificial tableau, have been less successful than the same subject of preaching in any subsequent age? The only answer that we need give to such queries is, that this was *not* included in His method. He reserved for the future use of His ministers through all coming ages the potency of His cross as an agency in the conversion of the world. He veiled its great meaning from the eyes of their understanding till, not only His disciples who gathered so lovingly around His sacred person but His disciples of all coming ages and of all people's should see it in all its breadth on Calvary. It is not wonderful, then, that after His death, the disciple who had denied Him, "by a single sermon should awaken the conscience of three thousand auditors; and that the persecutor who had reviled Him, under the influence of the Divine Spirit, should become the mighty instrument of the conversion of the Pagan world." It is not remarkable, in that Christ's own prophecy explains it, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," (John 12 : 32).

And since the day of His crucial exaltation how deep has

been the impression of the cross upon the mind of the world! It is absolutely ineffaceable. Its extinguishment has become a psychical impossibility. It is no more possible than the annihilation of man's spiritual nature. The cross is so deeply etched upon the human soul,—a tablet formed and furbished for such tracery divine,—that it has been challenging the forces of nineteen centuries to extinguish it; and if nineteen more shall elapse before its Maker shall ring down a curtain of fire, to end the drama of this world's long, long life, yet, in that fearful hour, the etching shall be even more distinct, or its impression on the mind of our startled race shall be clearer and more profound than that which was made upon the motley crowd that stood in the very shadow of the literal cross.

> Yon sculptur'd shaft
> Whose starward apex signals heaven
> To bend with earth in homage at a hero's
> Shrine, shall fret away, till not an atomie
> Of its white dust, dispers'd by fitful winds
> Remains, and not a living memory
> Recalls its blazon'd name; yet shall the rugged,
> Peerless Cross, in human thought, erectly stand,—
> The priceless symbol of Eternal Love.

No floods can overwhelm it. No fires can consume it. The world's most distinguished artists have not felt themselves worthy of reputation, till with infinite care they had finished upon their easel the Cross,—alike their choicest essay and the glory of their faith. The sculptor illustrates at once his genius and love of truth and beauty, as patiently from the shapeless Parian block he carves the Cross. As if to impress the worshipper, who seeks an audience with the Infinite to whisper longings which Himself inspires, with a sense of the only mode of access to His veiled throne, the architect builds His temples cruciform.

> The wearied
> Pilgrim hails its shadow, slanting o'er his
> Beaten path, and, tearful kneeling, finds
> Refreshment 'neath the wayside Cross.
> Far out
> On boisterous main, pacing his quiet

Midnight watch, the lonely mariner
Descries with joy, thro' rifts of threat'ning cloud,
The harbinger of clearer skies,—the bending
Cross.
One glimpse thro' tears of penitence,
And lo! the sinner's burthen rolls into
The deep, impelled by power resistless
From the Cross.
Invention tests a thousand
Arts to invest it with a glory that
Shall fascinate the wanton eye.
The Muses
Vie in song to win for it a moment's
Audience from the dullest ear.
Enough
Philosophy discovers in it to engage
The logic of its love for aye.
And 'tis
The key of History which else were dark
And unresolvable as 'glyphic
Mysteries on obelisks of the Nile.

Who finds delight in wonders needs not
Wander from the Cross: its mysteries awe
The highest seraphim, who seek yet
Soundings never find,—who, adding ever
And anon, to line and weight are baffled
Still, and cry despairing, "Oh, the depth!"

Beauty puts on the Cross to enhance
Its charms.
Devotion, deepen'd by the death
It tells, bends love in tears.
With outstretched arms
Sweet infancy desires to feel His soft
Embrace whom malice pierced and pinioned to
The Cross.
Maturer life, descrying there
Its ideal type of man, is urged to
Possibilities beyond its highest
Thought, without the example of the Cross.
And age—old age—with trembling hand enclasps
It as the pledge of life rejuvenated,
Perfect, full and rounded, endless as
The cycle of Eternity.

A hint or two, in concluding this paper, to ministerial brethren. (a). Our Christian ministry will be successful only as we preach the Cross. If Christ committed the argument and power of the Cross to His ministers for their use rather than His own, in the mighty work of converting the world, it is a very serious mistake, if not a crime, on our part, to ignore it. A great trust, in this event, is betrayed, and the betrayer risks, as well his own as others' salvation. God is glorified and His church is developed on earth; man is regenerated, exalted, and beatified; sin is destroyed and Satan vanquished only by the preaching of the Cross. (b). The faithful, patient, conscientious discharge of duty is of more consequence than the degree of success which may or may not result from our personal efforts. The best and most permanent effects of our ministry may not appear before our congregations shall say over our remains, "Earth to earth, and dust to dust." If great success comes at all, it may come when we are not here to enjoy it. Be it so; the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!

ARTICLE IV.

HOW TO DEVELOP AND DIRECT THE BENEVOLENCE OF THE CHURCH.*

By Rev. J. A. Clutz, A. M., Secretary of the Board of Home Missions, Baltimore, Md.

One need hardly stop to insist upon the need for a fuller development of the benevolence of our churches than has yet been attained. This is implied in the statement of the subject itself by the founder of this lectureship, and will readily be confessed by all of you, without any argument. And yet it may not be amiss to glance briefly at the peculiar circumstances of our Church in this country which render such development especially important at the present time, for the sake of the greater force it may give to what is said afterwards.

Ever since we have had a history in this country, we have worked at a disadvantage in this respect. The founders of our Church in America were chiefly poor people. Many of them were refugees from civil or religious persecution and oppression, escaping with nothing but their lives. Many of them were brought here by charity, or were compelled to mortgage their time and their labor for years after their arrival, in order to pay for their passage across the seas. The great majority of those of our faith who have come hither from abroad, in subsequent years, have been poor also. It was because they were poor that they came—because the sober and industrious poor have a better chance here than in the over-crowded cities and countries of Europe. Another thing must be said about the Lutheran immigrants to this country—they have come largely from the peasant classes of the old world. For evidence of this we have only to watch the unloading of one of the emigrant ships as she deposits her human freight at Castle Garden or Locust Point,—or trace our own ancestry back to the fatherland. Not many of us will find noble blood in our veins. I speak of these

*Lecture on the Rice Foundation delivered before the students of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Penna., May 12th, 1885.

things, not in any spirit of reproach, but simply as matters of fact and history, that must be taken into account in any fair estimate of our condition and work as a denomination.

But I can imagine some of you beginning to ask, "What has all this to do with the subject of benevolence?" I answer, much every way. In the first place, it compelled most of our forefathers in this country to give themselves up to a life of constant toil, and closest economy, in order that they might secure for themselves and their families the barest necessaries of life. It incapacitated them for business, with its sharp rivalries and close competitions, and made the majority of them tillers of the soil, and oftentimes "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their more favored neighbors. While the other denominations were founding schools, and colleges, and seminaries, in New England, and the other colonies, and enjoying the advantages they offered, the Lutherans were cutting down the forests and breaking up the virgin soil to secure a place and the means to live. Multitudes of the young grew up without schools, and with no education at all. Even if they had had the disposition and the means to attend the English schools accessible, the language would have been to many of them an unknown tongue, and an insuperable barrier.

But as time passed on, the habits of industry, and economy, and thrift which these people had brought with them from the fatherland began to bear fruit. Their circumstances were greatly improved. With a genius for agriculture, that was the product of generations of farmers, they had fastened on some of the best lands in the country, and now they found themselves possessed of good homes, and an ample competence. Many of them became comparatively wealthy. But, alas, the battle with poverty had been severe, and the victory dearly won. And now when some of them would have had the means to found and foster institutions of learning and benevolence they did not have the disposition to do so. They had done so long without these institutions that it was hard to convince them that they needed them now. Their habits of economy had become so fixed and strong that it was difficult to induce them to part with their hard-earned savings for benevolent purposes.

And the result of all this has been that we have not to-day, in all the land, a single well-endowed Lutheran College or Seminary. And, in most cases, even the meagre endowment that is possessed, is a thing of comparatively recent years, most of it having been secured within the present generation.

Moreover, the economical habits of our people have been handed down from generation to generation, and they are still slow to move in the direction of liberal endowments for these institutions. And they are slow to give also, according to their ability, for benevolent work in general. They have not been trained to it. They have not understood the necessity for it, nor realized the obligation. They have not been a reading people. Our church literature has not been extensive. Neither has it had a wide circulation. Hence our people have not kept abreast with those of the other leading and aggressive denominations, in the matter of information on these subjects, or liberal support of them.

In addition to all this, until within the last score or two of years, there has been an unwise, though I will not say entirely unreasonable, prejudice against the introduction of the English language into our schools and churches, in consequence of which many of our most intelligent and liberal people have left us, and gone to other denominations to secure what they could not enjoy in their own—the privilege of worshiping God in a tongue which they and their children could understand. Especially has this been the case in the older cities of the country, such as New York, and Philadelphia, and Baltimore, where social considerations have also operated strongly in the same direction. The result is that to-day we have not a single really strong and wealthy church in any of these great cities, nor, I may add, in any city in the country—a church, I mean, that is able and willing to contribute to benevolence, not only hundreds, but thousands, and tens of thousands of dollars annually. This is one, and the chief reason why we cannot raise such large sums of money for benevolence as some of the other denominations do. A very large proportion of the vast sums expended every year for missions, and educational work by the Congregationalists, and

the Presbyterians, and the Methodists, comes from a comparatively few wealthy churches in the great cities.

And yet, it happens, that at the same time that we have this lack of means and training to do benevolent work, there is probably no denomination in the land that has so great a field for benevolent work, and such pressing demands for large sums of money for benevolent uses.

I have already spoken of the poverty of our institutions of learning. You know only too well the great needs of the college and seminary located here in Gettysburg. You know that they must have more money, and have it soon, or be greatly crippled in their work. Their present endowments should be not only doubled, but quadrupled—they must be, if they are to do successfully the work of the future for our church. The same is true of all our other institutions of learning. Some of them are dying for the want of a sufficient endowment to enable them to pay expenses. And we still need more institutions, at least in the West. Or, I will put it in the singular, and say that we need one more college and seminary west of the Mississippi, and must have them at an early day, or fail to do our work in that vast territory which is being so rapidly settled, and largely with people of our own faith.

And in missions, where is the church that has such a field as we have, especially in this country? With a vast Lutheran population here already, scattered all over the land, and thousands of them unchurched and unshepherded, especially among those of foreign birth and tongue—with thousands of our people going every year from our eastern and central states, to the new states and territories in the West and North-west—with tens, and scores, and I might without much exaggeration say, hundreds of thousands of Lutherans coming here annually from the Lutheran lands of the old world, most of them poor and unable to provide themselves with churches and pastors without aid—with all this before us it is simply impossible to exaggerate either the extent, or the importance of the field that lies open to us, "white unto the harvest," and waiting for the reapers. If we could properly care for these multitudes now, and save them to our church, where they belong, it would insure to us such a

future in this land as is not within the reach of any other Christian people.

The foreign fields under our special care, though not so extensive, are scarcely less inviting and promising. In both India and Africa, there is room, and the demand also, for great enlargement of our work. Again and again, there comes the call for more men and more money to enable our missionaries to enter the open doors which God, in his providence, is setting before us. Only a few months ago there came a request from India for money to open a hospital for women, and later still, through official sources, a petition for funds to found a college and seminary for the training of native workers.

And all this strongly suggests another direction in which larger sums of money are greatly needed in our church—for the education of young men for the ministry. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of the proper development of both our Home and Foreign mission fields, is the lack of men with whom to do the work. We must have more ministers, and have them speedily, and in large numbers, or the work will suffer both at home and abroad. It is suffering now.

This want will, I believe, have to be supplied very largely by our system of beneficiary education, if it is supplied at all. Not that young men should not educate themselves when able. Not that young men who are able to educate themselves should not give themselves to the ministry. But because the prevalent worldliness and secularism of the day, render it almost certain that but few of this class, in comparison with the great and pressing need, will give themselves to this work. Young men of means are almost inevitably drawn away from the sacred office into other channels of business or professional life, that promise larger pecuniary rewards. And so it no doubt will be, at least until there is a mighty revival of unselfishness, and unworldliness, and personal consecration, in our churches and homes. For this we may all well pray. But until it comes, we will probably have to continue to look for recruits for the ranks of the ministry largely to those of humble circumstances in life who will need the assistance of the church in securing a suitable preparation for the work—not as a matter of charity to the young

men, but as a matter of self-preservation for the church. Hence the need for a large increase of funds for this purpose.

Again, we greatly need in our church some more adequate provision for the support of aged and infirm ministers, who are no longer able to continue in the active work, and who are without the means to support themselves. Practically, it may be said that we have no provision at all in this direction, the sums which the trustees of our Pastor's Fund are able to pay to a few beneficiaries being so small as to afford very little relief. And yet such relief is often sadly needed. The cases are exceptional, indeed, in which ministers of our church are able to lay up, from their income as pastors, any adequate sum for sickness or old age. Even those congregations that do pay larger salaries generally expect their minister to live in such a style as consumes all he gets from year to year. Unless, therefore, there are some inherited means, either on his own, or his wife's part, the minister who breaks down, or wears out, in the service of the church, is likely to become dependent on the sympathy and help of his friends, or the charity of the community in general. These things ought not so to be. The man who gives himself loyally, and heartily to the church, and serves her faithfully while health and strength last, should be assured of at least a decent support so long as he may need it, if in the providence of God he should be laid aside from active work. And he should have this too, not as a gift of charity, but as his just due from the church to which he has given his all, just as the government pensions the soldiers who have been disabled in its service, and provides for the families of those who have lost their lives.

The care of the poor of the church, of the orphan, and of the sick and the afflicted, is also a charge from which the Church of Christ can never be legitimately divorced, it matters not how generous the provision made for the same purpose by the state.

I have purposely said nothing of the demands upon the liberality of the people for the support of their own local churches and pastors, because, to my mind this can in no proper sense be called benevolence. It is a strange thing to me that a man can supply himself and his family liberally with all the necessa-

ries and comforts of life, and even its luxuries also, so far as the physical and mental part of their nature is concerned, and call all this "current expense," or "cost of living," and then begin to talk about "benevolence" just as soon as he is asked to provide, on the same scale, for the care and training of the spiritual and immortal part of himself and his household. Out on such benevolence. There is no more benevolence in what a man pays for the support of his pastor, and the current work of his local church, than there is in paying his butcher, or his grocer, or his state and county taxes. I know that people generally consider this a part of their benevolent work, and some of them even look upon their pastors as objects of charity, who ought to be very grateful to them for their benefactions. It will be a part of your work in the ministry, young gentlemen, to teach your people otherwise, to show them that charity does not "begin at home," as the old proverb has it, but only when men get away from home and begin to reach out their hands to help those who are not of their own household.

But aside from this, the demands upon our church for purely benevolent work, are such that, in our circumstances in this country, the only possible hope of meeting them lies in such a general development of benevolence among all our people, as will reach and fully utilize all our resources, and render them available for the work of God and the church. And this is why I said that this subject is especially important for us as a church, just now. For it must be plain, even on the most hasty and superficial examination of the facts in the case, that, whatever individuals, or individual congregations, may be doing here and there, as a church we are not coming up to the measure of either our responsibility or our ability, in this matter. Of course these two, our ability and our responsibility, whether as a church or as individuals, must always be correlative and equal, since the measure of our responsibility in any matter must always be our ability to make response to the demands of God and the occasion upon us. Let us see how we are responding as a church, to the demands made upon us in the present crisis of our history in this country.

The apportionment laid by the General Synod, and I shall now speak chiefly of our work in the General Synod, for Home and Foreign Missions and Church Extension, amounts to a little less than seventy cents per member per annum. Add to this the apportionment of the district Synods for Beneficiary Education, and it will raise it to from eighty-five cents to a dollar per member for these four great benevolent operations of the Church. If we add yet the sums asked for Pastors' Fund and Orphans' Home, and other special objects in the several Synods, it will not altogether amount to more than an average of from $1.50 to $2 a member, per annum. And does any one of you suppose that this is anything like a fair measure of the ability of the Lutheran Church of the General Synod? I trow not. Why, it is a little less than four cents per week, or about two-thirds of a cent for each working day of the year. What a paltry sum! Surely not one in a hundred of our members is really unable to contribute so much, to say nothing of the many who are able to give, two, five, ten, twenty or a hundred times as much. And yet you will no doubt hear complaints among your people about the heavy and unreasonable demands made upon them by the Synods. I have even seen the president of a Synod gravely leave his presidential chair and take the floor to oppose a proposed appropriation in behalf of a struggling mission, because, forsooth, as he said, the Synod was already asking nearly $2 a year from each of its members for benevolence, and the burden was becoming oppressive. And yet I will venture the assertion that the men of that Synod spend more money every year for tobacco than would average $2 per member for the whole Synod, both male and female.

No, my brethren. I have already said that our Church is not a rich Church, as compared with some of the other denominations. I do not suppose that there are a dozen millionaires in the whole General Synod, perhapt not a half dozen. Still we are by no means to be rated as a poor Church. Our people are well to do, as a class. They live well, as a rule, and make generous provision for their temporal comfort, and also save something for the future. Multitudes of them have accumulated far more than a competence. They are abundantly able, there-

fore, to contribute much more, on the average, than is asked for by any of our Synods.

But what are the facts? Do they give even what is asked by the Synods? By no means, taking the General Synod as a whole. A few of the Synods raise the full apportionment, but the great majority of them are sadly deficient. A glance at the reports of the several Boards of the Church to the General Synod, or at the minutes of the district Synods, will settle this beyond controversy. The need for further development of the benevolence of the Church is plain, therefor, from this side also. We are not doing our duty as a Church. We are not giving according to our ability.

But it is time that we should turn to the more direct discussion of our subject. The need for development being granted, how is it to be secured? Three things seem to me to be essential to success in this work.

I. We must get our people better informed as to the needs of the Church.

II. We must instruct them more fully as to their duty and responsibility in this respect.

III. We must have better methods for collecting the gifts of the people.

Let us look at each of these a little more fully.

I. We must get our people better informed as to the needs of the Church.

I have already dwelt at sufficient length on these needs themselves. What I want to speak of now is the necessity for getting them before the people, and making them to see and understand them as we do. Without this we cannot hope for much interest in them on the part of our people, nor for much liberality in supplying them. Men are not interested in things of which they know nothing. It is knowledge of a subject that awakens interest in it. Ignorance folds its hands in indifference, and sits down in idleness.

And just here, I think, has been, and still is, one of our greatest defects as a Church. Our people have not been sufficiently informed in regard to our benevolent work. Partly, they are to blame for this themselves, because they have not availed

themselves of the means and opportunities that have been offered them for getting information. As I said awhile ago, our people have not been a reading people. They do not patronize our Church papers as they should. The whole circulation of the *Lutheran Observer*, and *The Evangelist*, and the *Kirchenfreund*, put together, is not over 13,000 or 14,000. As most of our ministers, it may be presumed, and many of the people also take both the *Observer* and the *Evangelist*, it is likely that not more than one-fifth of our families take any church paper. Even our little *Missionary Journal*, which is devoted entirely to the missionary work of the Church, and which costs only 25 cents a year, has a circulation of only about 10,000, and I am quite sure that one half of that number, at least, go into homes in which the other papers are found also. This would leave at least three-fourths of our homes without any regular and stated means of learning of the Church's work. Even when the minutes of our Synods, or the reports of our Boards, are sent out for gratuitous distribution, multitudes do not care to take and read them. I am persuaded that some of them don't want to be informed, lest the breaking in of light on their minds, might awaken their consciences, and make them uncomfortable in their covetousness and meanness. I say this in sorrow, and not in displeasure.

But laying all the blame that belongs there upon the shoulders of the people themselves, I feel that a large share of condemnation must fall upon many of our pastors also, because they do not take the pains to have their people informed on these subjects, whether they want the information or not. Too many of them are content to go through the regular round of their local work, preaching the Gospel, attending the Sunday-school, leading the prayer-meeting, and doing the pastoral work of their own charges and doing all this faithfully and zealously enough, but having little interest in the great throbbing world of sinning and suffering humanity that is rushing on towards eternity outside of their narrow fields. Some of them seem hardly to know that there is any outside world, or any general work of the Church.

I have been amazed, saddened, and discouraged sometimes,

by the ignorance of our benevolent work displayed by some of our ministers.

But even when our pastors are themselves well informed, as of course the great majority of them are, I am persuaded that many of them make but little effort to properly instruct their people. For example, how many of our pastors, do you suppose, make an earnest effort once a year, or even once in five years, to introduce the Church papers among their people? I think the editors of these papers would tell you that the number is very small indeed. And yet this is perhaps one of the most effective ways possible, in which to inform the people about our benevolent work, and elicit their sympathy and their support. I assure you, young men, that you will find the Church papers your most efficient helpers in all your work, as ministers, but especially in your benevolent work. The families that take and read them will always be your most appreciative hearers, and will always be most ready to respond to every appeal for help.

Another great aid in this work, will be found in the circulation of the reports of the different Boards of the Church. For some years past, these reports have been printed after each General Synod, in large numbers, for general and gratuitous distribution. I have no doubt that this excellent custom will be continued in the future. These reports give a vast deal of information, facts and figures, not mere fancies, as to the work of the Church. They not only present a detailed statement of what has been done, thus showing how the money of the Church has been used, and with what result; but they also tell of the work to be done and explain the necessity for continued, and increased contributions. One of these reports put into the hands of a member, and *read*, cannot fail to awaken increased interest, and lead to enlarged, or at least more cheerful giving. But, alas, in many cases but little pains are taken to use them to advantage. Sometimes they are never distributed at all, being thrown to one side and forgotten or ignored. In many other cases they are simply placed on the communion table, or on the pulpit platform, and the people are told that if they want them they can come and get them. A few of them are taken

away by those who are already interested, and the rest are left lie until the sexton needs them for kindling the fire, or throws them out upon the ash-heap. This is a capital way not to do it. The right way to use such matter, the way I would commend to you for future practice, is to see to it that every copy of such reports is distributed, and that as far as possible they are put where they are most needed, and will do the most good. Put them in envelopes and place them in the pews, or send them by mail, with a brief note or circular, calling attention to the contents, and asking that they be carefully read. Or hand them out in person, with a "word in season" to the receiver. Some of them you can distribute in your pastoral calls. Some of them you can send through other willing hands. Then ask about them afterwards. Find out whether they have been read, and what impression they have made. It will give you a fine opportunity for personal work, in explaining difficulties, removing objections, correcting mistakes, or deepening impressions already made.

The same plan can be pursued, to great advantage, with the minutes of your district Synod. These might, and should, be made far more effective for good in this direction, than they generally are, if a little more care and pains were taken in their distribution. The same thing is true also, of the circulars and special appeals, sometimes sent out for general distribution.

Then another thing is to instruct the people on these subjects personally, both from the pulpit, and from house to house. Preach on the subject—not simply on the duty of benevolence but on the objects of benevolence. Tell your people about the work that is being done, and about the needs of the Church in various directions. A good time to do this is after the meetings of Synod, or Conference, or the General Synod. Carry back to your people, in condensed and systematized form, the information and impressions you have gotten yourself at these gatherings of the Church, or have gleaned from the reports of them in the papers. You will find it a good exercise for yourself, as well as for your people. This was the custom of the late Dr. Stork for many years, and was no doubt one secret of the intelligent and large liberality of the people to whom he

ministered. Many other pastors do the same thing, and all of them, I believe, who do it wisely, to the great pleasure as well as propfit of their people.

Then, as already intimated, much can be done, in a quiet way, in your pastoral work. Instead of talking inanely about the weather, or exchanging the current platitudes about the health of the family or the community, or listening to the story of how the baby cut his last tooth, or took his first step, seek to turn the conversation into more profitable channels. Tell the people something about the progress of the Church at large, as well as your own local work. Echo to them the Macedonian cry for help that has come to your ears from the great field. Teach them to lift up their eyes and look out beyond the bounds of their own little spiritual home, upon God's great world—the world that ought to be God's, but still belongs so largely to the devil just because the people of God have not been deeply enough interested in the progress of that kingdom, for the coming of which they have prayed so often and so long. Thus, day by day, and year by year, you may sow the seed which in due time will spring up and bring forth fruit, when you receive the contributions of your people for benevolence, some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold.

II. Our people must be instructed more fully as to their duty and responsibility in the matter of giving.

This is no less important than the giving of information. The people must not only be made acquainted with the need for money; they must be made to feel also that it is their duty to supply the need as far as they are able. Until this is done, we cannot reasonably expect any large or steady flow of contributions into the treasuries of the Church. Occasional and spasmodic giving there may be, brought about by a pathetic story or a stirring appeal from some traveling agent or missionary, or by the pressure of personal influence on the part of the pastor, or by regard for synodical authority, or by a feeling of church pride, or spirit of competition, or a sense of shame or fear. But regular, systematic, liberal and cheerful giving, there certainly will not be. But this is just what we need, and must all desire to secure. This is the only kind of giving that can

either meet the demands of the Church, or be acceptable to God. No doubt God can, and will, use all the gifts of the people, no matter what motive may have prompted them. He can make even "the wrath of man to praise him." He can use men's pride and selfishness, and even their meanness, to accomplish his own glorious purposes. But we cannot believe that our offerings give him pleasure, or will secure any blessing to us, unless they are made on principle, from proper motives and in the right spirit. And never will the gifts of the people assume such proportions as their own ability and the exigencies of the case demand, until they are made, with an intelligent and conscientious regard to the claims of God, on the one hand, and the responsibility of the givers, on the other hand.

But how is such giving as this to be secured? How can we make the people see and feel their obligation to God and his Church. These questions are not easily answered. Of one thing, however, young brethren, you may be sure, in starting, that you will not find it an easy task to be accomplished in a little while, or without much effort. It will take time, and it will take hard work; and it will require much patience and prayer. The human heart is naturally selfish. Men are ever prone, even Christian men, to look on their own things, rather than on the things of others. The old question of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" is still asked with all the insolence and self-assurance, that marked its first utterance. Or, if it is not asked, it lurks in the heart, and is to many a sufficient answer to all the calls of benevolence. "Charity begins at home." "We must look out for number one." "Be just, before you are generous." These, and such as these, are the sayings we find on the lips of multitudes of Christian men and women, giving unmistakable evidence of the selfishness and covetousness which are in their hearts. And to break all this down, or root it out, and awaken and develop in its stead the noble, Christlike spirit of the apostle which made him feel himself to be a "debtor" to every man who was still without the Gospel which he possessed—the spirit which was in the Master himself when he came into the world, "not to be ministered unto, but to

minister, and to give his life as a ransom for many"—this is no small undertaking.

Do not be discouraged, therefore, if you find on coming into your charges that all the people do not at once respond to your efforts, and begin to pour out their gifts, as a full pump sends forth the water at the first sweep of the handle. While you will, I hope for your own encouragement, find a few of this character, you will probably find more who will be like a pump whose bucket leaks. You have all seen such pumps. You know how they must be worked. First you must pour a bucket full of water into the pump, and then you must seize the handle and work it most vigorously, until at last the water rises to the spout and the stream begins to flow. So with these people. You must first give them instruction, line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little. You must pour in argument and exhortation, and appeal, until at last you reach their hearts, awaken their interest, arouse their consciences, convince their understanding, move their wills, and secure their gifts. But as the water from a leaky pump, when once it is secured, is often very good and very plentiful, so you may find that some of your people who will require most patience and effort to induce them to give, will in the end, reward your efforts by becoming the most cheerful and liberal contributors you will have. And these will be your joy and your crown. Again I say, therefore, do not be discouraged if your success in this work is not as speedy as you would wish. You must remember the condition and circumstances, the training and habits of your people. You must remember that they are only men and women, or at best weak and imperfect disciples, not saints and angels. You must remember that very few of them have ever been up on the mountain-tops of observation, from which you have caught the vision of the great fields "white unto the harvest," and have heard the cries for help coming up from the scattered and almost exhausted reapers. You must remember also the facts stated in the early part of this lecture, with reference to the peculiar history and constitution of our Church in this country, and from all this learn to be

patient and hopeful at the same time that you are faithful and fervent. Do not scold your people. Do not denounce them nor be bitter against them; but "reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and teaching," (2 Tim. 4 : 2.)

But again we are brought back to the question of means and methods. How can the people be made to feel and recognize their responsibility and do their duty?

Well, I think the first thing to be aimed at is a hearty consecration of themselves to God. This was evidently the secret of the large-hearted liberality of the Macedonian Christians of whom Paul wrote to the Corinthians, that "according to their power, yea and beyond their power, they gave of their own accord," even beseeching the apostle to receive and administer their gifts. It was because, as we learn in the next verse, they "first gave their own selves to the Lord," that they were so ready to give of their substance for the relief of their needy brethren. And this self-consecration, this giving of one's own self unto God, must lie at the basis of all true benevolence. Love to God is the root and trunk of the tree. Love to man is only a branch of which benevolence is one of the fruits. When a man has once really given himself to God, and truly loves him, he will not find it so hard to give him anything, or all things else, that he may require. On the contrary, so long as he holds himself back, he will be disposed to hold everything else back. Or if he does give it will be done "grudgingly," either in spirit or in amount, or most likely in both. And this, I apprehend, is just the trouble with a great many of our people. They have never really and heartily given themselves unto God. They have hardly understood that this was expected of them. Their very religion has been selfish. It has been almost wholly a matter of receiving from God, pardon, peace, happiness, heaven, very little a matter of giving to God. Their constant thought has been, not how much can we do for God to show our gratitude and love, but how much can we get from God to enhance our own happiness in the present, or improve our prospects for the future. It is no wonder, therefore, that they have not given largely of their means to carry on the Lord's work. They never

will, until they are taught a better way, until they give themselves unto the Lord really and unreservedly.

But mere self-consecration is not enough of itself, because it is not always intelligent nor sufficiently comprehensive. Men must be taught that true self-consecration includes the consecration of all they have, and the use of it all in God's service and for God's glory. This does not always follow as a matter of course. In one of our western synods, last fall, one of the pastors reported a great revival during the year, and scores of converts, a glorious time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. He also reported $1.50 for missions. The incongruity of the two things strikes you at once. How shall we explain it? Shall we denounce the revival as spurious, and say that all the converts were either hypocrites or self-deceived? Not necessarily. The explanation is probably to be found in this, that these new converts were never properly taught that a Christian life means something more than pardon, and peace, and "feeling happy," and "joining church"—that it means responsibility, and service, and effort for the extension of God's kingdom everywhere in the world. Very likely they were never asked to give anything for benevolence. Hence their warm first love, which, if properly trained, might have produced abundant fruit, was like a neglected vine that spends all its energies in making wood and foliage, and bears no grapes.

And after all, this is only a broad example, or illustration, of what is occurring in nearly all our churches, on a smaller scale, and especially with individuals. There are multitudes and multitudes of our people who have no proper conception of their duty in this respect. They never seem to think that their property belongs to God, no less than themselves. They have no sense of stewardship whatever—no sense of responsibility either to God or man for the use they make of their worldly possessions. "Our property is our own, and we can do with it what we please"—this is the thought of their hearts, if not the language of their lips. And hence when the minister, or the agent of some benevolent society, calls upon them to contribute for the Lord's work, they look upon him very much as the ancient Jews looked upon the Roman tax-gathers. They paid

the tax because they considered it expedient to do so, under the circumstances, but they did it with the feeling that they were being robbed. What needs to be done, therefore, is to teach the people their true relation to God as his stewards, that all they have comes from him, that it all belongs to him, that though as between themselves men may claim proprietary rights in their earthly possessions, as between themselves and God the relation is that of the servants of the parable to whom their lord entrusted his goods for a season, and from whom he demanded a strict account when he returned from his journey. They need to be constantly pointed upwards, and reminded that God is the absolute owner of all things, and that he requires from all his stewards a fair return for the use of his goods, and that no man can withhold this without sin.

They need to be taught also the dreadful nature of the sin of covetousness, which is so prevalent in these days, even in the Church. How many of our people love money for its own sake. How many of them are bent on acquiring more and more, not for the sake of enjoying it, or doing good with it, but simply to hoard it up, and gratify their desire for possession. And this is covetousness, the sin which Paul denounces as "idolatry," and which he ranks along with fornication, and uncleanness, and inordinate affection, and concupiscence, and drunkenness—a sin which more than most others binds men down to the earth and makes them to be of the earth, earthy. It shuts out the light of heaven from their souls, and quenches all the higher aspirations within them. It paralyzes and destroys all their nobler and diviner faculties. It withers their sympathies. It cuts off their charities. It freezes up all the fountains of benevolence. It makes men hard, and selfish, and unbrotherly. It corrupts the morals, and opens the sluices of wickedness in the very lowest and worst part of human nature, so that when once a man comes under its power there is no telling into what black pit of iniquity it may drag him. Warn your people against this sin, as one of the worst enemies of their souls.

The question of amount, or proportion in giving, is also one on which the people need patient and careful instruction. How many of them feel that the Synods, in asking $1 or $2 from

each of them per annum, are laying heavy burdens upon them, which they are not able to bear. How many there are who refuse to pay even this miserable pittance. How many who say they cannot afford to give anything. How few there are who really do give in any fair proportion to their ability.

I am well aware that this question of proportion, or amount, is a difficult one to settle. I do not believe that it can be settled by any cast-iron rule. Men's circumstances differ so widely, the claims upon them are so many and so various, the relations of life are so complex, there are so many things that must be taken into consideration, that it is to my mind utterly impossible to lay down a specific law by which every one must be governed. I know that many are disposed, in these days, to revive the old Jewish law of the tithe, and enforce it upon the Christian Church. Their claim is that this law, like that of the Sabbath, was not of Mosaic origin, but had been recognized and handed down from the beginning of the race, and is of universal application. There is much force in the argument presented for this, and this view is gaining ground both in the opinions and practice of Christian people.

But somehow I have never been able to sympathize with it very heartily. It seems to me too mechanical for the gospel dispensation. It savors too much of the spirit of legalism and Pharisaism. The Christian is not under law but under grace. His gifts are to be free-will offerings flowing spontaneously from a heart that is full of love to both God and men. If Paul had regarded the law of the tithe, which he must have scrupulously observed as a Pharisee of the "straitest sect," as being still in force in the Christian Church, he would certainly have made some reference to it, when in writing to the church at Corinth, he gave such definite directions "concerning the collection for the saints." But not one word does Paul say, either there or anywhere else, about this law, a strange omission, indeed, if he knew it to be obligatory upon believers. And if Paul did not know it, I do not believe it was in force then, or is now.

But Paul does speak of the matter of proportion—only he leaves it for each one to decide for himself, as between God and his own conscience, what the proportion is. His rule is, "Upon

the first day of the week, let each one of you lay by him in store, as he may prosper, that no collections be made when I come," (1 Cor. 16 : 2). "As he may prosper," that is, as he is able from time to time. And this, I think, is the law which we are to teach and practice.

But it does not follow that because the law of the tithe is not in force, we are to give less than a tithe. Rather should we reason to the opposite conclusion. If the Jews were required in their day to give a tithe of all their increase to God,—and the truth is they gave nearer a fourth than a tenth, if we count all their sacrifices and offerings—then surely we who enjoy so much more light, and so much greater blessings, should give much more than they did. At any rate, we should learn to look at this matter ourselves, and seek to teach the people to look at it in a broad and liberal way, and not in any narrow and selfish spirit. We must hold up before ourselves and them the inestimable blessings and privileges we enjoy, we must look at what Christ has done and suffered for us to purchase these blessings and privileges, and give us the hope of yet better things to come, we must remember what are the needs of the church and the world, and then in the light of all these facts decide, not how little, but how much we can and ought to give to the Lord for the carrying on of his work in the world.

Some may not be able to give a tenth. Let them give what they can. Most can and should give at least that much. Many can and should give much more, a fifth, a fourth, the third, the half, and some, no doubt, all beyond a mere living. But this we must let each one decide for himself, in the exercise of his own Christian liberty. We can only lay down general principles, and teach correct views, and inculcate the right spirit, and then gather the fruits as they ripen and fall.

And all this is to be done by the whole tenor and spirit of your ministry, whether in the pulpit or from house to house, rather than by a few set sermons on the subject, or an occasional personal talk with a particularly difficult case. These may be necessary and helpful, but they are not the most powerful. And the effect they do have will come not so much from what they are in themselves, as from what is back of them in your general

teaching, just as the water that rushers from the spigots in our houses, does not get its momentum from its own weight or force, but from the height of the water that fills the reservoir. The spirit and habit of true benevolence is a thing of growth and development, and is to be secured by the whole atmosphere of Christian truth and life with which you surround your people by your ministry, rather than by any spasmodic efforts now and then. One of the most successful pastors we have ever had in this work of developing the benevolence of his people, was the late Dr. Stork, of blessed memory in this Seminary, and in the whole Church. The congregation to which he ministered in Baltimore for some twenty years, almost the whole of his pastoral life, became under that ministry the banner congregation of the General Synod for genuine and hearty liberality in benevolence. And yet I once heard Dr. Stork say on the floor of the Maryland Synod that he had never, in all his ministry, preached a sermon on the subject of giving. What then was the secret of his success in getting the people to give? I think it is revealed in a single sentence in the collection of his writings recently published. It is in the sermon on "Christ's Method of Dealing with Men," (Light on the Pilgrim's Way, p. 114). He is speaking of how Christ always appealed to what is highest and best in men, and thus called forth the best of which they were capable. And then he shows how this is true in all life, in politics, in business, in society, and in religion—those who appeal to what is base and selfish in men, elicit only baseness and selfishness in response; while those who appeal to what is noble, and good, and great, touch the chords of nobleness, and goodness, and greatness within them, and call forth the higher melodies of the soul. And so he says it is in the congregation. "One preacher comes with his low faith in men and God, his philosophy of managing men, of getting them to do right by appealing to self interest, of making them liberal by playing on their vanity, pride, worldliness, and lo, he has presently a worldly, selfish, vain Church; and there comes another man who takes Christ's method, and tells them of God and goodness, of holiness and self-denial, and lo, they answer to that." In these words he unconsciously reveals the secret of his own success. It was the high plane of his

preaching on all themes, the broadness of his sympathies and views, the unselfishness of his spirit and teaching in all his work, that appealed so constantly and so strongly to what was best and noblest in his people, developed in them the spirit of true benevolence, and called forth their generous and almost spontaneous liberality. And I am happy to add that his successor is carrying forward the work in the same spirit, and with increasing success.

But there are some other aids in this work which are not to be despised. Let me refer to them briefly.

I have already spoken of the value of the church papers, the reports of the Boards, the minutes of synod, special appeals, etc., in disseminating information as to the work and needs of the Church. All these can be made equally effective in teaching the people the duty of giving.

Then in addition to these, in the same line, you will find it very helpful sometimes to quietly distribute a tract on the subject of giving. It can hardly be possible that any one could read a tract like "Thanksgiving Ann," or "Mrs. Picketts Missionary Box," or "So Many Calls," or "Some Questions and Answers about Christian Giving," without being brought to clearer views of duty, and prompted to increased liberality.

Another thing, which I consider important, is to keep constantly before the people the idea that their offerings are made unto God, and not simply to the Church. Never let your people feel that it is the pastor, or the Synod, or the Boards, or the General Synod, that asks their gifts, but God who speaks through these human agencies. Not long ago I heard of a pastor who announced a collection for missions, and told his people what their apportionment was, and then added—"This is what the General Synod asks. You can give it or not as you please. I don't see myself that they need so much." It need hardly be said that his report to Synod shows a very small collection. Of course no body would respond to such an appeal. How different the effect would have been, if he had said, "This is what God asks, through the Church. Give as unto him, and not as unto men." And this would have been the truth. Remember

this point, and you will find more in it than you might think at first.

Then in speaking to your people of the apportionments of the General Synod, or your district synod, if you speak of them at all, never refer to them as "assessments," or a "tax." Both the terms and the idea they embody, are abominable in this connection. The apportionment is not an "assessment" nor a "tax," in any proper sense of the terms. The real spirit of the apportionment is simply this—that the Church needs at least a certain amount of money to do the work God is laying upon us, and that in order to raise this, each synod, or congregation, or member, as the case may be, should contribute at least so much. This is all. And to this no one can reasonably object.

And from this follows another thing which it is important to keep in your own minds, and also before the people—that the apportionment is not the maximum to be given, but the minimum. I find that many of our people, and not a few of our pastors, have the idea that when they have raised the apportionment, they have done their whole duty, no matter what their ability. A few pastors, I have heard of, who, having raised more than the apportionment, actually kept back the surplus, and applied it to other uses, or reserved it as so much in hand towards the next year's apportionment. A strange way this of developing benevolence. Such an act seems to me to border very closely on the sin of Ananias and Sapphira. It certainly savors of disloyalty to the Church, and a breach of trust. The fact is that the apportionment is only the lowest rung of the ladder of benevolence—put low in accommodation to the weakness of beginners in charity. It never was intended as either a measure, or stopping place for those who ought to be away up towards the top where the Macedonian Christians stood when they gave "according to their power, yea and beyond their power."

I want to say a word also in commendation of the Woman's Missionary Society. You will find this a most efficient helper both in diffusing information among your people, and in awakening interest, and cultivating a liberal spirit. Probably you

will find auxiliary societies already organized in the Churches to which you go as pastor. If you do, cherish them as vines of the Lord's own planting. If you do not, lose no time in preparing the way for organization, and allow no objections or difficulties to defeat your purpose.

The Sunday-school will furnish you another most important and most promising field, in which to carry on your work and training for benevolence. The young are always more easily impressed than older persons. Their sympathies are tender and easily awakened. They are, as a rule, generous by nature. They have not been made hard and selfish by contact with a hard and selfish world. Hence they are quick to respond to any calls for help which they can be made to understand. And by beginning with them, thus, in their early years, they not only contribute liberally at once, and so swell the receipts of the Church, but they are trained in the habit of giving, and carry it with them when they become communicant members of the Church. Moreover they take with them to their homes the information given to them in the school and thus become preachers of benevolence to their parents and others. I refer again to St. Mark's church of Baltimore, not because it is the only liberal church we have, but because I am more familiar with its history and work than with those of any other. What I want to say is that no small part of its liberality is, in my opinion, to be attributed to the careful and wise training in benevolence which the Sunday-school of that Church has had ever since its organization, under the superintendence of my friend, Dr. W. M. Kemp. Of his methods I have not time to speak, but few pastors have such efficient helpers in this work, as he has been. But if your Sunday-school superintendents do not do this work, you must do it yourself. And you will find it the easier because you will have the necessary opportunity and machinery ready to your hand, in our Children's Foreign Missionary Society, and in the annual collection for Children's Home Missions asked for by our Board of Home Missions on the Sunday of each year nearest to the birth-day of Martin Luther, and in the work for the Orphans' Home, etc.

Only one thing more under this head. Don't forget, or

neglect the power of example. You will never have a benevolent people, if your people do not have a benevolent pastor. It is a thing I do not like to say, but I have reason to believe, after some careful examination of the subject, that a good many pastors fail in their efforts to develop the benevolence of their people because they give but little or nothing themselves to the Lord's work. I have even heard of ministers who excused themselves entirely from giving to benevolence on the ground that they were giving themselves, all their time and talents, to the Lord's work. Need I stop to expose the fallacy of such an excuse? Surely, as we find that the Levites were required to tithe the tithes of the people given for their support, so now the ministry cannot be exempt from the duty of giving because, forsooth, their income is earned by spiritual work instead of secular. No wonder that those who are unwilling themselves to touch the burdens which they lay upon their people, find them rebelling under the exaction, and refusing to respond. Rather should the ministers be leaders in this good work, as I know many of our ministers are, that their precepts may be enforced, and made doubly effective, by their practice.

It may also be in place to say just here that the minister who fails to push the benevolent work of his church or to urge his people to give, lest it might interfere with the payment of his own meagre support, or the other current expenses of the church, is not only recreant to his duty, but is most unwise and short-sighted. Never was a greater mistake made than this. I doubt if a single fair illustration can be produced in its support. The result has always been just the opposite. The inculcation of a benevolent spirit, and the cultivation of a benevolent habit in a congregation, always makes them more liberal, not less, in the support of their own local work. And if ever you have trouble in securing your salary from your people, or in inducing them to make necessary improvements for which they are well able, I know of no better remedy for the evil than to try to secure a deep and genuine revival of the benevolent spirit and habit. The development of benevolence whether in the individual or the congregation, is like the advent of Spring. It melts away the ice and frost from the heart, it unseals the foun-

tains and streams of liberality, and diffuses abroad a genial warmth under which all good things grow and flourish.

III. We need better methods for gathering the contributions of our people.

Of course there must be some method or plan. And it is important that it should be the best one possible, under the circumstances, because the final success or failure of your efforts will, after all, depend very largely on this. The reception of the offerings of your people, will be to all your previous work what the harvest is to the farmer. It will be your reaping time, in which you will gather the fruits of your labors. And as the farmer must know how to gather his harvest as well as when to do it, and must select the best methods and appliances available; so must it be with the ministry in their benevolent work. Otherwise much of the harvest will be lost in both cases. And I am persuaded that much is lost in our benevolent work through failure, or unwisdom, just here. Of course, when I say this I do not speak of all our churches, or pastors, by any means. Many of them have most excellent plans, and use them vigorously and effectively. But there are many others, the majority perhaps, which do not have effective plans. In many cases there is nothing more than an annual "collection," taken on some Sunday shortly before the meeting of Synod. This is, I think, the poorest of all plans, if it is to be called a plan at all. If the weather should be bad, or anything else should occur to interfere with the attendance on that particular day, the whole thing will be a failure. And even when everything is favorable, the gatherings by this plan will, as a rule, be comparatively small.

But I cannot stop to discuss particular plans, either bad or good. Nor do I think this necessary. Neither have I any special plan to suggest. No one plan is practicable in all places. This must always be the trouble with introducing any general plan of systematic beneficence. It can not be made pliable enough. Now it is the box system, and now it is the envelope system, and now the card system, and each enthusiastic advocate proclaims his pet plan as a sure *panacea* for all the ills of covetousness, and miserliness, the Church is heir to. But none of these

plans will suit every place, or everybody. We must study adaptation in this as in everything else. We must pay attention to the peculiar character, and circumstances, and necessities of the field. We must respect our own individuality. If our plan is to be successful it must fit not only the field and the people but also the man who is to work by it.

But while not offering any particular plan, there are several things that I would insist on, as essential to any successful plan.

1. It should distinguish, and separate, between the benevolent contributions, and contributions for current expenses. I know of several churches in which this is not done. All the contributions of the people are paid in together, and then out of the common fund, an appropriation is made for benevolence. This plan may secure a reasonable amount of money for benevolent uses, but it can never develop a really benevolent spirit in the people, and therefore must fail of the highest and best results. Besides, it confuses two things which are not similar, in the minds of the people—benevolence and the support of the local church. I have already expressed my ideas on this, and need not repeat them here.

2. It should distinguish between the different objects of benevolence. What I mean is that the people should not be asked simply to give so much for benevolence in general, and then the pastor, or church council divide up the whole amount among the several objects. I think every cause, Home Missions, Foreign Missions, Church Extension, Education, etc., should be brought specifically before the people, and they should be asked to give to each separately. The gain in this must be apparent. It will not only secure larger gifts in the aggregate, but it will bring each cause to the attention of the people, and greatly multiply the opportunities for giving them information, and enforcing the duty of benevolence.

3. It should call for frequent giving. Not annual nor quarterly, but monthly, and if possible, weekly contributions, should be aimed at. As God's goodness and mercy to us are constant, so should our grateful recognition of and return for them, be constant also, or at least frequent. Even if the same amount were given in one contribution, as in a dozen, or fifty, I would

say the latter is to be greatly preferred. It is abominable selfishness to want to do our giving all at once, and be done with it, as though it were too much trouble to think of and acknowledge God and his claims so often. Moreover not one in a thousand either can or will give as much in a single offering as in many. It is far easier far the great majority of our people to give five cents a week, or twenty cents a month, than to give two dollars at any one time. And they will be far more likely to do it also, if properly approached.

Besides this is undoubtedly the scriptural plan. In the passage already quoted from 1 Corinthians, Paul says: "Upon the first day of the week [every first day he evidently means] let each one of you lay by him in store as he may prosper." And even when the contributions are collected monthly or quarterly, it is well to have them based on a weekly offering.

4. And in this apostolic rule we have another feature of a wise and scriptural plan. It should aim to secure a contribution from each individual member of the church. "Let each one of you lay by him in store," writes the apostle. The reasons for this are obvious. Each one has been the object of God's love and mercy, and the recipient of his favor and blessing. Each one has a responsibility for the salvation of his fellow-men and the extension of God's kingdom. Hence each one should give "as he may prosper." Moreover this is evidently the way in which to raise large sums, especially among a people like ours. "Many a mickle makes a muckle," says the old Scotch proverb. And the children sing,

> "Little drops of water,
> Little grains of sand,
> Make the mighty ocean
> And the beauteous land."

So it is by the aggregate of many small contributions, rather than by a few large ones, that the treasuries of the Church are to be filled. What keeps them so empty now, is not simply the fact that few or none give as they ought, but that so many do not give at all. In some of the most liberal and best organized churches I know, one-third of the members do not give anything for benevolence. In many other Churches the pro-

portion of non-givers is much larger. How to reach these non-givers, therefore, is one of the problems before us. And this must always be kept in view, in selecting our plan. I do not suppose that any plan will enable us to reach them all, but certainly the number can be greatly reduced by the judicious use of a wise plan.

Our plan should include also the children of the Church, who have not yet been confirmed, but who need to be taught their responsibility, and trained to habits of giving. If it be only a penny a week, or a penny a month, the giving of it will awaken interest in the child's mind and heart, and help to form the benevolent habit.

5. There is one thing more. A wise plan should leave room for special appeals, when found desirable. And they often are desirable, and even necessary. Special cases come up, or emergencies arise, which cannot be properly met by the ordinary means, or the regular methods. Hence a special offering must be asked for, and our regular plan must be flexible enough to allow it to be made. Without this, some of the best work we have ever done as a Church would have been impossible.

Having then selected, or devised your plan, according to these general rules or principles, the next thing is to push it with vigor. Even a bad plan energetically worked, is better than the very best plan left to work itself. You must remember that your plan, like the laws of nature, is only a method of operation. It has in itself no potency, or force, to make it successful. The power must lie back of the plan, in the man who made it, or selected it, and is to work by it. On him will depend, very largely, its success or its failure.

There is still one other subject in reference to which I want to say a few words in closing. I bring it in here because it did not seem to belong naturally under either of the general divisions of my lecture. And yet it is pertinent to the subject, and I deem it important. I refer to the service you may render to the cause of benevolence by securing legacies to our institutions of learning, and to the Missionary and other Boards of the Church. Of course *ante mortem* contributions are always to be preferred to posthumous ones. And for the steady receipts, and

the steady work of the Church, we must always depend on the steady stream of offerings flowing from the hands of the living. But I have often felt that we ought to receive more money than we do from bequests for our benevolent work. The American Home Missionary Society, (Congregational), in their last annual report, June 4th, 1884, credit over $100,000 to receipts from legacies, more than one fourth of their total receipts. The report of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, for the same year, out of a total income of $620,428.22, credits $152,000 to legacies, a little less than one fourth of the whole amount. It is only a few years since the American Board received the princely legacy of $1,000,000 from Mr. Otis, and every year they report thousands of dollars. Now, how is it in our Church? Our Board of Home Missions, in a few days, will report to the General Synod $1690.45 received from legacies in two years. The Foreign Board will report $732.25 for the same length of time; and the Board of Church Extension nothing. Neither will these reports be exceptional in this respect. Now, why is there this great difference? Partly, of course, it is because we have comparatively little wealth in the General Synod. But while this may account for the difference in amounts, it does not explain the difference in proportion—why, for example, the Congregationalists and Presbyterians should get one fourth of all their receipts from legacies, and we less than one twentieth. For the cause of this we must look to something else. And we may find it, I think, in the fact that so many of our people are not properly informed as to the needs of the Church, and the further fact that they have never been sufficiently taught, either by precept or example, the duty and privilege of leaving money to benevolence in their wills. Multitudes of them never even think of such a thing.

Here then, my brethren, is a wide and rich field for instruction and suggestion. Not that I would have you turn Jesuits, and hover over the dying beds of your parishioners, and endeavor to work on their fears or their hopes, in their last moments, so as to secure their property for "Mother Church." By no means. But you can make it a part of your public teaching on the subject of stewardship, that God may have claims upon

a man's estate, as well as upon his income; and that it may often be just as much a man's duty to leave a portion of his goods for benevolent uses, after he is dead, as to give a portion for this purpose while living. And, in many cases, a mere suggestion, that could be made without any impropriety whatever, simply bringing the subject before the mind, and setting a man to thinking, might secure very considerable sums.

Especially can you serve our educational institutions in this way. For their work large sums are needed, such as men are generally more able, and more likely to give by will, than by donation in life. And in almost every congregation there are some persons who could do this without doing any injustice to any one naturally dependent upon them, or their means. Watch your opportunities in this direction, and use them modestly and prudently.

And now, young gentlemen, I have done. I congratulate you that you are about to begin your ministry in such an age as this —an age of intense mental activity, and wonderful discoveries and inventions, and great enterprises. It is a grand and inspiring time in which to live and work. Seek to catch its spirit, and to put it into your life and work for God and men. Learn to work with all your might, to attempt great things for God, to expect great things from God; and may God guide and bless you, and give you great success.

ARTICLE V.

THE USE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THE EUCHARISTIC SERVICE.

By Rev. E. J. Richter, Turner's Falls, Mass.

There are movements in progress for reaching an agreement upon a common Lutheran liturgy. Committees, appointed by the General Council, and the General Synods South and North, have been at work for nearly two years. Delegates from these committees have formed a joint committee which held conferences in April, 1884, and in May, 1885. The result, obtained thus far, which is due, under God, to the scientific attainments, the rich experience and the personal character of the committee members, seems to be highly satisfactory, and promises to extend its useful consequences beyond the limits of the subject in question. Having become acquainted, by a kind confidential communication, with the *Order of Service*, as agreed upon in its constituent parts and in nearly all of its details, we beg to say that for its theoretical and historical correctness, as well as for its practical adaptability, it may favorably compare with any Lutheran liturgy of Europe or America. Apart from a few points of difference which are of minor importance, one important question has been left unsettled and postponed until further consideration, viz.: *Which is the Correct Place of the Lord's Prayer* within the Communion liturgy, *whether before or after the Consecration?* We hope an investigation of this matter, mainly objective and historical, will not come amiss. And as this question cannot be solved in its isolation, but must be treated with a constant regard to the whole of the communion act, our modest attempt may perhaps render some general service to the increasing interest which has recently turned to this field, by affording a few glances into the liturgical development of past ages, from the earliest Christian era down to the period of the Reformation.

It is generally presumed by writers on Christian antiquities

and kindred subjects, that the use of the Lord's Prayer in the Eucharistic service is to be traced back to the

APOSTOLIC AGE.

He who knows the faithfulness, conscientiousness, and even tenacity with which the apostles, and under their leadership the primitive churches clung to the ordinances of the Lord, must feel convinced that the only formulated prayer which the Lord has left to his Church was extensively used both in private and in public. And he who observes how frequently the early Christians took the Lord's Supper, how they recognized it as the very centre of their common spiritual life, and as one of the most precious legacies with which the Lord had endowed his Church, cannot help admitting the high probability that they did use this specific prayer of God's children just on this occasion, when their state of adoption found its most concrete expression, when they realized themselves as one body by one Spirit, as one family of God, uniting around his table and enjoying the riches of his redeeming grace.

Testimonies of later centuries, to be quoted hereafter in their chronological order, assert on the ground of a tradition, yea as a matter of course, that the apostles *did* pray the "Our Father" along with the consecration act, as the one first introduced and as the only stated prayer in the Communion Service. The apostolic writings are entirely silent, however, about any practical use of the Lord's Prayer.

One thing, however, is sure: the apostles had not been left destitute of instruction as to the proper administration of the Lord's Supper. The first Supper, instituted by the Lord himself, was the prototype, giving all the essential elements.

The disciples had seen the Lord taking bread and wine from the table and separating them for a sacred use. They had heard him *giving thanks* (*ευχαριστησας*) and *praise* (*ευλογησας*) over bread and wine. The contents of these prayers are not recorded in the Gospels. The Lord did not intend to give his disciples a formula, but an example to be followed in free imitation, leaving the further development to the guidance of the Spirit whom

he had promised to his Church. But the subjects of his praying may be deduced from the situation.

His prayers on this occasion are analagous to those which the Lord offered every time that he provided food for others, or took a meal himself; as, for instance, when he fed the multitudes in the wilderness, when he presented the Passover chalice to the twelve, (Luke 22 : 17), and when he sat at meat with the disciples of Emmaus, (Luke 24 : 30). The food is offered unto God with thanks and praise, and with the acknowledgment that he is the giver of every good gift; then it is taken back from his gracious hands, to be a legitimate and blessed nourishment for men, (1 Cor. 10 : 30). It seems natural that the Lord, having taken bread and wine for his Holy Supper, would begin his prayers in a similar manner. The same verbs are employed as in those instances, *ευχαριστεῖν* and *ευλογεῖν*, being promiscuously used as synonyms, in the accounts of the evangelists and St. Paul. Thus the Lord may have offered thanks and praise for bread and wine, as the first-fruits of God's creatures, and the representatives of all his copious and bounteous provisions for human existence. And as he connected his new institution with the Israelitic Passover, he possibly made use of the prayers customary at the latter service and familiar to his disciples, and probably employed language similar to that of the later Rabbinical rite, viz: "Blessed be Thou, Lord our God, King of the world, who bringest forth food out of the earth;" "Blessed be Thou * * who hast created the fruit of the vine." Moreover, as the Lord took the elements from the Passover bread and wine which were sacrificial bread and sacrificial wine, equivalent to the O. T. meat offering, symbolizing the self-surrender and self-sacrifice of men unto God, he took, in and with those symbols, from his people their whole lives, offered them unto God, and took them back from him, in order that they might be blessed and sanctified. On this wise, there was opened a wide field of subjects for the prayers offered over bread and wine.

The Lord could not dwell merely upon the sphere of creatural gifts and natural lives, when about to provide living bread and spiritual drink (John 6 : 51 ; 1 Cor. 10 : 4). Nor could he remain any longer within the scope of the O. T. economy at the

moment he was engaged in founding a new covenant. The disciples would hear him extend his prayers by thanking and praising his heavenly Father for the greater gifts of redemption, and for the new and wonderful dispensation to be established for the salvation of a lost race, having been prepared from the beginning of the world, typified throughout the O. T. with all its institutions, announced by the prophets, hoped for by the fathers, and now to be accomplished by the self-sacrifice, once and forever, of the true High-priest and Mediator.

Thus far the Lord had been acting in the name of his disciples, as the father of his household; but now he turns to act as Lord and Saviour, by blessing bread and wine and distributing the blessed gifts. His procedure thus far was a sacrifice, offered by men unto God; but now it is of the nature of a benefaction, granted by God unto men. The former was done through the Son of Man, the latter is done through the Son of God. The poor human offerings, presented to God, having been filled with heavenly treasures, come back as rich divine gifts, offered to men. One side characterizes the act as a Eucharist, the other as a Sacrament.

What now is the significance of the *blessing* pronounced over the elements? The Lord had been wont to bless even ordinary food, the act of blessing being mostly involved in the prayer of thanksgiving (Matt. 15 : 36; Mark 8 : 6; John 6 : 11), and praise, (Matt. 14 : 19; Mark 6 : 41). In Luke 24 : 30 the verb *εὐλόγησε* may stand absolute (as it does 1 Cor. 14 : 16) and be equivalent to "He said a prayer of praise or blessing" which was naturally directed to God, and implied a reference to the bread; or the object *τὸν ἄρτον* may be connected both with *λαβὼν* and *εὐλόγησε*, as in the English version which reads, "He took bread and blessed it." The art of blessing is clearly stated Luke 9 : 16: "Then he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven he blessed *them*" (*εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς*); likewise Mark 8 : 7: "having blessed them," sc. the small fishes (*ευλογήσας αὐτά* after Tischendorf). Thus the verb *εὐλογεῖν* appears as a transitive verb, signifying an act of blessing or benediction. It must not lose, indeed, its import as denoting a prayer, but with the modification that this prayer is

at once applied to, and aimed at, a certain visible object which is thereby blessed. And in such a transitive meaning, properly "to speak well of," *i. e.* to bless, it occurs very often, having human persons as its object, *e. g.* Matth. 5 : 44; Mark 10 : 16; Luke 2 : 34; 24 : 50, etc.

If the Lord deemed it requisite to bless bread and fish, before they could be lawfully taken as gifts of God, he certainly and necessarily blessed the elements of the Holy Supper, before they could become specific gifts which he intended to bestow upon his disciples. According to Matthew and Mark he offered over the bread a prayer of praise (*ευλογήσας*) and over the cup a prayer of thanksgiving (*ευχαριστήσας*). According to Luke and Paul he gave thanks over the bread, and likewise over the cup. In Matth. 26 : 26 and Mark 14 : 22 the object *ἄρτον* may again belong both to *λαβών* and *ευλογήσας*; if not, the act of blessing is involved in the prayer of praise, as it is in the prayer of thanksgiving. And what the Lord blesses, *is* blessed. His blessing is not a vague dedication, but has a distinct import. His blessing is not merely ceremonial, nor even declarative, but communicative, imparting, creative. He blessed bread and wine to constitute them natural vehicles of supernatural gifts, earthly vessels of heavenly food, integuments to the very nucleus of the treasures of redemption, namely to the flesh and blood of the Son of Man, given for the life of the world.

In what language the Lord performed this act is a matter of inference. He may have called upon his Father to impart to the visible elements their invisible contents, appealing to his almighty power who is the Sovereign of either kingdom, of nature and of grace. He may have prayed for the descent of the Holy Ghost and his creative operation, that he might vivify these lifeless creatures, to be the living bread and drink and to give life to their partakers. He may have pronounced, in virtue of his own sovereignty, a benediction over the elements by which he caused them to be his body and blood, as he doubtless had the power in his life-time to devise his legacy just as he had power to lay down his life and to take it again. The analogy of Luke 9 : 16 where the Lord blessed bread and fish when looking up to heaven, *i. e.* when praying, or by praying;

the fact that in the accounts both of ordinary meals and of the Holy Supper the verbs *ευχαριστεῖν* and *ευλογεῖν* are exchanged; together with the grammatical observation that the latter verb stands sometimes absolute, sometimes with an object, while the former is merely an intransitive verb: are inductive to the conclusion that the Lord performed the act of blessing during or by a prayer of thanksgiving or praise, the latter however embracing special contents, and a special application to the objects which were intended to be blessed, and whose benediction was, by virtue of this, really accomplished. And this act of thanking, praising, blessing was twice performed, first over the bread and then over the cup. So these prayers of the Lord may have been of some length, as is his high-priestly prayer, John 17.

Thereupon the disciples took from the Lord's holy hands the blessed elements, the bread broken, the cup divided among them, they ate and drank the same, according to his direction, and heard his distinct declaration *what it was* which they received in, with, and under these visible symbols, and what benefit it conveyed to them; together with his final injunction, they should do this thereafter in remembrance of him.

This institution furnishes the *typical example* which every Christian Communion liturgy should follow. Its constituent parts are these: taking bread and wine for sacramental use; prayer of thanksgiving over bread and wine, praising on the one hand the gifts both of creation and of redemption, and leading up on the other, to a prayer of blessing over the elements; distribution of the latter, with the declaration that this bread is the body, and this cup the blood of Christ; commemoration of the Lord, either implied in the participation, or expressly pronounced.

The *Lord's Prayer*, as we see, is not included in the essential elements which are ordained by the primitive institution. Should it at any stage of the subsequent development appear in the Eucharistic service, this connection would be a product of the free working of the Spirit who is given to the Church. And should it afterward maintain a constant use and position in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, it would be justly viewed as

one of the constituent parts of the traditional and Ecumenical Communion liturgy of the Christian Church.

The first account of the *worship of the Apostolic Church* occurs in Acts 2 : 46. Public and daily prayer meetings were held in the temple; close meetings took place in private houses, probably on Sundays, with full service. The order of the latter seems to be outlined in v. 42, and presents, when completed from the apostolic writings, a picture of a rich religious life in the earliest Church. "*The apostles' doctrine*" may denote the homiletic or didactic part, consisting in lections from the Scriptures, at first from the O. T. as in the synagogue (Acts 13 : 15 ; 15 ; 21), afterwards also from the Apostolic Epistles (Col. 4 : 16; 1 Thess. 5 : 27). These lections were surrounded by, and interspersed with prayers, to which the congregation responded with Amen (1 Cor. 14 : 13, 17), psalms, hymns and spiritual songs (1 Cor. 14 : 15 ; Col. 3 : 16), and followed by an explanatory and practical discourse or sermon (Acts 5 : 42 ; 20 : 7 sq.; 1 Tim. 4 : 13), or more than one, but not more than three (1 Cor. 14 : 27, 29), held by an apostle or presbyter, and also, if there were any, by such male members of the Church as were gifted with the charism of interpretation (1 Cor. 14 : 26). "*Fellowship*" (*κοινωνία*) means the close Christian association and mutual communion, private and public, in the divine service embodied in offering up common sacrifices to God, viz., the fruit of the lips and works of charity (Hebr. 13 : 15, 16). So this part may have embraced the general prayer or intercession (1 Tim. 2 : 1, 4) to be said with hands lifted up (v. 8), the men being uncovered, the women veiled (1 Cor. 11 : 4 sq.), maybe in connection with the holy kiss, before or after prayer (1 Thess. 5 : 26; 1 Pet. 5 : 14). This part naturally included also the presenting of oblations or voluntary contributions, laid at the apostles' feet (Acts 4 : 35, 37), and designated for the relief of the poor (Acts 4 : 34, 37 ; 5 : 1 sq.), for the support of the Church at home (Gal. 6 : 6; 1 Tim. 5 : 18) and abroad (Acts 11 : 29, 30; 24 : 17; Rom. 15 : 25sq.; 1 Cor. 16 : 1 sq.; 2 Cor. 8 : 9), for donations to traveling apostles (Phil. 4 : 16), and for furnishing the provisions to the common meal which followed (Acts 2 : 47 ; 6 : 2). This meal was in one respect an ordinary supper, in an-

other it was also a religious service, partaken with praise to God and with gladness and singleness of heart (Acts 2 : 46, 47), but subsequently corrupted by abuses (1 Cor. 11 : 22, 33, 34), and modified into the feasts of love (*αγάπαι*, 2 Pet. 2 : 13; Jude 12) which were separated from the Lord's Supper, in the second century, and gradually fell into disuse in the fourth century. "*Breaking bread*" is the term for the Lord's Supper in connection with the foregoing common meal (Acts 20 : 7), called also *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* (1 Cor. 11 : 20), while the prayers which conclude the enumeration seem to be meant as concomitant to the other parts of service. We compile what in the apostolic writings is found on the communion order.

The *eucharistic prayers* over bread and wine are not mentioned. But when the apostles, in a spirit of filial faithfulness, imitated the Lord's institution even in accessory circumstances, by subjoining the Lord's Supper to an ordinary supper, though spiritually characterized, and by taking the communion elements from the provisions present on the table, as the Lord had done, they were surely the more scrupulous in observing the rite of the institution itself. Those prayers might be embraced in the *ευλογεῖν* and *ευχαριστεῖν* of 1 Cor. 14 : 16, 17. When the Corinthians placed so great a value on the speaking with tongues, they might find in the communion prayers the most desirable field for exhibiting this charism. But the tenor of the passage cited points more to the homiletic part of service.

The *consecration act* in which the eucharistic prayers reached their culminating point, is clearly stated in 1 Cor. 10 : 16. According to his special scope in this passage, the apostle speaks only of the benediction of the cup, calling the latter "the cup of blessing which we bless" (*τὸ ποτήριον τῆς ευλογίας ὃ ευλογοῦμεν*). But he manifestly emphasizes this act of blessing, as the medium through which the sacramental contents were imparted to the cup, and thus the communion with, or participation in, the blood of Christ was effectuated into which the communicants enter when drinking of this cup.

In reforming the communion order of the Corinthian church, St. Paul quotes *the Words of Institution*, 1 Cor. 11 : 23–25.

They were familiar to the Corinthians, for the apostle had delivered and taught them (v. 23), even in the original words at the establishment of the Corinthian church. But he solemnly repeats those words, trusting that their mere emphatic recital would induce the Corinthians to abolish their abuses. Now the text of these words was not a mere matter of historical knowledge, but necessary to each church for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The eucharistic prayers were not formulated, but the Words of Institution were, forming thus an indispensable part of the communion act on which its lawful performance eminently depended. The stage of the service in which they were employed depends upon the altered situation in which each church found itself, in comparison with the disciples at the first Supper. For along with the real identity of each repeated Supper with its original, there is a difference. In the first Supper the Lord was visibly present; in each repetition he is invisibly present, acting through human instrumentalities. So minister and people must go back each time to the source from which this stream of blessing has sprung; they must anew place themselves on the ground on which this sacrament is based, by laying hold on the words of institution, clinging to the same, bringing them before the Lord as his own words, or holding them up to the ears of the Father, in order that he may recognize them as his own Son's words, and do the same which he did in the first Supper, by causing this repeated Supper to be a legitimate sacrament. So the words have their place in the consecration act.

To the commandment of the Lord, "*This do in remembrance of me*," the apostle adds an explanation, 1 Cor. 11 : 26: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye proclaim—or proclaim ye—the Lord's death till He come." If the verb "proclaim" (*καταγγέλετε*) is the indicative mood, the apostle says that the participation in the Lord's Supper involves an actual proclamation of his death, and this consideration ought to lead the Corinthians to a more decent communion order. If the verb is the imperative mood, as the later liturgies understood it, and as Luther translated it in the German version, then the apostle ordains an explicit commemoration and proclamation of the Lord's death, as a preventive against any further disorder or

indecorum. This act may be included in the prayer of thanksgiving which recounts the work of redemption, or finds its place immediately after the words of institution, as intimated by St. Paul's language.

Altogether, there is left *between consecration and distribution*, a space for prayers and acts preparatory to the reception as called for by the wants of the Christian mind, and suggested by scriptural passages. From 1 Cor. 10 : 17, "We being many, are one bread and one body," a common congregational prayer of intercessions which appears at this place in the later liturgies, seems to have derived its legitimation. The injunction, 1 Cor. 11 : 28, 29, "Let a man examine himself, etc.," justly occasioned prayers for worthy access to the Lord's Table, in various forms. Matt. 7 : 6, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, etc" gave rise to the exclamation "Holy things to holy persons!" (*Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, Sancta Sanctis).

The *distribution act* is self-evident, and the breaking of the sacramental bread imparted its name to the whole of the service. From 1 Cor. 11 : 18, 20; 14 : 23, we learn that the congregation as a whole assembled at these meetings; from Acts 20 : 7 that they took place on Sundays, at the least in churches gathered from the heathen; and from v. 11 that St. Paul, before distributing, took the blessed elements himself. Prayers and hymns of thanksgiving after communion commended themselves, having, moreover, their precedence in the psalmody by which Christ with his disciples concluded the N. T. Passover.

As for the use and place of the "Our Father" in the eucharistic service, our statements and disquisitions, as given thus far, cannot present a positive proof, indeed, but may furnish, at least, a negative result, showing what could *not* be the suitable place of this prayer.

It cannot stand for the prayer of thanksgiving for the benefits of creation. That is clear. It cannot take the place of the prayer of thangsgiving for the deeds and gifts of redemption; nor can it hold good as a prayer of benediction and exercise a consecratory efficacy. That is indisputable. And there is no reason why the apostles should have substituted another prayer, sacred as it ever may be, for prayers of specific contents, or-

dained by the precedence of the Lord himself. Nor can the Lord's Prayer be inserted into these eucharistic prayers, because they form one coherent series which would be badly interrupted by a prayer of a quite different character. The apostles at all events did not hold the Lord's Prayer as covering the whole ground of praying, so as to be applicable to every want and every occasion whatever; they knew how to distinguish between different kinds of prayers, as is manifest from 1 Cor. 14 : 15–17 (*προσεύχεσθαι, ψάλλειν, ευλογεῖν, ευχαριστεῖν*) and 1 Tim. 2 : 1 (*δεήσεις, προσευχαί ἐντευξεις, ευχαριστιαι*), and other passages. Now, the "Our Father" is neither an *ευχαριστία* nor an *ευλογία*, but a *προσευχη*, a general prayer of supplication, consisting, apart from the address, of seven petitions. And when the Lord gave his disciples this prayer, he did so, not upon their request, "Lord, teach us to give thanks, to praise, to bless, to consecrate," but *Κυριε δίδαξον ἡμᾶς προσευχεσθαι;* and he said unto them, *Ὅταν προσευχησθε, λέγετε κ. τ. λ.* (Luke 11 : 1, 2). This prayer must, therefore, if used in the communion service, have occupied a different position.

The writings of the

SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE

furnish not many, but some valuable contributions to the communion liturgy, proving the continuance of the apostolic practice, and adding a few complements. But the Lord's Prayer, as employed in the eucharistic service, is not mentioned. One thing, however, is apparent, viz, that the eucharistic prayers over bread and wine, including the consecration, were deemed prominent enough to impart the name "Eucharist" to the whole of the service, and even to the blessed elements and their supernatural contents. So in the Epistles of *Ignatius* who says, Epist. ad Smyrn. ch. 7, "They (heretics) abstain from the Eucharist and prayer, because of their not confessing the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ;" cp. 8, "That should be estimated a valid Eucharist which is administered by a bishop, or by one commissioned by the same;" Ep. ad Philad. cp. 4, "Take care to use one Eucharist" (*i. e.* conformed, legitimate). The same terminology is found in the "*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*," assigned by critics to this age. From the lat-

ter document we may also learn what were about the contents of the prayers offered over bread and wine. The formulas, given in chap. 9, are no full and rounded eucharistic prayers, but brief portions of the same, containing the most current thoughts, which had gradually assumed a stated shape. They are recommended to those who want or need examples and presented as models by which traveling ministers should be tested, while to "prophets" full liberty of praying is conceded. The same is the case with the series of short post-communion prayers, laid down in chap. 10. But here the concluding words, "If any one is holy, let him come," etc., are disturbing. We shall come back to this subject when speaking of the apostolic constitutions. The Lord's prayer appears in chap. 8, but aside from the holy communion, and concluded with a doxology which is connected with nearly every other prayer, in the same or a similar language: "for thine is the power, and the glory, forever."

JUSTIN MARTYR

is the first of the fathers who gives in his writings, principally in chapters 65–67 of his larger apology, written A. D. 138 or 139, a detailed account from which a clear idea of the eucharistic service, as practised in his times, may be formed.

The eucharistic prayers are again specially marked by their eminent significance. Being preceded by the general prayer, the kiss of peace, and the oblation, they constitute a coherent act, but they are divided into three consecutive parts. When the "president of the brethren" had taken, from the oblation, bread, and a cup of wine mixed with water, he, 1, offered praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, for the creation of the world and of all things that are in it; for the creation of man, for all the creatures made for the sake of the human race, for bread and wine as the representatives of solid and liquid food, for all the divine provisions by which human welfare is promoted. Then followed, 2, the "Thanksgiving" proper, recounting the work of redemption, and praising God "for his having counted us worthy of all these things"—more explicitly: for having delivered us from sin into which we had fallen; for having over-

come the fiendish powers and dominions through Jesus Christ; for his son's incarnation, voluntary sufferings under Pontius Pilate, his blood and death; for the incorruptibility of which we are made partakers through faith. This thanksgiving led over to, 3, the prayer of consecration, actually consisting in the words of institution, the latter, however, not being historically recited, but "prayed," pronounced by way of praying, included in a prayer.

The first of these three prayers is called *ευχαί* because of its general contents; the second *ευχαριστίαι*, as more closely bearing upon the action present. The plural in both cases seems to be indicative of a series of brief portions, strung together in one line, as it was in the "teachings." Of the consecration act Justin speaks in the following passage, Apol. 1, cp. 66: "This food is called with us 'the Eucharist,' of which nobody else is permitted to partake but he who believes in the truth of our teachings, and has been washed with the bath for remission of sins and unto regeneration, and lives according to the doctrine of Christ. For we do not take those things as ordinary bread, nor as an ordinary cup; but like as our Saviour Jesus Christ, being made flesh *by the word of God* assumed both flesh and blood for our salvation: so, as we have been taught, the food, consecrated *through a word of prayer which comes from him* *τὴν δι' ευχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αυτοῦ ευχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφην* * * is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who became flesh. *For* the apostles, in the records written by the same, which are called gospels, have delivered unto us that this mandate had been given unto them: (namely) that Jesus, having taken bread and given thanks, had said, 'This do in remembrance of me, this is my body;' and that he, having likewise taken the cup and given thanks, had said, 'This is my blood,' and that he had distributed it unto them alone."

Justin parallelizes the incarnation of the Son of God and the sacramental mystery. Either one is effectuated by the word of God. *Which* word of God makes the elements a sacrament, is clear from the sentence which is connected by the epexegetic *for* (*γαρ*) and which quotes the words of institution. The latter, however, do not serve, in the consecration, as a magic formula,

but are "prayed," brought before the Lord, with an appeal to his mandate "This do in remembrance of me," and with a trust in his sovereign declaration "This is my body, this is my blood." The mandate imposes the duty and gives the right of doing so; the declaration, when pronounced in the consecration act and held up to the Lord, is both a promissory and a creative word which the Lord must acknowledge on the ground of his veracity. As Justin, in the tenor of his representation, aims at pointing out first the mandatory word, he inverts the order of the words spoken by the Lord.

The term *ευχαριστεῖν* appears, in the ecclesiastical language of Justin's times, as changed into a transitive verb. *Ἡ τροφὴ ευχαριστηθεῖσα*, or *ὁ ευχαριστηθεὶς ἄρτος και οἶνος* means bread and wine, sanctified, blessed, consecrated in a prayer of thanksgiving. And when he more exactly explains that the blessing was mediated by praying a word of the Lord's, it follows that the words of institution were framed into a prayer of thanksgiving, and thus the consecration act formed a coherent structure together with the eucharistic prayers.

These prayers were "sent up" by the president freely and extensively (*ἐπὶ πολύ*), so far as he was able (*ὅση δυναμις αυτῷ*) and confirmed by the amen of the people. Thereupon the deacons distributed the blessed elements to all present, and carried them to the houses of those who were absent.

Justin's report regards the church of Asia Minor where he was converted, as well as that of Rome where he lived and died. Besides, he asserts that in every nation on the face of the earth such prayers and thanksgivings were offered, by the N. T. people of God, to the Father and Maker of all things, through the name of Jesus the crucified (Dial. c. Tryph. cp. 117).

The use of the *Lord's Prayer* in the eucharistic service is not mentioned by Justin Martyr.

IRENAEUS

agrees with Justin, and reports some new features which appear in the communion liturgy.

The *general eucharistic prayer* gives thanks to the master-builder of the world for the benefits of creation, especially for

"premices of his creatures," and "for his having ordered the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment." The *special eucharistic prayer* is a commemoration of Christ and his work, passing, in its further course, to the *words of institution.* And "when the mixed cup and the creatural bread receive (*ἐπιδέχεσθαι*) the word of God, they become the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ." This consecration act is accomplished by an *invocation of the Holy Ghost*, "that he *αποφηνῇ*—that he may show forth, uncover, bring to light, exhibit, verify, identify—this sacrifice and the bread as the body of Christ, and the cup as the blood of Christ, in order that the partakers of these antitypes may obtain forgiveness of sins and life everlasting."

Irenaeus' statements testify to the communion practice both of Asia Minor, his native country, and of the church of Southern France where he was bishop of Lyons, from A. D. 177 to 202. In addition to this, he affirms the unity, in faith and tradition, of the church universal, enumerating nearly all its branches, in existence at that time: "in Germany" (*ἐν Γερμανίαις*, the Roman provinces on the upper and lower Rhine), in the three districts of Gaul (*ἐν Κελτοῖς*), in Spain (*ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις*), the Eastern countries (Asia Minor), Egypt, Libya, and Palestine (Adv. haer. I, 10, §2).

Thus we may say that in the Communion prayers of Justin and Irenaeus we hear the unanimous voice of the ancient Church. And this unanimity points back to a common source. The individual churches could not have gotten this sacred tradition but from their teachers and founders: the churches of Jerusalem and Palestine from St. James; those of Asia Minor from St. Paul their founder, and St. John their fosterer; those of Greece and Macedonia from St. Paul; Spain probably from the same; Egypt, as tradition runs, from St. Mark who is said to have founded the church of Alexandria. The church of Gaul was a daughter of that of Asia Minor (probably that of Ephesus). Into Germany Christianity came either from Gaul, or through Christian soldiers from Rome. Irenaeus was a disciple of Polycarp, the latter was a disciple of St. John. Justin Martyr, a native of Samaria, having traveled in Egypt and Asia Minor,

found, when coming to Rome, the same practice in that prominent church which might trace back its origin to a portion of the three thousand who were baptized on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2 : 10). All these churches had agreement in doctrine, practice, worship. Their communion liturgy is harmonious, not in its wording, but in the substance and succession of its parts, sometimes even in details. The ancient fathers persistently claim that their mode of holding communion depends on Apostolic tradition (παράδοσις in the sense of 1 Cor. 9 : 2; 2 Thess. 2 : 15; 3 : 6). This claim cannot be justly called in question. *So we may fairly venture to say, that in the Eucharistic service of Justin and Irenaeus, representatives of the church in her primitive simplicity and purity, we hear the voice of the Apostles; and the Apostles practiced what they had seen and heard the Lord himself doing.

The *Lord's Prayer*, as part of the communion service, is not mentioned by Irenaeus.

TERTULLIAN

in whom we meet, for the first time, the representative of a Latin church, is much restrained by the "Disciplina arcani," in his fragmentary remarks on liturgical topics, but he clearly mentions a prayer of thanksgiving offered over the elements, terminating with a reference to the Angels with whom the church unites in praise, and culminating in the Triumphal hymn, the Ter-Sanctus. He also hints at the "Sancta Sanctis," and is the first to speak of the use of the *Lord's Prayer*. We give a few quotations.

De Orat. cp. 27, 28: "Nos sumus veri adoratores et veri sacerdotes, qui spiritu orantes spiritu sacrificamus orationem Dei propriam et acceptabilem, quam scilicet requisivit, quam sibi prospexit. Hanc de toto corde devotam agape coronatam cum pompa bonorum operum, inter psalmos et hymnos, *deducere ad Dei altare* debemus, omnia nobis a Deo impetraturam."

De Orat. cp. 9, 10: "Ab ipso igitur ordinata religio orationis

*Their Communion liturgy is perfectly adaptable to the sketch outlined in the N. T.

et de spiritu ipsius jam tunc, cum ex ore divino ferretur, animata, suo privilegio ascendit ad coelum, commendans Patri quae Filius docuit. Quoniam tamen Dominus, prospector humanarum necessitatum, sursum post traditam orandi disciplinam 'Petite' inquit 'et accipietis,' et sunt quae petantur pro circumstantia cujusque, praemissa legitima et ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones : cum memoria tamen praeceptorum, ne, quantum a praeceptis, tantum ab auribus Dei longe absimus. Memoria praeceptorum viam orationibus sternit ad coelum, quorum praecipuum est, *ne prius ascendamus ad Dei altare*, quam, si quid discordiae cum fratribus contraxerimus, resolvamus. Quid est enim *ad pacem Dei accedere* sine pace? ad remissionem delictorum cum retentione?"

De Grat. cp. 14: "Jejunantes habita oratione (sc. Dominica) cum fratribus subtrahunt osculum pacis, quod est signaculum orationis" (viz. of its fifth petition) * * "Quale sacrificium est, a quo sine pace receditur? quae oratio cum divortio pacis integra?"

De Orat. cp. 6: "Christus enim panis noster est, quia vita Christus est et vitae panis * * Tum quod et corpus ejus in pane censetur: 'Hoc est corpus meum.' "

We, gather from these passages, 1, that Tertullian placed the Lord's Prayer in close connexion with the communion, referring the fourth petition to the sacramental bread, and regarding this prayer as part of the sacrificial act which he saw in the consecration and its accompanying prayers; 2, that the Lord's Prayer, as it seems, was prefaced by a recollection of the Lord's mandate (Luke 11 : 2, 9), and by an appeal to the right of addressing the Father, as granted to God's children; 3, that the Lord's Prayer was probably followed by other prayers, based on the same, perhaps resuming and expanding some of its petitions, and including a prayer for worthy access to the Lord's table; 4. that after the Lord's Prayer (and its additions) the kiss of peace was given—the stage of this being different from that of the Greek churches—, and that in this way *the communicants were prepared*, in their inward attitude both towards the Lord and the brethern, *for the approach to the altar*.

The Lord's prayer was offered with arms lifted up and expanded, and concluded with the seventh petition, without a doxology.

CYPRIAN

harmonizes with Tertullian, and names a novel liturgical part, viz. the "Sursum corda" and "Habemus ad Dominum," introducing the term "Preface" for these responsive Versicles which were prefixed to the eucharistic prayers, and explaining their significance as follows (De Orat. Dom. cp. 31): "Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem praefatione praemissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo 'Sursum corda,' ut dum respondet plebs 'Habemus ad Dominum' admoneatur, nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere." In other passages he emphasizes the commemoration of the Lord's Passion, enacted in each "sacrifice;" enjoins the strict conformity to be observed between each repetition of the Lord's Supper and its first institution; alludes to the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and sees, like the "Teaching" chap. IX, in the sacramental bread, gathered and joined together from many grains, a similitude of the church, as also in the wine prepared from many clusters and grapes (Epist. 76, Paris Edit., 1632; Epist. 69, Goldhorn's Ed. 1838). In his excellent interpretation of the *Lord's Prayer* he affirms the use of the latter in the celebration of the "divine sacrifices" (De Or. Dom. cp. 4), and, if he is wont to write logically, as he apparently is, marks, in another passage, also the place of this prayer, viz. after the "sacrifice" (Consecration), when saying of a fallen bishop, "Quomodo putat manum suam transferri posse ad *Dei sacrificium et precem Domini*, "quae captiva fuerit sacrilegis et crimini?" (Ep. 64 Paris Ed., 65 Goldhorn's Ed.) Besides, he hints at the mode in which the Lord's prayer was said, viz. by priest and people, when arguing from the plural forms, used throughout the prayer, and writing, "Publica est nobis et communis oratio" (De Or. Dom. cp. 8). As for the rest, he agrees with Tertullian in the mystical interpretation of the fourth petition, and in the conclusion of the prayer with the seventh petition.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AND ORIGEN

present sporadically some valuable information on the form of the Eucharistic service, as practised in their times and localities,

testifying to an essential harmony with the usages found thus far. Origen whose statements point to Alexandria as well as to Antioch and Caesarea where he lived most of his time, alludes e. g. to the well known contents of the first eucharistic prayer ("Father of the Universe"—"through the name of Son and of the Holy Ghost"—"premices of His creatures"), and to the commemoration of Christ which included the Verba, as also to the Sancta Sanctis; but does not say anything about the use of the *Lord's Prayer* in the communion liturgy.

THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS

exhibit a rich liturgical material. Being generally recognized as containing many old portions, pointing back to an Ante-Nicene and Ante-Constantinian period, modern criticism assigns their compilation and final redaction to the time of the Arian heresy.

The second book presents, chap. 57 §§5–9 (Ueltzen's Edition) the order for the Mass of Catechumens, in §§10–14 that for the Mass of the Faithful. In the latter part, when the Kiss of peace and the general prayer in its main contents have been mentioned, together with the Mosaic Benediction—the latter, as it seems, occupying the place of the Apostolic greeting before the "Sursum corda," as it will be found in the eighth book—: the central portion, the eucharistic and consecratory act, is passed over with a brief direction, owing to the restrictions imposed by the "Disciplina arcani." In chap. 9 §2 the whole of the service is briefly sketched as consisting of "lections from the prophets, preaching from the Gospels, offering up the sacrifice (*θυσίας ἀναφορα*), and presenting the sacred food."

The seventh book, estimated to be the oldest portion of the work, gives in chap. 25 and 26 two dismembered communion prayers in which those of the "Teaching," chaps. IX and X, reappear expanded and remodeled. In the first prayer, the inverted order of the cup and the bread is set right. The mystical "vine of David" is replaced by "the life which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus thy servant." The doxological conclusions of each paragraph are omitted and restricted to the last one, so as to round off the loosely aggregated portions to one

coherent prayer. In a similar way the post-communion prayer has been worked over. The admonitory passage of the "Teaching," "If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not, let him repent" which is no prayer, but a warning, reminding of the Sancta Sanctis before the Distribution, has been placed outside of the text of the prayer, as a direction corresponding to the prescriptions by which each of the neighboring chapters is concluded. But even in this new edition, they are no regular and liturgical communion prayers, but present the most usual subject of the same, serving thus as auxiliaries to clergymen officiating. In chap. 24 the *Lord's Prayer* is given, but not in connexion with the eucharistic service. It is ordered to be prayed thrice a day, as in the "Teaching," and concluded with a short formula of praise, in the rite of baptism (book III. cp. 18) with the full doxology.

The eighth book presents from ch. 5 §5 to ch. 15 §4 that celebrated and elaborate liturgy in which all the scattered germs, found with the ancient fathers, have reached a full and systematic development.

The Mass of the Faithful begins with general prayers, Kiss of peace and Offertory, whereupon the Anaphora follows:

1. a, *Apostolic benediction* from 1 Cor. 13 : 14, arranged in the usual trinitarian order, and followed by the response "and with thy spirit."

b, "*Lift up your hearts*"—"Let us give thanks unto the Lord," with their responses.

2. *General eucharistic prayer* ("Verily it is meet and right above all highly to praise thee, the infinite God, who art before the things that have been made, from whom every family in heaven and on earth is named, etc.") detailing at length the grounds of thankfulness to God, for all his dealings with the human race in creation and preservation, and for his wonderful guidance of the Israelitic people throughout the O. T. economy; then leading up in copious and magnificent language to the incessant adoration of the innumerable heavenly host, angels and archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, the highest representatives of creation, and culminating in the

3. *Ter-Sanctus* from Isaiah 6 : 3, with the addition "Blessed (be he) forever."

4. *Special eucharistic prayer*, resuming first the Sanctus ("Verily thou art holy and most holy, the most high and exalted forever; but holy is also thine only begotten Son, etc."), and then going through the scheme and work of redemption, as prepared in the O. T., and executed by the Son's incarnation, work, sufferings under Pontius Pilate, death resurrection, ascension, and session at the right hand of God his Father. At this point, a transition is made to the

5. *Words of institution*, as follows: "Mindful, therefore, of what he hath suffered for our sake, we thank thee, almighty God, not so much as we ought to do, but as much as we are able to, and fulfil his ordinance (*διάταξις*). *For in the night when he was betrayed*, he took bread in his holy and spotless hands, and having looked up unto thee, his God and Father, he brake it, etc." With the last words of the institution, "Do ye this in remembrance of me," the apostolic injunction "for as often as ye eat of this bread . * * proclaim ye (A. V. "ye proclaim") the Lord's death till he come," is closely connected and put into the mouth of the Lord himself: "proclaim ye my death till I come." Thereupon follow immediately in unbroken sequence,

6. a, the *commemoration;* b, the *oblation*, and c, the *invocation* of the Holy Ghost:

a. *Remembering*, therefore, *his passion and death*, and resurrection from the dead, and ascension into heaven, and his future second appearance, when he shall come with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his deeds.

b. *We offer* (*προσφέρομεν*) *unto thee*, king and God, according to his ordinance, *this bread and this cup*, giving thanks unto thee through him for having counted us worthy to stand in thy presence, and to render priestly services unto thee (*ἱερατεύειν σοι*). And we beseech thee kindly to look upon these offerings (*δῶρα*), placed before thee, O God who needest nothing, and to be pleased with them in honor of thy Christ.

c. And *to send down upon this sacrifice* (*θυσία*) *thy Holy*

Ghost, the witness of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, that he may exhibit (ἀποφαίνειν) this bread as the body of thy Christ, and this cup as the blood of thy Christ, in order that those who partake of the same may be strengthened unto godliness, obtain forgiveness of sins, be delivered from the Devil and his wiles, be filled with the Holy Ghost, become worthy of thy Christ, and obtain life everlasting, since thou art reconciled to them, Sovereign omnipotent."

7. *Great intercession* ("Moreover, we pray thee, Lord, for thy holy Church, etc").

8. *Prayer for worthy reception:* "O God, great and of a great name, great in counsel and mighty in work, God and Father of thine holy child Jesus our Saviour, look upon us and upon this flock of thine which thou hast elected through him, to the glory of thy name. Sanctify our bodies and souls, and count us worthy that we, cleansed from all defilement of flesh and spirit, may obtain the good things before us. And judge none of us unworthy, but be our helper, assistant, and protector through thy Christ, to whom be glory, honor, praise, blessing and thanksgiving with thee, and with the Holy Ghost, forever. Amen."

9. *Sancta Sanctis*, with the response of the people "One (is) holy, one (is the) Lord, one Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father blessed forever. Amen. Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. Hosanna to the son of David. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: God the Lord, and he hath appeared unto us (Ps. 118 : 27, Septuagint). Hosanna in the highest."

10. *Sumption and Distribution*, the latter with the declaration "The body of Christ," "The blood of Christ, the cup of life," in either case affirmed by the Amen of each communicant. During Communion, singing of Ps. 34.

11. *Thanksgiving after Reception.*

12. *Prayer of Benediction* over the people.

13. *Dismissal* (Απολύεσθε ἐν ἐιρήνῃ).

This liturgy is generally known as the "Clementine," a name used by writers without prejudice as to its historical value. The ecclesiastical province to which this remarkable document might be ascribed, is supposed by liturgiologists to be Syria

(Antioch). The absence of the *Lord's Prayer* from this detailed liturgy is a problem to experts, unsolved as yet.

THE OLDEST GALLICAN LITURGIES,

published from a Palimpsest MS. by F. J. Mone, Frankfort, 1850, seem to demand at least this early a place in our chronologic order, whatever exact date may be assigned to them. Belonging to the Rhone district where the flourishing Christian churches of Lugdunum and Vienna existed, as early as the second half of the second century, these western liturgies are interesting for their close affinity to eastern usages. They manifestly owe this tincture to the fact that those churches had been founded under the influence of Greek colonists who remained in active intercourse with Asia Minor, their native country, and were afterward built up by Irenaeus who immigrated with a fresh Greek colony. Some of these liturgies are placed by critics not later than the third century, and their oldest portions may reach back to the times of Irenaeus himself, yea to the persecution A. D. 177, as their editor tries to prove. They are written in a corrupted popular Latin, and are found in part but sketchy and fragmentary, yet they clearly present, when combined, the following order of communion service (the Latin quotations having been freed from their peculiarities in dialect):

1. *Oblations*, with accompanying prayers, and calling the names of the offerers.

2. *Kiss of peace*, with appropriate prayer.

3. ("Sursum corda etc." understood).

4. "*Contestatio*," Gallican term for prefatio, corresponding to, and often tallying with, the first eucharistic prayer of the Greek type, by praising at length the works of creation, preservation and moral guidance (a), sometimes generalized and shortened (b), in some cases also anticipating, less (c) or more (d), the contents of the second eucharistic prayer, and so preparing the variable prefaces of the western Church ; *e. g.* (examples given only for b, and d,).

b, "Dignum et justum est, aequum et justum est, ut te, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus, omnibus locis omnibusque

temporibus per omnia momenta veneremur, tibi supplices simus, tibi deferamus preces, te totis studiis et affectibus adoremus: Deus, qui ultra omnes virtutes, ultra omnes es potestates, Deus, universorum arbiter, judex secretorum: quem caeli et terra, quem angeli et archangeli, quem throni et dominationes, quem Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant dicentes:"

d. Dignum et justum est, nos tibi gratias agere, Domine Deus, per Christum Jesum Filium tuum, qui, cum Deus esset aeternus, homo fieri pro nostra salute dignatus est. O unice singulare et multiplex salvatoris nostri mysterium! Nam unus idemque et Deus summus et homo perfectus, et pontifex maximus et sacrificium sacratissimum, secundum divinam potentiam creavit omnia, secundum humanam conditionem liberavit hominem, secundum vim sacrificii expiavit commaculatos, secundum jus sacerdotii reconciliavit offensos. O unice redemptionis mysterium singulare, in quo vetusta illa vulnera nova Dominus medicina sanavit; et (postquam) primi hominis praejudicia salutaris nostri privilegia resciderunt, ille concupiscentiae exagitatus stimulis, hic obedientiae, confixus est clavis; ille ad arborem manus incontinenter extendit, iste ad crucem patienter aptavit; ille voluptatem illiciti gustus explevit, iste cruciatu indebiti doloris afflictus est. Ideo merito poena innocentiae facta est absolutio debitoris jure; etenim obnoxii dimittuntur debita, quae pro eis ille qui nihil habebat absolvit. Quod singulare mysterium non solum homines in terris, verum etiam angeli venerantur in caelis etc" (transition to the Sanctus).

5. *Sanctus.*

6. "*Post Sanctus,*" representing the second eucharistic prayer and preserving sometimes its ancient contents, by giving thanks for the work of Redemption (a); but, when the same have been anticipated in the first prayer, after a longer (b) or shorter (c) resumption of the Sanctus or Benedictus directly leading over to the Verba; *e. g.*

a. "Hic, inquam, Christus (est) et Deus noster, qui sponte mortalibus factus adsimilis, per omnem hunc aevi diem immaculatum tibi corpus ostendit, veterisque delicti idoneus expiator, sinceram inviolatamque peccatis exhibuit animam, * * (text

corrupted, meaning that he might wash out the contamination of our souls by his blood) abrogataque in ultimum lege moriendi, in caelum corpus perditum atque ad Patris dexteram relevaret: Qui pridie, etc."

b. "Deus, qui nos caelestium numquid (?) hymnum tibi vis offerre, sed mentem et sacram, angelorumque tam loca tenere quam carmina: da (nobis) qui supernarum virtutum concentum in tuam praedicationem sumimus, (ut) etiam superioris vitae affectum ex correctione sumamus, illa Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quae in memoriam passionis suae tradidit, verba dicturi:—c, Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Filius tuus, qui pridie, etc.

7. *Verba:* Qui pridie quam pateretur, etc.

8. *Post Mysterium*, containing the act of a, *Commemoration* (b, *Oblation* sometimes involved) and c, the *Invocation* of the Holy Ghost, *e. g.*

"Addidit etiam istud edictum, ut, quotiescunque corpus ipsius sumeretur et sanguis, (a) *commemoratio* fieret Dominicae passionis. Quod nos facientes, Jesu Christi, Filii tui, Domini ac Dei nostri, semper, gloriam praedicamus (et) rogamus, (b) uti *hoc sacrificium* tua benedictione benedicas (c) et *Sancti Spiritus rore perfundas*, ut accipientibus universis sit Eucharistia pura, vera, legitima, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum, Dominum ac Deum nostrum, qui vivit et regnat tecum, cum Spiritu Sancto, in aeterna saecula saeculorum. Amen."

9, a. *Ante Orationem Dominicam*, *e. g.*

"Indigni quidem sumus nomine filiorum, omnipotens Deus, sed juvante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Filio tuo, licet trepidantes, tamen obedientes humili mente oramus et dicimus:

b. *Pater noster.*

c. *Post Orationem Dominicam*, *e. g.*

"Libera, Domine, libera nos ab omni malo, et constitue nos in omni opere bono, qui vivis et regnas, etc.

10. (*Distribution* understood).

11. *Post Communionem*, *e. g.*

"Spirituali esca haustuque recreati, omnipotentem Deum Patrem debita gratiarum actione veneremur, per Dominum nostrum, etc.

12. *Collect.* 13. *Benediction.*

Having reached this point of the historical line we are following, we may justly be permitted to abridge the remaining testimonies. We have found now a standard eastern liturgy whose only deficiency, as to the Lord's Prayer, will be repaired very soon. We have seen how a western church preserves the general liturgical type, with modifications and variations in details. So, we believe, the eucharistic and consecration act to whose representation we have, for good reasons, attached so great an importance, from the beginning, has now clearly proved to be a compact structure; and it would be a mere repetition to state again and again the essence and nature of this act, and the sequence and coherence of its parts. We shall, therefore, be henceforth restricted to a mere statement of the place of the Lord's Prayer, keeping generally before us that liturgical section from the verba to the distribution.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

gives in the fifth of his "Catecheses mystagogicae," written A. D. 348 or 349 for candidates of baptism, instructions on the eucharistic service, exhibiting some fragments of the earliest liturgy on record of the mother Church of Jerusalem. In §11 of that "Catechesis," he places the *Lord's Prayer* before the distribution.

BASIL THE GREAT,

a prominent representative of the Church of Asia Minor, bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Cappadocia from A. D. 370 to 379, is reported to have been very active on the liturgical field, but furnishes in his writings no sufficient material for constructing a liturgy. His name appears, however, in the titles of several liturgies which have been in use for centuries, and in part have kept in use to the present time. When freed from ritual additions of an apparently later date, and compared in the parts which agree, they may justly claim to present Basil's own liturgy which was adopted, from the fifth century throughout the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Greece, Thracia, Pontus, Asia Minor) and also in other eastern churches. Three liturgies, called by

Basil's name, will be referred to below in a comparative table, and show the *Lord's Prayer* in some places between consecration and distribution.

CHRYSOSTOM'S

numerous writings, and the fact that the holy eucharist was a subject ever in the foreground of his thinking and teaching, admit of reconstructing a complete, and in many parts even detailed order of service. The latter is closely akin to the liturgy of the apostolic constitutions, and displays the liturgical practice of the church of Antioch where Chrysostom, since A. D. 381, was a deacon and a presbyter, and also of the church of Constantinople where he was bishop from A. D. 397 to 404. He places the *Lord's Prayer* in close connection with the participation in the holy communion, when he speaks (Hom. in Eutropium) of "touching the mysteries, and saying that prayer by which we are directed to pray, 'forgive us, as we forgive our debtors.' " And when he writes in another passage (In Genesim, Hom. xxvii), "If we successfully perform this, we shall be able to approach, with a pure conscience, this holy and awful table, and cheerfully to pronounce those words, embraced in the (Lord's) Prayer," he manifestly points to the use of this prayer on approaching the altar.

The liturgy of the present Greek church which bears Chrysostom's name has the Lord's Prayer in a similar place, viz., between the great intercession and the prayer of humble access, as will be seen from the table below.

AUGUSTINE

verifies the continuance, in the North African church, of the liturgical usages as reported by Tertullian and Cyprian, and says about the *Lord's Prayer*, Deinde *post sanctificationem sacrificii* Dei, *quia nos ipsos voluit esse sacrificium suum*, * * dicimus *orationem Dominicam*, quam accepistis et reddidistis. Post ipsam dicitur *Pax vobiscum*, et osculantur se christiani in osculo sancto." (Sermo in die Paschae.)

"Quam *totam* petitionem (series of prayers) fere omnis ecclesia *Dominica oratione concludit.*" (Epist. ad Paulin.)

By these uttrances, he clearly states the place of the Lord's Prayer, viz., after the consecration and its subsequent prayers, and before the communion. At the same time he gives, in agreement with Tertullian and Chrysostom, the reason for this position. It is a prayer, eminently adapted as preparatory to the reception, sanctifying not the elements, indeed, which have been sanctified, but the partakers. And when offering this prayer, the communicants offer themselves as a living sacrifice to the Lord, and present themselves to God as his children to whom are given the power and right of approaching his table.

In another passage of the same sermon Augustine characterizes the Lord's prayer as a prayer of absolution, in reference to its fifth petition. He says, "Quare (oratio Dominica) ante dicitur quam accipiatur corpus et sanguis Christi? Quia, sicut est humana fragilitas, si forte aliquid, quod non decebat, cogitatio nostra concepit; si aliquid lingua, quod non opportebat, effudit; si forte aliqua talia contracta sunt de hujus mundi tentatione: tergitur Dominica oratione, ubi dicitur 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' ut securi accedamus, ne, quod accipimus, in judicium nobis manducemus et bibamus."

On the ground of these views, he justifies the *Kiss of Peace* in its place after the Lord's Prayer, just as Tertullian did. It is a seal of fraternal communion on the approach to the altar. He says of it, "Pacis signum est. Sicut ostendunt labia, fiat in conscientia." The same place of the holy kiss was, or had been, adopted in the Church of Rome; thence it went over into our Lutheran liturgy where it appears, as a relic, in the so-called Pax.

GREGORY THE GREAT

speaks in a remarkable passage, much commented upon both by Catholic and Protestant writers, about the place of the *Lord's Prayer* in the communion liturgy, referring at the same time to the *apostolic practice.*

Having made a few alterations in the Gelasian Sacramentary, and learning of dissatisfaction among the Sicilian bishops, and of various rumors as if he had introduced Greek usages into the Roman Church, he justifies his procedure in a letter to the bishop of Syracuse, saying, "Orationem Dominicam idcirco mox post

precem dicimus, quia mos apostoloram fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem (sc. Dominicam) oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde inconveniens mihi visum est, ut precem, quam Scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem, quam Redemptor noster composuit, super ejus corpus et sanguinem non diceremus. Sed et oratio Dominica apud Graecos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vere a solo sacerdote." And his biographer, Joannes Diaconus, explains the phrase "mox post precem," writing, "Orationem Dominicam mox post Canonem super hostiam censuit recitari."

Gregory had not given the Lord's Prayer an entirely different place, but only moved it a little farther from the Sumtion and nearer to the Oblation: probably from *after* the Fraction and its accompanying prayers to *before* the ceremony. Besides, and even because of this displacement, he had either himself withdrawn this prayer from the people and reserved it to the priest celebrant, or ratified this withdrawal, if introduced previous to his time. Now he urges the sacredness of the Lord's Prayer, its dignity in comparison to a prayer composed by some "Scholasticus," and the prominent place it should occupy, viz., in as close proximity as possible to that eminent act of Oblation. In reasoning thus, he appeals to the apostolic practice, as known to him by tradition. But it does not enter into his mind at all that the apostles had ever consecrated *by* means of the Lord's Prayer, for he says they consecrated "*ad* orationem Dominicam." Consequently, it is self-evident to him that they "consecrated," and knew what Consecration means. He asserts, however, from his source, they consecrated "ad ipsam *solummodo* orationem Dominicam," i. e. they did not say, along with the Consecration, so many prescribed and formulated prayers as there are in the Roman Canon of the Mass, but used only one literally fixed prayer in connexion with the consecration act, viz., the Lord's Prayer. Whether it had been said *before or after* Consecration, was not in question at all. That it must stand in some place between Consecration and Sumtion, was a matter of course to to Gregory. But he wanted to remove it from its tendency to the Sumtion and Distribution, and to give it rather a direction towards the Consecration and Oblation, as the central act which

seemed more important to him than the Distribution itself, in accordance with his views on the Sacrifice of the Mass. So he ordered the Lord's Prayer to be said "*super Domini corpus et sanguinem*," i. e. when the Consecration had been performed; and as he could not place it immediately after the latter, he prescribed it to be used "*mox post precem*," i. e. after that series of prayers which follow the Verba, or, which is the same, "*mox post Canonem*." The Gregorian "Canon" ended, as the present Roman does, after the Oblation of Chirst's body and blood, and after a prayer that this sacrifice might be carried, by the hands of an angel, to the celestial altar of God, with a commemoration of the dead, and a prayer for a future lot and portion of the living in the fellowship of the saints. This act was now, by the new arrangement, to culminate in the Lord's Prayer.

As for the introduction of Greek usages, the liturgy of Constantinople had indeed a succession of parts similar to that in Gregory's arrangement, viz., Oblation, Invocation, General Prayer, the latter containing a Commemoration of the dead and an Intercession for the living, and terminating in the Lord's Prayer. So the reproach of an imitation was plausible. But Gregory comforts his Sicilian confratres by pointing to the difference from the Greek Church in the mode of saying the Lord's Prayer. He was apparently led, in his alterations, by a twofold interest, viz. to magnify the solemnity of the Oblation and Commemoration act, and to multiply the clerical prerogatives. But his unreserved acknowledgment of a merely human authorship for that part of the Roman Canon which is the most offensive, is worthy of note. The modern Roman Church claims an apostolic origin for its Canon of the Mass. Gregory, a Pope, bears witness to the contrary. That such an open avowal must prove right embarrassing to those pretensions is conceivable.

WALAFRIED STRABO,

a commentator on liturgical topics in the ninth century, unaffected by the tendency of Gregory's alteration, explains the position of the *Lord's Prayer* in language similar to that of Augustine. He says, "Oratio Dominica in expletione sacratissimae actionis digne ponitur, ut per hanc purificati qui communi-

caturi sunt, quae sancte confecta sunt digne ad salutem veram percipiant." He also admits the crowded and overcharged state of the Roman Mass, compared with the simplicity of the apostolic practice, and presumes an early use of the Lord's Prayer in connexion with the Consecration act, when writing, "Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, lectionum cantilenarum et consecrationum officio, totum hoc Apostoli et post ipsos proximi, ut creditur, orationibus (eucharistic prayers) et commemoratione possionis Dominicae, sicut ipse praecepit, agebant simpliciter * * * Oratio Dominica prius quam cetera in consecratione assumta est."

[The conclusion of this paper containing the Mediævaland Reformation Liturgies will appear in the October QUARTERLY.]

ARTICLE VI.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES IN THE WRITINGS OF THE CHURCH FATHERS.

By REV. B. PICK, Ph. D., Allegheny, Pa.

According to Lücke,* the Sibyl is "the half-divine prophetess of the arrangements and decisions of the gods in reference to the fate of cities and kingdoms." The earliest writer, who mentions the Sibyl, is Heraclitus,† the Ionian philosopher, who flourished about 500 B. C. She is then mentioned by Plato, Aristophanes, Aristoteles and others. Whilst the oldest writers speak of one Sibyl only, later writers speak of two, three, four and even ten Sibyls. Thus the famous Roman antiquary and friend of Cicero, Varro, in his books respecting divine subjects, which he addressed to Cajus Cæsar, the chief pontiff, says "that the Sibylline books were not the production of one Sibyl only, but that they were called by one name Sibylline, because all prophetesses were called Sibyls by the ancients either from the name of one, the Delphian priestess, or from their proclaiming the counsels of the gods. For in the Aeolic dialect they used to

*Versuch einer Einleitung in die Offenbarung Iohannis pp. 66 sq., Bonn, 1852.

†Fabricius, *Bibl. Graeca* I, p. 229.

call the gods by the word σιοι not θεοι, and for counsel they used the word βυλὴ not βουλὴ, and so the Sibyl received her name as though σιοβυλη. "But he says," adds Lactantius, "that the Sibyls were ten in number, viz., the first was the *Persian*,* of which Nicanor makes mention, who wrote the exploits of Alexander the Great; the second was the *Libyan*, and of her Euripides makes mention in the prologue of the Lamia; the third was the *Delphian*,† concerning whom Chrysippus speaks in that book which he composed concerning divination; the fourth is the *Cimmerian*‡ in Italy, whom Nacoius mentions in his books of the Punic war, and Piso in his annals; the fifth is the *Erythraean* whom Apollodorus of Erythraea affirms to have been his own country-woman, and that she foretold to the Greeks when they were setting out for Ilium, both that Troy was doomed to destruction, and that Homer would write falsehoode;§ the sixth is the *Samian*, respecting whom Eratosthenes writes that he had found a written notice in the ancient annals of the Samians; the seventh is the *Sylla Cumana*, by name Amathaea, who is termed by some Herophile, or Demophile, and that she brought nine books to the king Tarquinius Priscus, and asked for them three hundred philippics, and that the king refused so great a price, and derided the madness of the woman; that she in the sight of the king burnt three of the books, and demanded the same price for those which were left; that Tarquinius much more considered the woman to be mad; and that when she again, having burnt three other books, persisted in asking the same price, the king was moved, and bought the re-

*She is also called the Babylonian, Chaldaean, Egyptian and Hebrew Sibyl. Her name is said to have been Sabba (*Pausanias* x., 12 p. 828), or according to Suidas (Σιβυλλα) Sambetha.

†She bore also the names Artemis, Herophile, Daphno and Manto.

‡Also called *Cumaean*. From the Cumaean verses Virgil, in his fourth Eclogue, professes to have derived that most memorable account which the has given of a virgin, and of the child who was to descend from heaven, to rule the whole world in peace with the goodness of his father, blot ou the sins of mankind, deliver the earth from constant fear, slay the serpent and bring back the golden age.

§Reference to this is found in *Ora Sibyll.* iii, 419–430.

maining books for the three hundred pieces of gold; and the number of these books was afterwards increased, after the rebuilding of the Capitol; because they were collected from all cities of Italy and Greece; and especially from those of Erythraea, and were brought to Rome, under the name of whatever Sibyl they were; the eighth was from the *Hellespont*, born in the Trojan territory, in the village of Marpessus, about the town of Gergithus; and Heraclides of Pontus writes that she lived in the times of Solon and Cyrus; the ninth is of *Phrygia*, who gave oracles at Ancyra; the tenth, of *Tibur*,* by name Albunea, who is worshiped at Tibur as a goddess, near the banks of the river Anio, in the depth of which her statue is said to have been found, holding in her hand a book; the senate transferred her oracles into the Capitol. The predictions of all these Sibyls are both brought forward and esteemed as such, except those of the Cumaean Sibyl, whose books are concealed by the Romans; nor do they consider it lawful for them to be inspected by any one but the 'Quindecemviri.'" Thus far Varro in Lactantius.†

In general it may be inferred from all these names attributed to the Sibyls, that Sibylline prophecies were in existence among most of the nations of antiquity. But in speaking of different Sibyls, some inferred that there were not only different Sibylline writings, but also different personages, who wrote these writings. But this question as to the personage of the Sibyls has always remained a knotty point, and like Augustine,‡ so also Tacitus§

*This Sibyl is said to have admonished Augustus Cæsar to worship a child who was to be born of a virgin. It is related moreover, that she actually showed to that emperor the Virgin Mary in the air, with an infant in her arms. We have the authority of Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccl.* I, 17) and Suidas (s. v. August), who are cited by Baronius (*Appar. ad Annales* ℵXXVI) for the statement, that Augustus erected on the Capitoline hill an altar with this inscription, "Ara Primogeniti Dei;" and in the place where the famous temple of Jupiter Capitolinus once stood a church was afterwards built in honor of the blessed Virgin. This is the well-known church called *Ara Coeli*, a name originating in the belief of that supernatural appearance of the Virgin.

†*Divine Institutes* i, 6.

‡*Contra Faustum* xiii, 15.

§*Annales* vi, 12.

appeared to doubt whether there was more than one. Whatever may be the opinion concerning Varro's catalogue as cited by Lactantius, the practical interest, as far as history is concerned, must be felt to centre in the legendary Sibyl of Rome, who is supposed to have had her abode at Cumae, and sold her books to Tarquinius. It may well be a subject of doubt, whether these books were really the most ancient among the written oracles of the Sibyls; but it cannot be denied that after all, these books must now be regarded, if not as the nucleus or the type of all the various compilations which have been produced under the same name, at all events as the prototype of that collection which has come down to the present time.

Whatever opinion may be formed as to the legend regarding the acquisition of the Sibylline Books of Rome, certain it is that they were preserved with especial care and placed in a stone chest, which was deposited in a subterranean chamber of a temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus.* A special body of officers was maintained to watch over their preservation and to direct the manner of consulting them.† It was only on occasions of great emergency and by a solemn decree of the Senate that it was permitted to refer to them. In the year of Rome 67 or 82 before the Christian era, the Capitol was burnt, and the Sibylline books perished in the conflagration. Five years later a commission was sent to Cumae, to Sicily, to Erythrae, and the other supposed seats of Sibylline inspiration, to collect all the prophecies still extant under their name, with a view to replace, as far as possible, the lost originals. Nothing was found at Cumae or in Sicily; but at Erythrae‡, Samos, and elsewhere, a mass of oracular poems ascribed to the Sibyl and circulated under that name was discovered, from which, after careful scrutiny, a thousand verses were selected and formed into a new Sibylline volume, to take the place of the lost ones. As it soon became quite manifest, that in the verses thus procured, there were many

*Dion. Halicarn. *Antiq. Rom.* iv. § lxii. p. 249; Niebuhr *History of Rome* (Cambridge 1828) I., p. 428.

† Cicero *De Divinatione* I., p. 217; II., p. 287. (Opp. vol. xi. Bipontin. 1781).

‡Fenestella in Lachantii *De ira Dei* ch. xxii.

spurious things, fifteen men, the Quindecimviri were chosen to make a revision, which revised edition was consigned to the Capitol to take the place of the old oracles, and the keepers of these oracles retained the name of Quindecimviri.

In the time of Augustus, 11 B. C., a new and general inquiry was instituted relative to the writings of the Sibyls. The Emperor directed that the priests themselves should copy any sentences that had been defaced by age;* and, having caused more than two thousand verses, which were of a doubtful character, to be burned, all that were regarded as genuine were placed in two golden, or gilded boxes, under the pedestal of the Palatine Apollo.† Although Augustus had bestowed much care on the restoration of the books, he did not succeed in restoring their credit, and it appears to be undeniable, that so long as Paganism was upheld by imperial power, the *Libri Fatales* were preserved with increasing vigilance at Rome. But the more Christianity advanced, the less frequently were they consulted. In the year 271, during the Marcommanic war, the Emperor Aurelian reproached the Senate with hesitating so long to consult the Sibylline Books, as though they were deliberating in a church of the Christians and not in the temple of all the gods.‡ The last effort to establish the authority of these old oracles was made by Julian the Apostate, and it is worthy of notice that when this emperor consulted the Sibylline Books before his unfortunate expedition to Persia, the oracle was adverse to the proposed undertaking.§ None of the succeeding emperors appear to have taken any notice of the Sibylline Books till the reign of the Western Emperor Honorius, under whom they were burned by order of Stilicho.|| Such an act was warmly denounced as sacrilegious by the still faithful adherents of Pa-

*Dionis Cassii *Hist. Rom.* liv. §17 (vol. I., p. 746, Hamburg 1750).

†Suetonius, *in August.* cap. xxxi. It is to this part to which Horace refers (*Epist.* III., 661), "Scripta Palatinus quaecunque recepit Apollo."

‡Flavius Vopiscus in Imp. Aurel. *Vita*: "Miror vos, patres sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse libris, perinde quasi in Christianorum ecclesia, non in templo deorum omnium tractaretis.

§Amm. Marcell. *Rerum Sert.* lib. xxiii, cap. 1.

||Gibbon *Decline*, vol. iii, p. 93.

ganism, and is sufficiently indicated by the angry verses of *Rutilius Numantianus* (A. D. 417),* a fiery Pagan zealot of the day.

From this time the book of the classic Sibyl is a thing of the past, and it is now known only by a few fragments accidentally preserved. But what is more surprising than the mysterious obscurity into which the Roman Sibylline Books had thus speedily fallen, is the suddenness with which we find them replaced before the world by another Sibylline oracle or group of oracles to which appeal is so often made by the Christian apologists in their controversies with the champions of the old creed, the authority of which was recognized by both the disputants. The Sibyl thus appealed to is the original of the curious collection which has come down to our time, and which is published in two handy editions† by Alexandre and Friedlieb. It is difficult to determine the exact relation of the present collection to the ancient pagan oracles, and while there is no doubt that our present collection contains fragments of the ancient Sibyl, yet it is very difficult, yea even impossible, to separate the genuine from the spurious. But how, it may be asked, did this new collection originate, of which the Christian apologists and polemical writers, as Tatian, Athenagoras, Justin the Martyr, Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius and others, made much use? It will be remembered that under Augustus, the so-called Sibylline books were again and for the last time, carefully collected from various quarters. During his extended search, no doubt, many opportunities were afforded for the transmission to Rome of Jewish prophecies, intermingled with foreign and fabulous prognostications of every kind, which

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*"Nec tantum Seticis grassatus proditor armis,
Ante Sibyllinae fata cremavit Opis.
Odimus alttaeam consumpti funere torris;
Niracum crinem flere putantus aves:
At Stilicho aeterni fatalia pignora regni
Et plenas voluit praecipitare colui."

†*Χρησμοι σιβυλλικοι Oracula Sibyllina* curante E. Alexandre. Paris 1869 (revd. ed.); ed. J. H. Friedlieb (with a German translation,) Leipzig, 1852.

might easily be included under the influential name of Sibylline oracles. Thus it came to pass, that the Sibyllists were enabled in the Greek language, to address to the Gentiles many of the predictions of Israel's prophets. For a long period before the birth of Christ, the Jews had filled the world with prophecies relating to their future king. During the time that intervened between the end of the Babylonian captivity and the coming of Christ, writings or rather religious romances, which we may also call apocrypha, were very popular among the Jews. While the seventy weeks were elapsing, ever increased attention was paid to the predictions that related to the Messiah. When the time of the promise was drawing nigh, the Jews, having a clearer knowledge of some prophecies than they had before, seem to have been incited by an extraordinary impulse to announce to the heathen world the approaching advent of the Lord; and thus countless compositions, with manifold tendencies, were devised and circulated, as the books of Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Elijah and Isaiah.* To some of these compositions the names of persons of high estimation among the Gentiles were assigned, as to Hystaspes,† Trismegistus, Zoroaster, the Sibyls, Orpheus, and Phacylides. That an acquaintance with these prophecies was extended to the heathen is plain from Tacitus and Suetonius, the former of whom tells us how very many were persuaded that there was contained in the ancient writings of the priests a prophecy of the East at this very time becoming strong, and that there should proceed from Judaea those who should obtain the highest power,‡ whereas the latter states that throughout the East there was an old and unvarying opinion, that from Judaea—so the fates had decided—were then to arise the

*In the *Apostolic Constitutions* vi, 16 these works are thus condemned: "Et apud veteres nonnulli conscripserunt Mosis, Enochi, Adami, Esaiae, Davidis, Eliae, et trium Patriarcharum libros apocryphos, exitiales, ac repugnantes veritati."

†Referred to by Lactantius, Instit. 7, 15, 18; Epitome 73; Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, ch. 20 : 44; Clement of Alexandria *Stomata* vi, 5.

‡Pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret oriens, profectique Judaea rerum potirentur. *Historia* v, 13.

possessors of supreme dominion.* With this agrees what the ancient Sibyl says as quoted by Lactantius;

> "And then from the rising sun shall God send forth a king,
> Who shall cause all the earth to cease from evil war."

There can be no doubt that Alexandria, which gave the Septuagint to the world, was the principal birth-place of the pseudo-sibylline verses. The Greek translation of the Old Testament prepared the way for the conversion of the Gentiles, and many able writers, who resided there, exerted all their strength in propagating Monotheism by means of works put forth in that prevailing language.† "It is also probable, that most of the Christian sentences of a later date, which are found in the present collection, were composed by Alexandrian Christians, who carried on the literary work of their Jewish predecessors, and who thought it allowable to put forward what was mythical and fictitious for the sake of extending a knowledge of the truth." The Jews of Alexandria, in publishing supposititious works, such as the Books of Esdras and Baruch, the three additions to Daniel, the epistle to Jeremiah, and the wisdom of Solomon, derived this habit from the philosophers who taught at Alexandria, and from the Egyptian priests, and readily conforming to the customs prevalent in this time, a few Christians had recourse to similar stratagems to advance their own purposes. But be this as it may, the question is whether the early apologists for Christianity knowingly adduced counterfeit evidences of this nature in support of their faith or not. But against this it may be asked: is it possible to conceive that these Christian writers would have been so unwise as to appeal before pagan emperors and people to verses which were well known in the world, if spuriousness in any way could have been demonstrated? The part of the matter is that the Sibylline verses, which were in general circulation among the heathen, as well as amongst Christians, were regarded as sacred oracles on both sides. Besides it must be remembered that the primitive Christians were nat-

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*Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse *in Fatis* ut eo tempore Judaea profecti verum potirentur. *Vespasianus* iv.

†Comp. Delitzsch, *zur Geschichte der judischen Poesie* (Leipz 1836) pp. 205 sq.

urally inclined to receive as credible any pagan predictions that appeared to favor their cause.

The early Fathers, we must not forget, firmly believed in the over-ruling providence of God, and they knew not how often extraneous witnesses might be raised up, nor did they doubt that such testimony might be justly employed. And the fact of the matter is that such instances are given in the sacred volume itself. Think of Balaam, who spoke of the Redeemer's advent, think of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 4) or of Caiaphas (John 11 : 49–52); and there is a great deal of truth in the statement of Dr. Newman, when he says: "There is nothing unreasonable in the notion, that there may have been heathen poets and sages, or Sibyls again, in a certain extent divinely illuminated, and organs through whom religion and moral truth were conveyed to their countrymen."* We must remember, that the apologists never rested a defense of Christianity upon the Sibylline oracles taken collectively, as we have them. They used some of them in order to illustrate the truth; for this purpose referring to isolated verses, portions, or sentences, which happen now to be included in the extant medley. It must also be remembered that the Sibylline oracles are for the most part, or in a great measure, disjointed fragments, pieces, differing widely in their dates and emanating from different persons, and that they were not combined before the reign of Justinian in the sixth century. This is corroborated by Lactantius, who says, "and there are separate books the productions of each (Sibyl), but because they are inserted with the name of the Sibyl they are believed to be the work of one; and they are confused, nor can the productions of each be distinguished and assigned to their own authors, except in the case of the Erythæan Sibyl."†

With these preliminaries we come now to the quotations made by the Fathers from these oracles. As has been stated the Sibyl is "the half divine prophetess of arrangements and decisions of the gods in reference to the fate of cities and kingdoms." The very name "sibyl" seems to imply a claim to in-

*Arians of the Fourth Century (London 1833) p. 91.

†Dio. *institut.* 1, 6.

spiration, inasmuch as it signifies "counsel of God." It was a conjecture, not unlikely to proceed from St. Jerome,* and founded possibly on a misinterpretation of what is said of the daughters of Philip the Evangelist in the Acts of the Apostles† that the sibyls received from God the gift of prophecy as a reward for their virginity; and Cardinal Baroxius has adopted this strange theory in the "apparatus to his Annals.‡ As these reputed prophetesses were liable to become greatly inflamed by enthusiasm, the term σιβυλλάινειν has sometimes been employed to signify to rave like a maniac.

We commence with

THEOPHILUS

bishop of Antioch, who died about A. D. 181. This writer cites the Sibylline oracles with a show of confidence, and it is to him that we are indebted for the preservation of a most interesting and important fragment of that portion of the present collection which is at once the most ancient and the most closely related to the genuine Sibylline oracles of the gentile world. In his work to *Autolycus*§ he says: The sibyl who was a prophetess among the Greeks and the other nations, in the beginning of her prophecy, reproaches the race of men, saying:—

"How are ye still so quickly lifted up,
And how so thoughtless of the end of life,
Ye mortal men of flesh, who are but nought?
Do ye not tremble, nor fear most high?

Your overseer, the knower, seer of all,
Who ever keeps those whom his hand first made,
Puts his sweet spirit into all his works,
And gives Him for a guide to mortal men.

* * * *

There is one God who sends the winds and rains,
The earthquakes, and the lightnings, and the plagues,
The famines, and the snow-storms, and the ice
And all the woes that visit our sad race.

**Advers. Jovinianum* I, 185 (opp. IV. ed. Bened. Paris 1706).— "Quarum insigne virginitas est, et virginitatis praemium Divinatio."

†Acts 21 : 9. ‡ §xviii. §Lib. 2 ch. 36.

Nor these alone, but all things else he gives.
Ruling omnipotent in heaven and earth,
And self-existent from eternity."

This quotation, which may be read in full in English* corresponds with the first 35 lines of the proœmium, now found in the editions of the Sibylline books. Lines 36, 37, 38 read differently in Alexandre's and Friedlieb's edition. The former inserts what is also found by Theophilus in the third chapter of the 2d book; while Friedlieb inserts what Lactantius has in the 12th chapter of the 2d book of his "Institutiones." We follow the argument of Alexandre who says: "Est enim, si cum sequentibus conferatur, tanquam pars syllogismi; certe eundem refert philosophicum colorem." Theophilus quotes the Sibyl in order to prove that since gods are no more begotten, they do not exist any more and goes to prove the existence of God.† Besides these extracts there is yet another piece quoted by Theophilus in the 31st chapter of the 3d book, and which describes "the history after the flood," and which, too, is intended to describe the omnipotence of the One God above the gods of the heathen.‡

The next father is

JUSTIN THE PHILOSOPHER AND MARTYR,

who died about the year A. D. 166. In his *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, he devotes one chapter (ch. xvi) to the "Testimony of the Sibyl." "We must also mention," says he, "what the ancient and exceedingly remote Sibyl, whom Plato and Aristophanes, and others besides, mention as a prophetess, taught you in her oracular verses concerning one only God. And she speaks thus" (quoting v. 7–9 of the Proœmium; III, 721–723; IV, 24sq.)§ The estimate which Justin attached to the Sibyl may be learned from chapters 37 and 38 of his "Hortatory Address."

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*Vol. III of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*. Want of space obliges us to omit all lengthy quotations.

†The whole piece forms what is now called the Proœmium.

‡The original is found in book III, 97–107.

§The English is given in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. II.; or in vol. I. of the American Reprint.

The next writer who made use of the Sibyl is

ATHENAGORAS,

the Christian philosopher of Athens, who flourished A. D. 161–180. In his *Apology* or *Plea for the Christians* which he addressed to the emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, he gives a reason why the Christians worship one God, and he proves this, besides bringing other arguments, from the fact that the heathen gods were simply men and that people ascribed divinity to some men because of their rule and sovereignty, and this he proves from the Sibyl, (book III, 108–113).*

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA,

the father of Alexandrian Christian philosophy, born about A. D. 150 and died before the year 220, makes extensive use of the Sibyls. Thus in his λόγος προτρεπτικός πρός Ἕλληνας or *exhortation to the heathen* he says "The most of what is told of your gods is fabled and invented; and those things which are supposed to have taken place, are recorded of vile men who lived licentious lives." He therefore, quotes the counsels of the Sibyl:

> "You walk in pride and madness,
> And leaving the right and straight path, you have gone away,
> Through thorns and briars. Why do ye wander?
> Cease, foolish men, from mortals;
> Leave the darkness of night, and lay hold on the light."†

He calls the Sibyl the prophetess of the Hebrews (Exhort. ch. 6), whose description of the deity,

> "What flesh can see with the eye the celestial,
> The true, the immortal God, and who inhabits the vault of heaven?
> Nay, men born mortal cannot even stand
> Before the rays of the sun,"‡

lent the very thoughts to Greek philosophers who had exalted ideas about God. Clement puts the Sibyl by the side of Moses,§ attaches to her utterances the same importance as to the words

*The English is found in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. II.
†*Proœmium*, lines 23–27.
‡ibid. lines 10–13; *Stromata* v, 14.
§*Stromata* 1, 21; comp. *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vols. iv. xii.

of Jeremiah and Isaiah,* and quotes from the Proœmium lines 28–35. He goes even so far as to ascribe sentences to the Hebrews, which are utterances of the Sibyl, and quotes what is found in the Sibylline books iii, 586–593 (with the exception of line 589).

Speaking of the folly of adoring temples, sepulchres and other things, he says, "As teacher on this point, I shall produce to you the Sibyl prophetess," and quotes iv, 3–7. He shows the folly of adoring such temples as that of the Ephesian, Artemis and of Isis and Serapis, whose ruin the Sibyl has also predicted (v, 296, 297, 484–488), and praises him happy, who does not look on such things (iv, 26–40).†

The writer who made the most extensive use of the Sibylline oracles is

FIRMIANUS LACTANTIUS

who died about the year 330. He quotes the Sibylline oracles more than fifty times, and is important because he gives us the statement‡ ascribed to the famous Roman antiquary, Marcus Terentius Varro, according to whom all the oracles did not emanate from a single person, but that there were ten Sibyls. Following the argument of Lactantius in his "Divine Institutes" we get the following system: The one God was foretold of yore (*Proœmium* 7, 51–43; viii, 377), therefore worship him (Procem. 15, 16). It being proved that the universe is governed by the power of one god "it is impossible for a god to be fashioned from the loins of a man and the womb of a woman."§

Like Athenagoras, Lactantius argues that the gods were simply men and that the people ascribed to them divinity for their bravery and power, a vanity which the Sibyl already rebuked.¶ Lactantius then goes on to develop the entire Christology and this he does by applying to the Sibyl. Man is the work of

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**Exhortation* ch. viii.

†The passage is also found by Justin the Martyr, the last line, however, being different from the Clementine text.

‡*Divine Institutes* i, 6.

§*Proœm.* 39, 40.

¶*Sib. Orac.* III, 545, 547–549; *Instit.* I, 15.

God,° but man fell and became subject to death.* But God, before the creation begat a pure and incorruptible Spirit, whom he called his Son† and whom to know the Sibyl enjoins.‡ The birth of this Son of God was foretold not only by the prophets but also by the Sibyl.§ He was to perform miracles;‖ feed five thousand;¶ walk on the sea** and fulfil the law.†† The *Ecce Homo* form of Christ,‡‡ his sufferings,§§ burial and resurrection,‖‖ is also foretold by the Sibyls. Being rejected by the Jews, the Gentiles take their place.¶¶ Signs are to precede the second coming of Christ,*** who will then set free the righteous and destroy the dominion of the wicked.††† At his coming "mortals shall break in pieces the images and all the wealth,"‡‡‡ and "the works made by the hands of the gods shall be burnt up."§§§ The dead rise,‖‖‖ the wicked are sent to darkness in fire.¶¶¶ When the judgment is completed, the holy city, the new Jerusalem comes down upon earth, in which God himself will dwell with the righteous.****

Such is the use of the Sibyls, which Lactantius exhibits in his *Institutes*. We pass over his quotations in the treatise *De ira Dei*, as they merely tend to show what men should avoid in order not to provoke the anger of God, and the consequence thereof.

It must not be surprising that such an extensive use of the

°*Proœm.* 36–38; *Instit.* II. 12 (ch. 11 in Latin).

**Orac. Sib.* VIII, 260–262; *Instit.* II. 13 (12 in Latin).

†*Proœm.* 5, 6; *Instit.* IV, 6. The reading in Lactantius varies somewhat from the text of the Sib. books. Friedlieb and Alexandre read χηγητῆρα βροτῶν; Lactantius ἡγήτορα θεῶν; *Orac. Sib.* III, 774.

‡*Orac. Sib.* VIII, 329. §*Orac. Sib.* VI, 8; *Instit.* IV, 13.

‖*Or. Sib.* VIII, 272; *Inst.* IV, 15; VIII, 205–207.

¶*Or. Sib.* VIII, 275–278. **VIII, 273, 274; VI, 13–15.

††VIII, 299, 300; *Inst.* IV, 17. ‡‡VIII, 357; *Inst.* IV, 16.

§§VIII, 287–290. 292–294. 303. 304; VI, 22–24; *Inst.* iv, 18.

‖‖viii, 305, 306. 312–314; *Inst.* iv, 19. ¶¶v, 249; *Inst.* iv, 20.

***viii, 239; vii, 123; v, 348. 349; *Inst.* iv, 16; vii, 19.

†††v, 107–110; III, 652, 653; *Inst.* vii, 18.

‡‡‡viii, 224; *Inst.* vii, 19. §§§iii, 618? 722?

‖‖‖ iii, 741, 783, 742; viii. 241. 242; 413–416; 81–83; *Inst.* vii, 20, 24.

¶¶¶iv. 40–43, 45, 46; *Inst.* vii, 23.

****v, 420, 421; iii 781–793, 619–623; v, 281–283; *Inst.* viii, 24.

Sibyls exposed Christians occasionally to suspicion with respect to the Sibylline Books. From Origen* we learn that Celsus called some of his opponents "Sibyllists" for having regarded as a prophetess the Sibyl on whose testimony they relied, and he even went so far as to say that Christians had inserted in the Oracles "many and blasphemous things,"† without substantiating the vague charge. Lucian endeavored to ridicule these documents by means of parodies, found in the *Pseudo-Mantis* and *De Morte Peregrini.* And it is to this that Lactantius refers: "Some refuted by these testimonies are accustomed to have recourse to the assertion that these poems were not by the Sibyls, but made up and composed by our own writers. But he will assuredly not think this who has read Cicero and Varro, and other ancient writers, who make mention of the Erythraean and the other Sibyls, from whose books we bring forward these examples; and these authors died before the birth of Christ according to the flesh. But I do not doubt that these poems were in former times regarded as ravings, since no one then understoood them. But this the Erythraean Sibyl already predicted, when she said:

> "They will say that the Sibyl
> Is mad, and deceitful: but when all things shall come to pass,
> Then ye will remember me; and no one will say any longer,
> Say that I, the prophetess of the great God, am mad."‡

We close with the celebrated acrostic, which is the most extraordinary of all the Sibylline fabrications. It is found in the second section of the eighth book of the Oracles, and it was cited in full as true by the Emperor Constantine in his *Oration to the Assembly of the Saints*§. Eusebius is the earliest ecclesiastical writer who mentions it. The first letters of these lines form the words *Ἰησοῦς χρειστος θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτὴρ σιαυρὸς.* It is to be observed that Augustine quotes twenty-seven versed only; and omits those which have reference to the cross. The same father also states, that when they were speaking about Christ,

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**Contra Celsum* v §61. Opp. Tom I p. 621 (ed. Ben. Paris 1733).
†ibid. vii §57, p. 734.
‡*Orac. Lib.* III 814–817: *Inst.* 4, 15.
§Eusebius *De vita Constantini.*

Flaccianus, a very famous man, of most ready eloquence and much learning, produced a Greek MS., saying that it was the prophecies of the Erythræan Sibyl, in which he pointed out a certain passage that had the initial letters so arranged that those words *Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτὴρ* (i. e. Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour) could be read. Then he goes on and gives these verses, of which the initial letters yield that meaning, and says: 'But if you join the initial letters of those five Greek words, they will make the word *ἰχθύς*, that is "fish," in which word Christ is mystically understood, because he was able to live, that is, to exist, without sin in the abyss of this mortality, as in the depth of waters.‖

We now subjoin the entire acrostic, which forms lines 217–250 of the eight book of the Sibylline Oracles, in the English translation of the late Dr. Neale,¶ and which runs as follows:

"Judgment at hand, the earth shall sweat with fear:
Eternal king, the Judge shall come on high:
Shall doom all flesh: shall bid the world appear
Unveiled before his Throne. Him every eye
Shall, just or unjust, see in majesty.

Consummate time shall view the Saints assemble
His own assessors: and the souls of me
Round the great judgment-seat shall wait and tremble
In fear of sentence. And the green earth then
Shall turn to desert: They that see that day
To moles and bats their gods shall cast away.

Sea, earth, and heaven, and hell's dread gates shall burn:
Obedient to their call, the dead return:
Nor shall the judge unfitting doom discern.

Of chains and darkness to each wicked soul:
For them that have done good, the starry pole.

Gnashing of teeth, and woe, and fierce despair
Of such as hear the righteous Judge declare
Deeds long forgot, which that last day shall bare.

‖August. *De Civitate Dei* xviii, 23.

¶*Christian Remembrancer*, October 1861, p. 287; *Essays on Liturgiology* (London 1863) p. 321. sq.

Then, when each darkened breast He brings to sight,
Heaven's stars shall fall; and day be changed to night;
Effaced the sun-ray, and the moon's pale light.

Surely the valleys He on high shall raise;
All hills shall cease, all mountains turn to plain:
Vessels shall no more pass the watery ways:
In the dread lightning parching earth shall blaze,
Ogygian rivers seek to flow in vain:
Unutterable woe the trumpet blast,
Re-echoing through the ether, shall forecast.

Then Tartarus shall wrap the world in gloom,
High chiefs and princes shall receive their doom,
Eternal fire and brimstone for their tomb.

Crown of the world, sweet wood, salvation's horn,
Rearing its beauty, shall for man be born:
O wood, that Saints adore, and sinners score!
So from twelve fountains shall its light be poured:
Staff of the Shepherd, and victorious sword."

After the time of Augustus less weight was attached to the Sibylline verses in Christian schools. But says the late Dean Stanley "when Thomas of Celano composed the most famous hymn of the Latin Church he did not scruple to place the Sibyl on a level with David;* and when Michel Angelo adorned the roof of the Sistine chapel, the figures of the weird sisters of pagan antiquity are as prominent as the seers of Israel and Judah. Their union was the result of the bold stroke of an Alexandrian Jew; but it kept alive, till the time when comparative theology claimed for the old creeds of the world their just rights, the idea which a more isolated theology overlooked, that those rights existed and must not be ignored."†

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*He evidently refers to

"Dies ira, dies illa,
Solvet saeclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.

†*Lectures on the Jewish Church* iii p. 312, New York 1877.

ARTICLE VII.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLISH.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.—*A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, by Jos. A. Beet. *Sermors*, by Noah H. Schenck, D.D. *Communion Memories*, the Record of some Sacramental Sundays, by J. R. Macduff, D.D. *Sermons* by Bishop Matthew Simpson of the Meth.Epis. Church edited by Geo. R. Crooks, D. D. *The Scientific Obstacles to Christian Belief*, Boyle Lectures 1884, by Geo. H. Curteis, M. A. *Assyriology*, its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study, by Francis Brown. *Prophecy* and *History in Relation to the Messiah*, by Alfred Edersheim, M. A. Oxon., D. D., Ph. D. *Philosphic Thought in All Ages*, or the Bible Defended from the Standpoint of Science, by Lawrence S. Benson, introduction by Rev. Howard Crosby, D. D. *The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom*, traced in its historical development, by C. Von Orelli, translated by the Rev. J. S. Banks. *Encyclopaedia of Theology*, by Dr. J. F. Räbiger, translated with additions to the history and literature by the Rev. John McPherson, M. A., Vol. II. *A Manual of Bible History in Connection with the General History of the World*, by the Rev. Wm. G. Baikie, D. D., LL. D. *The People's Bible*, Discourses upon Holy Scripture, by Jos. Parker, D. D. *Is it Possible to Know God*, by the Rev. J. J. Lias. *An Examintion of the Science of Religion*, as expounded by Prof. Max Müller, by the Rev. G. Blencowe. *Recent Egyptological Research in its Bibical Relation*, by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins. *Buddhism in Relation to Christianity*, by Richard Collins, M. A. *The Atonement of Christ*, by J. M. Pendleton, D. D. *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity*, by Otto Ffleiderer, D. D., Prof. of Theology in the University of Berlin, translated by J. Frederick Smith. *Christian Unity and Christian Faith*, a series of discourses delivered in St. George's Church, St. Louis, by ministers of various churches. *Prayer and its Remarkable Answers*, by Wm. W. Patton, D. D., LL. D. *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology* based on Hagenbach and Krauth, by Revere F. Weidner, M. A. Prof. of Theology in the the Theological Seminary of the Scandinavian Evan. Lutheran Agustana Synod at Rock Island Ill., Part I. Introduction and Exegetical Theology. *First Principles of the Reformation*, or The Ninety-five Theses and the three Primary Works of Martin Luther, translated into English, edited with historical and theological Introductions by Henry Wace, D.D., and C. G. Bucheim, Ph. D.,—see

notice. *The Sabbath for Man*, a Study of the Origin, Obligation, History, Advantages, and Present State of Sabbath Observance, with special reference to the Rights of Working-men, by Rev. W. F. Crafts, A. M.—see notice. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A. D. 325 vol. II.—The Christian Literature Publishing Co.

SCIENTIFIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL.—*Hegel's Aesthetics*, a Critical Exposition, by John S. Kedney, S. T. D. *The Nature of Mind and Human Automatism*, by Morton Prince, M. D., of the Boston City Hospital—an attempt to explain mind as a physical process. *Collected Essays in Political and Social Science*, by Wm. G. Sumner, Prof in Yale College. *The Errors of Evolution*, an Examination of the Nebular Theory, Geological Evolution, The Origin of Life, and Darwinism, by Robert Patterson, author of "The Fables of Infidelity," edited with an Introduction by H. L. Hastings of the *Christian*, Boston. *The New Materialism*, by Lionel S. Beale, F. R. S. *On the Absence of Real Opposition between Science and Revaletion*, by Prof G. G. Stokes, M. A., F. R. S. *An Examination of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Theory of the Will*, by the Rev. W. D. Ground. *The Theory of Evolution as Taught by Haeckel and Held by His Followers*, Examined and Shown not to be Proven, by Joseph Hassell. *The Origin of Man*, by the Ven. J. W. Bardsley, M. A. Archdeacon of Warrington. *Remarks on Climate in Relation to Organic Nature*, by Surgeon General C. A. Gordon, M. D., C. B. *Notes on Prehistoric Man in Egypt and the Lebanon*, by J. W. Dawson, C. M. G., LL. D. *The Common Sense of the Exact Sciences*, by the late Wm. K. Clifford.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.—*History of the Negro Race in America*, by Geo. W. Williams. *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, by Charles W. Baird D. D., two vols. *Dictionary of National Biography* (English) edited by Leslie Stephens, vol. II. Annesley—Baird. *American Presbyterianism*, its origin and early history, by Charles A. Briggs D. D. *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, by the Rev. Sir George W. Cox, Bart. M. A. *Samuel Adams*, by Jas. K. Hosmer, Professor in Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. *An Inglorious Columbus*, or Evidence that Hwui Shan and a Party of Buddhist Monks from Afghanistan discovered America in the fifth Century, A. D., by Edward P. Vining. *The History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages*, by Philip Smith, B.A., author of "Students O.T. History." *Victor Hugo and His Time*, by Alfred Barbou, illustrated. *Historical Account of the Work of the American Committee of Revision of the Bible*, prepared from the documents and correspondence of the Committee. *Life of Edward Thompson*, D. D., LL. D., late a Bishop of the Meth. Epis. Church, by his son, the Rev. Edward Thompson M. A. *Babylonian Cities*, by Hormuzed Rassam, Esq. *Chaplain Smith and the Baptists*, by R. A. Guild, LL. D.,—see notice. *A History of the People of*

the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War, by John Bach McMaster, vol. II. *Studies in Russia*, by Aug. J. C. Hare, author of "Walks in Rome," etc. *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, by Dr. H. Van Holst, Prof. of the University of Freiburg, translated from the German by John J. Lalor.

MISCELLANEOUS.—*Husband and Wife*, or The Theory of Marriage and its Consequences, by Geo. Zabriskie Gray, D. D., with an introduction by the Right Rev. F. D. Huntington, D. D. *Democratic Government*, a Study of Politics, by Albert Stickney. *Prose Writings of Nathaniel P. Willis* selected by Henry A. Beers. *Plutarch on the Delay of Divine Justice*, translated with an Introduction and Notes, by Andrew P. Peabody. *A Popular Manual of English Literature*, containing Outlines of the Literature of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, U. States of America, with Historical, Scientific, and Art Notes, by Maude Gillette Phillips, in two vols.

GERMAN.

THEOLOGICAL.—The third edition of Philippi's *Kirchliche Glaubenslehre* has reached the first part of Vol. IV., containing "Die Lehre v. der Erwählung u. v. Christi Person. Edited by Prof. F. Philippi, pp. 490, Gütersloh, 1885. *Die Wissenschaft der Christlichen Lehre*, von dem evangelischen Grundartikel aus im Abris dargestellt. 1. Heft. Einleitung und Apologetik. 2. Heft, Dogmatik. Prof. Dr. Martin Kähler, pp. 460, Erlangen, 1883–'84. Philippi's *Symbolik*. Akademische Vorlesungen, published by Pastor Dr. Ferd. Philippi, pp. 464, Gütersloh, 1883. *Der Glaube an die Unsterblichkeit* nach seinem Einfluss auf das sittliche Leben. Pastor E. Fischer, pp. 93, Gotha, 1884. A clever little volume which may be cordially commended to cultured skeptics. *Die Kirche*. Ihre biblische Idee und die Formen ihrer geschichtlichen Erscheinung in ihrem Unterschiede von Sekte und Härese. Eine dogmatische und dogmengeschichtliche Studie. Prof. Dr. Herman Schmidt, pp. 267, Leipsic, 1884. The second edition of Zöckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften in encyclopädischer Darstellung* has reached the third volume. Systematic Theology, pp. 388, Nördlingen, 1885. Chemnitz's *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, Deutsch bearb. von Diak. R. Bendixen in Verbindung mit D. Chr. E. Luthardt, pp. 487, Leipsic, 1884. O for an English translation of this ablest defence of Protestantism! Biederman's *Christliche Dogmatik* (2 vols.) is being brought out in a new and enlarged edition. 1. Bd.: Der principielle Thl., pp. 382, Berlin, 1884.

BIBLICAL.—A very valuable "*Psalmen-Register*, angeordnet nach deren Inhalt," is published by the Evangel. Verein, Frankfort a-M., 1883. It will prove a valuable aid in the public and private use of the Psalms and is adapted to every collection of the Psalter. *Der Prediger über den Wert des Daseins*, Wiederherstellung des Textes, Uebersetzung und Erklärung. Gustav Bickell, pp. 112, Innsbruck, 1884. A rich contribution to the study of Ecclesiastes. *Das Lehrsystem im Römerbrief*. Past. prim. Otto Lorenz.

pp. 187, Breslau, 1884. *Der erste Thessalonischerbrief* neu erklärt. Nebst einem Excurs über den zweiten gleichnamigen Brief. Prof. Paul Schmidt, pp. 128, Berlin, 1885.

HISTORICAL.—Leop. V. Ranke's *Weltgeschichte.* 1–3 Aufl. 4. Thl. in 2 Abtheilungen, Das Kaiserthum in Constantinopel und der Ursprung romanisch-germanischer Königreiche, pp. 445, 368, Leipsic, 1883. *Luther und Aristoteles.* Prof. Dr. Friedr. Nitzsch, Festschrift zum 400 jährigen Geburtstage Luther's. pp. 51, Kiel, 1883. *M. Luther's ungedruckte Predigten* aus den J. 1528 bis 1546. Andreas Poach's handschriftl. Sammlung. Published for the first time from the original, by G. Buchwald. 4 vols., vol. I. Predigten aus den J. 1528, 1529, 1530. 1. Hälfte, pp. vii, li, 176, Leipsic, 1884. *Der Reformator Johann Wicklif als Bibelübersetzer.* W. Bender, Eine historische Studie, pp. 68, Mayence, 1884. *Melancthon's Arbeiten im Gebiete der Moral,* Dr. C. Luthardt, pp. 62, Leipsic, 1884. *Lehrbuch der biblischen Geschichte Alten Testaments,* Prof. Dr. A. Köhler. 2 Hälfte. 1 Thl. 3 Lfg. pp. 267–473. Erlangen, 1884. *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammed,* Ludolf Krehl, I. Thl. Das Leben, pp. 384, Leipsic, 1884. *Quellen und Forschungen Zur Geschichte der Reformation,* Prof. Dr. Thdr. Brieger. Aleander und Luther, 1521. 1. Abtheilung, pp. 315, Gotha, 1884. It contains the complete Aleander Dispatches and Untersuchungen über den Wormser Reichstag, where Aleander drew up the Imperial Ban. *Johann Hinrich Wichern.* Sein Leben und Wirken. From MSS. remains and contributions of the family. Friedr. Oldenberg. IV. u. V. Buch, pp. 349–602, Hamburg, 1884. *Protestantische* Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evangelische Heidemission, Ein Beitrag zur Characteristik ultramontaner Geschichtsshreibg. G. Warnecke. 1. Hälfte, pp. 233, 2. Hälfte, 235–509, Gütersloh, 1885. The reader of the QUARTERLY may expect in the next issue the translation of important extracts from this timely defence of Protestant missions. *Luther's Stellung zu den œcumenischen Symbolen.* Prof. Dr. Ferd. Kattenbusch, pp. 61, Giessen, 1883. Delivered on the occasion of the Luther Jubilee at the University of Giessen. *Der Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas.* 1. Hälfte, Collected and edited by Dr. Gustav Kawerau, pp. 447, Halle, 1884. *Luther und der evangelische Gottesdienst.* Pfr. Privatdoc. Friedr. Spitta. A Lecture. pp. 40, Halle, 1884. A brochure of extraordinary interest to those who make a study of Liturgics in connection with the prospective adoption of a "Common Service." *Zwingli and Erasmus.* Eine reformationsgeschichtliche Studie. Pfr. J. M. Usteri, pp. 39, Zurich, 1885. *Luther's 95 Thesen und ihre dogmenhistorischen Voraussetzungen.* Dr. Ed. Bratke, pp. 333, Göttingen, 1884. *Martin Luther.* Eine Biographie. Prof. Thdr. Kolde. Vol. I. pp, 1–396, Gotha, 1884. This first volume concludes with the Edict of Worms. An eminent German critic says: "It is the book which is to be commended to an artist who is engaged upon studies for a plastic monument of Luther." *Geschichts-und Lebensbilder* aus der Erneuerung des religiösen Lebens in den Befreiungskriegen. Gen. Supt. Dr. Wilh. Baur.

Vol. II. of the fourth edition greatly enlarged. pp. 480, Hamburg, 1884. *Nicolaus Copernicus.* Leop. Prowe. 2 vols. in 3 parts, pp. 413, 576, 552, Berlin, 1883–84. *Johann Georg Müller.* Dr. Theol. Prof. und Oberschulherr, Johannes von Müller's Bruder und Herder's Herzensfreund, with portrait, Dek. Carl Stokar, pp. 430. Basel, 1885. *Indogermanischer Volnsglaube.* Ein Beitrag Zur Religionsgeschichte. W. Schwartz. pp. 280, Berlin, 1885. *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte fur Studierende.* Dr. J. H. Kurtz. This is the 9th edition, thoroughly revised, of the author's great work on Church History, 2 vols., each containing two parts, pp. 341, 323, 337, 344, Leipsic, 1885. *Geschichte der Christlichen Sitte.* Part II., Die Katholische Sitte der alten Kirche. Lic. Dr. H. J. Bestmann, pp. 129–711, Nördlingen, 1885. *Dr. Martin Luther's Leben, Thaten und Meinungen,* auf Grund reichlicher Mitteilungen aus seinen Briefen und Schriften dem Volke erzählt. "Paul Martin." Vol. I., 2d edition, pp. 772, Neusalza i. S., 1884. *Luther's Bekanntschaft* mit den alten Klassikern. Ein Beitrag Zur Lutherforschung. Dr. Osw. Glob. Schmidt, pp. 64, Leipsic, 1883. The 400th Anniversary of Bugenhagen's birth has brought out several biographies; one by Zitzlaff, pp. 143, Wittenberg, 1885, one by Knauth, pp. 79, Berlin, 1885. *Die Kunst im Zusammenhang* mit der Culturentwickelung und die Ideale der Mensehheit. A new, enlarged and thoroughly revised edition. Vols. I–IV. Leipsic, 1877–84.

MISCELLANEOUS.—*System der Christlichen Sittlichkeit.* Prof. Dr. Fr. H. R. Frank. 1. Hälfte, pp. 448, Erlangen, 1884. A most able work by the ablest theologian of Germany. *Der Eid und der Moderne Staat.* Pfr. K. Hartlieb. Eine theologische Studie, pp. 72. Heilbronn, 1884. *Die Wunderthaten d. Hernn, Zum Erweisse d. Glaubens erwogen.* F. L. Steinmeyer, pp. 166, Berlin, 1884. *Tägliche Hausandachten in Schriftbetrachtung u. Gebet Auf alle Tage im Jahre.* H. A. Haller, pp. 548, Reval, 1884. *Das Gotteshaus im Lichte der deutschen Reformation.* Dec. Karl Lechler, pp. 92, Heilbronn, 1883. *Neue Christoterpe.* Ein Jarhbuch hrsg. von Rud. Kögel, Wilh. Baur and Emil Frommel unter Mitwirkung, &c., pp. 388, Bremen, 1885.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

FUNK & WAGNALLS, NEW YORK.

The Sabbath for Man. A Study of the Origin, Obligation, History, Advantages and Present State of Sabbath Observance, with special reference to the Rights of Working-men. Based on Scripture, Literature, and especially on a Symposium of Correspondence with Persons of all Nations and Denominations. By Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, A. M. Author of "Successful Men of To-day," "Must the Old Testament Go?" "Rhetoric made Racy," etc. 1885. pp. 638.

This welcome book gives a treatment of the Sabbath question as a living question of our day. It is a question of world-wide importance, and involves the welfare of men in all the relations and interests of life. The author begins by raising the inquiry whether the Sabbath is surrendered, and shows that it is not. Passing to the question whether it is imperiled, he consents that it is, and points out the perils from Legislatures, the perils from Courts, the perils from enforcement and non-enforcement of laws, perils from national habit of law-breaking, and from the demoralization of Continental Sunday. He goes on to show the consistency of Sabbath Laws with liberty, discusses the subjects of Sunday Trains, Sunday Mails and Sunday Newspapers, and what degree of Sabbath observance can be realized in 19th century cities. Then comes up the question: What can be done by Christians for the improvement of Sabbath observance, in all the various relations in which they may properly wield their influence. The author has brought together an immense amount of information and illustration on this high subject, and the volume forms an earnest and impressive appeal for the firm maintenance of the Christian Sabbath as of original and permanent divine obligation and necesstiy for the religious, moral and social welfare of the race.

An appendix is added giving a large amount of related information, among other things references to the literature of the subject. This is defective, so far, at least, as the discussions of the Sabbath question in our Lutheran Church is concerned. Dr. Bergstresser's Art. in the EVAN. REVIEW, vol. XIV., is mentioned. No reference, however, is made to Dr. Krauth's exposition of the teaching of our Church in vol. VIII., nor to any of the other articles in which the doctrinal and practical relations of the Sabbath question have been set forth in the LUTH.

QUARTERLY—although the author had Poole's Index, including the unpublished supplement, in his hands.

The volume is fresh and vigorous, and deserves, as it will doubtless find, a wide circulation.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

For Sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, recently discovered and published by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia Edited with a Translation, Introduction and Notes, by Roswell D. Hitchcock and Francis Brown, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. A New Edition, revised and greatly enlarged. 1885. pp. cxv., 85.

This new edition of the The Teaching comes with all the marks of the scholarly industry and thoroughness of its able editors. After the first edition, prepared in haste, March 17–25, 1884, they went to work in earnest, careful research into all the questions suggested by the treatise. The result of their labors is here given, in sections which treat of the Jerusalem Codex in which the MS. of the Teaching was found, the Integrity of the Text, the History of the treatise in the Early Church, The Modern Discussions before Bryennios, the Sources of the Teaching, the Arrangement of its matter, its Purpose and Scope, its Doctrine, the Constitution of the Church according to its statements, the Date and Place of Composition, Peculiarities of the Codex, and the Printed Texts. This introductory information and discussion are followed by the Teaching itself, in Greek and English, with notes, and an appendix giving a digest of the literature which the Treatise has called forth. In short the volume furnishes on every point the information which will enable the reader to form a clear and just conception of the significance and value of this newly discovered and important Manuscript. Our ministers and students can find no better volume on the subject.

HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

For Sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co. Phila.

A Popular Manual of English Literature by Maude Gillette Phillips.

It is generally felt that anyone attempting to give a general view of English Literature is venturing upon forbidden ground, for it has long been supposed that the work by Taine upon this subject was well-nigh incomparable and scarcely capable of improvement. But to suppose that that treatise, however able and discriminating it may be, is absolutely perfect, is a grave mistake. About two years ago there was given to the public a work upon English Literature by Welsh, which while inferior in some respects to that of Taine, far surpasses it in the manner of treating the subject. The work now before us was designed for the threefold purpose of School Manual, a Guide to the General Reader

and as a Book of Reference. The aim of the treatise is to give a concise, critical and philosophical review of the field of English Literature. The subject is divided into ten ages or periods, each of which is taken up and carefully examined. Each is introduced by a general survey of its chief features—of the tastes and ideas dominating it. After this cursory, but by no means superficial glance, its brightest luminaries are separately taken up, their lives, manners, modes of living and chief productions analyzed. Many minutiae are given; for the author concieves that to thoroughly appreciate the writings of an individual, an intimate acquaintance with his daily life and manners is necessary.

The author, however, does not confine herself merely to the realm of English Literature, but in connection with each of the ten ages, gives an account of the contemporary European literature, or whatever school of it may then be guiding and directing the thought of the world. This feature she happily expresses as the "*right and left*" of the various ages. Thus anyone ignoring the philosophical movements in Germany during the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, would fail to understand and appreciate the English literature of to-day. In nearly all departments of thought for the last hundred years Germany has led the van. The literateurs of the Elizaberthan age bowed to the supremacy of Italian taste and influence. Thus to confine one's self to the national literature is to lose the philosophy of the whole subject. The author has made an innovation on the usual manner of treatment by introducing many sharp and incisive criticisms of the writings of our literary giants. These criticisms, coming from the pens of some of the keenest massers in the critic's art aid the general reader in forming a correct estimate of the weight, importance and influence of the various authors.

As a text-book this work surpasses any we have yet seen. The estimates of individuals and their writings are generally sober, impartial and just. The matter is systematically and logically arranged, thus presenting the whole subject as a unit.

Under the discussion of "*Milton*" the author has made some three or four extracts from the work of Prof. Himes, of Pa. College, on "Paradise Lost," together with his diagram of Milton's Hell. This is a just recognition of merit. Prof. Himes has given years of study to the great master-piece of Milton and his judgment should and does have great weight.

Sermons by Bishop Matthew Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church edited from shorthand reports by George R. Crooks, D. D. pp. 454. 1885.

Many who have heard of the great eloquence of Bishop Simpson will be disappointed when they read these discourses. Eloquence is here, indeed, but not that species of it, which consists in florid rhetoric, burn-

ing pathos, striking orignality or, forsooth pretentious profundity. These sermons are of the kind which the common people hear gladly. Their eloquence is of that sterling character which is marked by great simplicity and naturalness of style and at the same time possesses such freshness and intensity of thought as must have held the most intelligent audiences in wrapt attention.

It is cheering to know the Bishop's great fame as a pulpit orator rested on productions of this quality. And it is well that young ministers, especially, should learn what after all are the merits of our great preachers. Let them follow such models as Bishop Simpson. If they acknowledge the need of aids in their pulpit preparation let them procure this volume and learn the secret of the success achieved by one who has often been regarded as without a superior in the American pulpit.

Oats or Wild Oats? Common-Sense for Young Men. By J. M. Buckley, LL. D. Author of "Two Weeks in Yosemite," "Christians and the Theatre," "Supposed Miracles," etc. pp. 306. 1885.

At the head of the religious press in this country stands confessedly the name of Dr. J. M. Buckley, the editor of "The Christian Advocate." A writer of sterling common-sense, of great practical force, of pointed wit, encyclopædic learning and heroic courage, he speaks with something like authority on every subject touched by his pen. The present volume is made up mainly of papers originally published as editorial articles and prompted by letters asking advice upon various subjects. He perceived the uncertainty of opinion and instability of action by which many are affected, and with the heart of a father and the wisdom of a practical philosopher, and the spirit of friendly conversation he gives earnest counsel to all who are about to determine upon their life pursuit or calling. Scarcely any conceivable business, vocation or profession is overlooked. The student, the mechanic, the farmer, the physician, the dentist, the banker, the lawyer, the civil engineer, the railroad employee, the broker, the insurance agent, the minister—whatever employment young men may think of entering—all receive a degree of information and a measure of counsel as if the author had studied and followed each of these pursuits as his own specialty. He is familiar not only with the general laws of all business and administration but apparently with all the special and diversified features of every calling.

We have taken a peculiar interest in his golden advice to young preachers, and his analysis of a call to the ministry, and admired his sound views touching his own profession, but the insurance agent, the railroad men, the brokers and the farmers will probably recognize as much familiarity with the varied phases of their employment and find the author thoroughly posted in the elements that secure success in

their respective work. He must have been at great pains to inform himself upon all these practical subjects and doubtless conferred with acknowledged masters in the various vocations which he treats.

Of course such general subjects as health, morals, self-improvement, economy, society and amusements are also ventilated, and that with the same absence of fanaticism, theorizing and tyronism which mark the rest of the volume. The work ought to be in the hands of every young man who aspires to success in some calling. We firmly believe that to any one who follows the counsels here given success is assured.

American Political Ideas viewed from the standpoint of Universal History. Three Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in May 1880. By John Fiske. pp. 158. 1885.

The chief apostle of Evolution in America presents the public in this volume with the application of this hypothesis to the political ideas of which our Republic forms the grandest and most perfect embodiment. The preservation of local self-governmeut with representative and federal sovereignty, the great underlying idea of union *and* independence, is traced to its primeval roots, through the Dutch and Swiss Federations, the ineradicable traditions of local self-government in England shown in the survival of the free village community, the *Mark-motes* of the ancient Teutons, and thence back to the rudimentary organization of the clan in pre-historic Aryan antiquity, the most primitive forms of which are found at the present day in Russia and Hindustan, in both of which countries the decisions of the Village Assembly or Village Elders as to laws and customs admit of no appeal.

A most interesting contrast is drawn between the embryonic growth of political society in Greece and Rome and that among the ancient Teutons. In the former is witnessed the aggregation of clans into tribes and the confederation of these into cities, in the latter the clan is evolved into the Shire, out of which grew the Shire-motes and county assemblies. From this fundamental difference between the two systems are drawn consequences of enormous importance to the whole history of European civilization.

The significant contrast between English and French political ideas is sketched in bold lines, with the fundamental difference in their systems of colonization in which the former have achieved magnificent success while the latter have experienced uniform failure. Bureaucracy cannot compete with the town-meeting. No people can plant beyond the sea a self-supporting colony, unless it has retained intact the power of self-government at home. To the self-government of England Mr. Fiske ascribes "that boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for an inheritance." This truth was first demonstrated by the conquest of Canada, and the triumph of Wolfe, he holds, "marks the greatest turning-point as yet discernible in modern history."

In the final lecture entitled "Manifest Destiny," it is argued that the formation of great political aggregates in which the parts retain their local and individual freedom is destined to become the controlling political principle of the world, that the English race, which has maintained this principle must become the dominate race, that in due course of time it will become as desirable for the States of Europe to enter in a federal union as it was for the States of North America a century ago, the whole of mankind constituting politically one huge federation, each little group managing its local affairs in entire independence while the great questions of international interest, whose adjudication has heretofore been accomplished by brute force and the wretched business of warfare, will be amicably settled "in the parliament of man and the federation of the world."

As in the case of his recent work on "The Destiny of Man," this unbeliever in Revelation landed by his evolutionary processes in the belief of immortality "as a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work," so here from purely historical premises he ends with the convictions and hopes inspired by Christianity of the future of this earth, "the picture of a world covered with cheerful homesteads, blessed with a Sabbath of perpetual peace."

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

Chaplain Smith and the Baptists, or Life Journals, Letters, and Addresses of the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D. D., of Haverhill, Mass. 1737–1805—by Reuben Aldride Guild, LL. D., Librarian of Brown University, Member of the American Antiquarian Society, etc.

This volume is composed of extracts from the diary of Rev. Hezekiah Smith, together with comments and historical additions by Dr. Guild. Dr. Smith was a prominent figure among the Baptists of a century ago, and this work abounds in information as to the early persecutions and struggles of that denomination—thus the book becomes a valuable addition to the historical literature of the Baptist Church. The chief merit of the work, however, is the light it throws upon events in our War of Independence. Three whole chapters are devoted to extracts from Dr. Smith's Journal during his service as chaplain in the army. He was present at many of the important engagements of the war, including Bunker Hill, the siege of Boston, the surrender of Burgoyne, etc.,—was intimately acquainted with Washington, Gates, Schuyler and others of the men prominent in our early history. The extracts, written amidst the scenes of which they tell, and the author himself an actor in them, it is safe to conclude, faithfully portray the feelings of the brave men who achieved for us our freedom and liberty. The book is gotten up in an attractive style, and the antiquarian will find a rich fund of information in its pages, for there are many incidents contained in it which are here given to the public for the first time.

The Atonement of Christ. By J. M. Pendleton, D. D. pp. 173.

This little volume on the great doctrine of the atonement is a clear and vigorous statement and vindication of the teaching of the Scriptures as understood and confessed in the orthodox theology of the Church. It discusses, in a popular way, the Nature, the Necessity, the Value, the Extent and the Results of the atonement. The atonement is defined to be "the expiation of sin through the obedience and death of the Lord Jesus Christ." "The central idea of the atonement is that of satisfaction." The personal sinlessness of Jesus is, of course, properly included as a necessary fact in His atoning work—the "just" suffering for the "unjust." It seems strange that Dr. Pendleton should misunderstand Luther as meaning, in his comments on Gal. 3 : 13, anything inconsistent with this pure, undefiled sinlessness of Christ in his own intrinsic character. Luther's language is indeed strong, and some sentences, if taken alone, could be perverted into the idea alleged against him, but the connection and distinct qualifying statements show that it is to be taken as only his vigorous way of asserting the reality and thoroughness with which the Saviour vicariously bore the sins of men. "Christ," says Luther, "was innocent as concerning His own person." Dr. Pendleton mistakes the great Reformer, and does him injustice. It is to be hoped that in future editions he will revise his statement. Apart from this, we have been greatly pleased with the book. It is in the interest of scripture truth and sound theology.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

First Principles of the Reformation, or The Ninety-five Theses and the three Primary Works of Dr. Martin Luther. Translated into English. Edited with Theological and Historical Introductions by Henry Wace, D. D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, Preacher of Lincon's Inn, Principal of King's College, London, Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and C. A. Buckheim, Ph. D., Prof. of the German Language and Literature in King's College, London. With a Portrait. pp, 245. 1885.

Among the books brought out by the recent quarto-centenary of Luther's birth, this volume, now issued in this country exclusively through the Lutheran Publication House, is amongst the most important. It gathers together, with the Ninety-five Theses, the three Great Reformation Treatises of Luther, which, examined now, are found to have at the very beginning of that grand movement involved all its great principles and determined its course. Of the Treatise on Christian Liberty, the Address to the German Nobility, and the Treatise on the Babylonish Captivity of the Church, Prof. Wace says: "As is well understood in Germany, it is in these that the whole genius of the Reformer appears in its most complete and energetic form. They are bound together in the closest dramatic unity. They were all three produced in the latter

half of the critical year 1520, when nearly three years' controversy, since the publication of the Theses, on Oct. 31, 1517, had convinced Luther of the falseness of the Court of Rome, and the hollowness of its claims; and they were immediately followed by the bull of excommunication in the Winter of the same year and the summons of the Diet of Worms in 1521. * * * Their maturity is proved by the completeness and thoroughness with which the questions at issue are treated. An insight into the deepest theological principles is combined with the keenest apprehension of practical details. In the Treatise on Christian Liberty we have the most vivid of all embodiments of that life of Faith to which the Reformer recalled the Church and which was the mainspring of the Reformation. In the appeal to the German Nobility he first asserted those rights of the laity, and of the temporal power, without the admission of which no reformation would have been practicable, and he then denounced with burning moral indignation the numerous and intolerable abuses which were upheld by Roman authority. In the third Treatise, on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, he applied the same cardinal principles to the elaborate sacramental system of the Church of Rome, sweeping away by means of them the superstitions with which the original institution of Christ had been overlaid, and thus releasing men's consciences from a vast network of ceremonial bondages. The rest of the Reformation, it is not too much to say, was but the application of the principles vindicated in these three works."

These three works, with the Theses, thus become so grandly historic, should be in the hands of all the English-speaking world. They are here given in a good translation, with fitting introductory statement by able and scholarly men. In an American Preface, Dr. J. G. Morris has pointedly and effectually corrected the only statement of the English editors that needed correction—on the subject of 'consubstantiation—and rightly guarded against a possible misconception of Luther's relation to the mode of baptism. The whole work is one in whose publication we rejoice.

H. B. GARNER, PHILADELPHIA.

Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology. Based on Hagenbach and Krauth. By Revere Franklin Weidner, M. A., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod at Rock Island Ill., author of "Commentary on Mark," etc.; Member of the American Oriental Society; Member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, etc. Part I. Introduction and Exegetical Theology. pp. 184. 1885.

The author has prepared this book to meet the wants of theological students, and publishes it because he wishes to use it as a text book in his classes instead of delivering oral lectures. It aims to present a summary view of what is embraced in theological knowledge. In its preparation Prof. Weidner, as stated in the Preface, has made free use

of the manuscript lectures of Dr. C. P. Krauth, late Norton Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. The lectures of Dr. Krauth were based on Hagenbach.

After the general introduction covering 36 pages, giving a definition of the science and a preliminary view of matters connected with theological study, the volume is divided into two parts—the first showing the relations of theological encyclopædia to other sciences, and indicating the various tendencies in it, the second treating of Exegetical Theology.

The author's plan contemplates a complete outline view of the subject. His definitions and statements are brief, clear and discriminating. It will prove admirably adapted to the work of the theological classroom. A feature of special value, which will be found useful by ministers in general, is found in the lists of books, or select literature, given in connection with each branch or aspect of the subject. These lists form a large part of the volume and are made with excellent discrimination. The whole work pleases us very much, and we shall be glad to see the three additional volumes or parts promised on Historical Theology, Systematic Theology, and Practical Theology.

ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & CO., NEW YORK.

The Pattern in the Mount and other Sermons by Charles H. Parkhurst, D. D., Pastor of the Madison Square Church, New York. pp. 254.

This little volume of sermons introduces you to a man of evident intellectual force, a strong thinker, a vigorous, pungent, eloquent preacher. Every page abounds in striking and suggestive utterances. For the careful and grounded reader it is a stimulating work. What it may prove to the ill-instructed is another matter. Dr. Parkhurst, it is clear, does not care to sail his ship over the old and familiar course. He champions a "progressive theology," and that very much after the fashion of his liberal confréres. We can get the new theology only by abandoning the old. "Every new and deeper glimpse we gain of the hidden things *renders obsolete our past glimpses*." We are not to be enriched in the knowledge of the truth but impoverished. The old treasures are to be thrown away and then we are to dive for new ones. This may in the end turn out to be a very decisive test of the so-called advances made in theology. Whatever is incompatible with the old is thereby proven to be false.

In still another respect does Dr. Parkhurst sustain the reputation of his school. In their aversion to standard doctrinal definitions they fall into very indefinite doctrines and usually land in theological confusion. To protest that we are not "to allow to the prophets, apostles, and olden saints of God any monopoly of inspiration," and then confound this inspiration with that "determining life-force at the core of character, and impulse from out the very soul of God, that shall hold us in its

warm, steady, and irresistible grip, and impel us with a momentum that has the very pressure of Jehovah in it," and further add that this "is exactly as much inspiration as the power John had to write the fourth gospel, or Isaiah to compose the fifty-third chapter of his prophecy seven hundred years before Calvary," is to be guilty of a confusion of terms and ideas scarcely credible in an eminent divine of the Presbyterian Church. Why not employ the fixed nomenclature of science and call things by their right names? If one holds with ancient Montanists or the Reformation fanatics, that the inspiration enjoyed by prophets and apostles continues, let him say so, but unless he aims at reducing the doctrinal acquisitions of ages to inextricable chaos, let him not add "this is substantially what theologians call regeneration." Surely the same Spirit has a diversity of gifts, and if by one 'operation' He prompts men to write infallible records, by another enables them to speak with tongues, by another gives them a new birth of righteousness, the feeblest appreciation of the virtue of clear thinking will induce a man to give to each of these functions its appropriate and expressive title.

Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah. The Warburton Lectures for 1880–1884. With Two Appendixes on the Arrangement, Analysis, and recent Criticism of the Pentateuch, by Alfred Edersheim, M. A. Oxon., D. D., Ph. D. Author of "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah." pp. 391. 1885.

The critic was so much pleased with the author's able work on "The Life and Times of Jesus" noticed in the January number of the QUARTERLY, that he opened the present volume, published in uniform style with the former work, under the influence of a keen zest and high anticipations. Jesus the fulfilment of Prophecy, is a subject of perennial and ever-vital interest, and with the author's firm evangelical faith, his capacity for boundless research, his scientific methods and glowing eloquence, a work of superior merit was to have been expected. Nor has any serious disappointment been experienced. It is a rich addition to the literature of the subject, and is the more valuable from the somewhat new aspect under which the kingdom of God is treated in view of the recent pentateuchal criticism.

The object of the Warburton Foundation is to "prove the truth of revealed religion in general and of the Christian in particular, from the completion of those prophecies in the Old and New Testament which relate to the Christian Church, especially to the apostasy of papal Rome."

There are twelve lectures, delivered in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn during the course of four years and covering only the period of Old Testament history and that portion of the New which is included in the ministry of John the Baptist. The most interesting parts of the argu-

ment are those which establish on the one hand the primitive belief of the Church by reference to the unquestioned Gospel narratives and apostolic testimony, contemporaneous Jewish writings and Pliny's well-known letter, and on the other hand combat the position of Wellhausen and others who reduce the Pentateuch to a compilation of heterogeneous fragments.

The outcome of the whole argument is not simply a defense of the truth, strong and conclusive as it is in that respect, but a clearer, wider and more accurate presentation, than is generally possessed of our orthodox faith on this point.

For it not only traces the Messianic hope through all its stages from the *protevangelium* to the last prophecy of John the Baptist, but it carefully defines the character of true prophecy, distinguishes it both from prophecies and from heathen divination, exhibits the relation between fulfilment and prophecy and the order in which these are to be studied, points out the progressive character of prophecy and emphasizes its moral and spiritual elements. It will prove a valuable auxiliary to the study of the Old Testament and as it is written in popular style it is a work that will be much enjoyed by laymen as well as by the more advanced class of Biblical scholars.

LUTHERISCHER CONCORDIA VERLAG, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Passionspredigten, von C. Stoeckardt, Pastor an der Evang.-lutherischen Kirche zum heiligen Kreuz, St. Louis, Mo. pp. 213. 1885.

We hail with pleasure the appearance of the second volume of Rev. Stoeckardt's Sermons for Passion Week. They give fresh proof of the writer's earnest desire to discover and exhibit the true spiritual significance of the solemn events that crowd the last week of our Saviour's earthly career. He measures the true import of these occurrences and presents it to his hearers in brief discourses, clothed in simple, homely language and constructed with no small homiletical skill.

The animus of these sermons is thoroughly evangelical, and no Lutheran reader can find occasion for adverse criticism upon them, unless it be for their exhibition, now and then, of what is known as the peculiarities of Missouri theology. As an illustration of this, take his method of accounting for the difference between the thieves that were crucified with our Saviour. After describing the penitence and faith of the one, he adds: "How then? Had not the other thief also seen and heard all that the thief upon the right hand had seen and heard on the way to Golgotha? He repented not but hardened his heart. For that he was guilty. Grace was freely offered to him likewise. How then did it happen that this one, who was equally guilty, had acted just as wickedly and impiously as his companion, repented and believed? That was owing entirely to the Lord. [Das kam allein vom Herrn.] The Lord,

had looked at him, as he had before looked at Peter," etc. We are left to infer that had the Lord happened to turn his head the other way the thief upon the left hand would have been the one to repent and be saved. C. A. H.

Lutheran Hymns. For the use of English Lutheran Missions. pp. 24. 1885.

It may be regarded as a very hopeful indication of the future of the Lutheran Church in this couutry that the energetic Missourians are establishing English congregations. This little collection of eighteen hymns is intended to be sung by these congregations. True to their 'Richtung,' however, these pure Lutherans took care that no flavor of American or English Church life should filter into their communion through the use of selections from English authors. A few such unsurpassed hymns as

"My faith looks up to thee,"
"O for a thousand tongues to sing,"
"My God accept my heart this day,"

and the like might have served as vehicles of God's praise even in the Zion of 'pure doctrine.' But nothing is esteemed safe or suitable unless it has passed the test of German Lutheranism, hence these seventeen hymns are simply crude translations of well-known German Chorals, of which the following may serve as a sample:

"A healer t' us is given
Who is himself life, even
Christ, who gave up his Spirit,
Eternal life did merit.
His Word, Baptism, Supper,
Do serve 'gainst all we suffer."

To what extreme of absurdity men are driven, who have made up their minds that nothing good can come from the Nazareth outlying the Synod of Missouri and adjacent States.

Verhandlungen der dritten Jahresversammlung des Südlichen Districts der deutschen Ev-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, versammelt zu New Orleans, La., vom 4, bis 10, Februar, 1885. pp. 64.

The proceedings of the Missouri District Synods always abound in edifying material. Much space is occupied with doctrinal discussions, but worldly Societies, Home Missions, Freedmen's Missions, and other phases of Christianity receive also marked attention. If these zealous Lutherans will ever be able to adapt themselves to the English-speaking people of this country, their power will be felt in ever part of the land.

Ernster, aber bescheidener Mahnruf eines Laien an seine Glaubensgenossen in der Synode von Missouri, u. s. w. pp. 19. A stirring plea for self-denial in behalf of Christ's cause.

Trost-und Erweckungspredigt über Luc. 1 : 21, gehalten am 1. Januar 1868, von dem nun seligen Pastor Fr. Wyneken. pp. 16.

J. C. FILE, PHILADELPHIA.

Little Children's Book for Schools and Families. By authority of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America. pp. 149. 1885.

At last has appeared a children's Hymnal that comes up to our idea of a devotional manual for the little ones, a book that combines solid spiritual truth with childlike simplicity. In the use of these 113 hymns, almost the smallest who can lisp the words will understand what they are singing and will appreciate that they are engaged in something more solemn than shouting namby-pamby falderols. The collection contains some of the old favorites as well as a number of new and choice translations and several exquisite adaptations from the German. The music of course accompanies the hymns as well as the order of service, the latter being beautifully printed in red and black and well-adapted to the capacity and devotional instincts of childhood. Besides the prayers intended for the Sunday-school, there are also excellent ones for morning and evening in the home, and a number of Psalms arranged for chanting.

Some years ago the General Synod appointed a committee to prepare a similar work, but as thus far none has been produced, we predict that this "Children's Book" will largely take the place of the intended work as rapidly as its merits become known. We need have no fears of its being too much tinctured with "Councilism" when even the "*Independent*" says of it, "So far as we have observed, there is everything to commend in the *Little Children's Book for Schools and Families* except perhaps the failure to describe it in the title as a Hymn and Tune Book." "It is manufactured as carefully and as well as it is edited, which is about as high praise as we can give."

FUNK & WAGNALLS, NEW YORK.

The Minor Prophets, with a Commentary Explanatory and Practical, and Introductions to the several books. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church. Vol. I. Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah and Jonah. pp. 427, large 8vo.

This is not a new book, but an American reprint of a work that has for many years been doing excellent service in the cause of healthy exegesis in England. It was first printed in 1860. It is a book not intended principally for the technical Old Testament scholar, but rather for the pastor, the Sunday-school teacher, the intelligent and studious layman. In plan and execution it is adapted to this end. It is a *multum in parvo*, often embracing in a single remark or citation the fruit of long study. Its chief merits consist in this, that while the author is thoroughly con-

servative in his doctrinal basis and looks upon the Old Testament not as an accidental collection of literary remains of an interesting oriental people, but as the record of God's dealings with Israel in developing his plan for the salvation of man, Dr. Pusey is well acquainted with the views of modern criticism and often refutes them in a telling manner; that in his exegesis he calls upon Scripture to interpret Scripture; and that his statements are always clear-cut and to the point. While we would hesitate to adopt all his views, especially in regard to portions of Hosea and Jonah, the work is entitled as a whole to a warm welcome, and the minister especially will find it a valuable addition to his library, as a book for constant reference in the study of the Old Testament.

J. L. TRAUGER, AGENT, COLUMBUS, O.

Schulharfe mit bezifferten Noten. Für Sonntags-und Wochenschulen. Herausgegeben von J. L. Gruber. pp. 136.

So far as we can judge, this "School-harp" has been gotten up with great pains and is well adapted to its purpose.

PAMPHLETS.

Holy Memories: or a Sainted Pastor held in Reputation by his bereaved Flock. A sermon preached at the funeral of Rev. Constantine J. Deininger, by Rev. L. A. Gotwald, D. D.

Baptism. The True Teaching. By J. E. Bushnell, Pastor of Grace Church, Prosperity, S. C.

HARPER'S PERIODICALS.

Harper's Monthly, *Harper's Weekly*, *Harper's Bazar*, *Harper's Young People*, continue to come regularly. They are unsurpassed in their respective spheres, and will hold their readers as long as they maintain their present high standard. They are first-class periodicals, and will delight every intelligent family. We heartily recommend them.

THE

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EDITED BY

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E. J. WOLF, D. D. P. M. BIKLÉ, PH. D.

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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

OCTOBER, 1885.

ARTICLE I.

OF GOOD WORKS.*

AUGSBURG CONFESSION, ART. XX.

By E. HUBER, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa.

The Article, which it falls to our lot to consider at this time, is an answer to the charge of prohibiting good works—a charge of sufficiently serious character to warrant the full and earnest reply made to it by our Confessors at Augsburg. For, if substantiated, it overthrows our doctrine concerning justification by faith, and thus deprives us of our chief reason for existing as a distinct church, destroys the main foundation upon which our superstructure is reared, cuts the central root that gives subsistence and richness to our life, and leaves us as witnesses of God in the unenviable position of persons occupying the various thoroughfares of life cruelly and wickedly engaged in showing men, who ask the way to heaven, into the broad road that leads to death and hell.

This charge is one that was very common in the time of the Reformation, but is not confined to that period, as it continues to be repeated even to this day, and that not by Catholics only,

*Holman Lecture on the Augsburg Confession, for 1885, delivered in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., June 16, 1885.

but frequently also by Protestants themselves. On this account we propose to consider this article independently of the circumstances under which it originated, and irrespective of time, place or creed, accord the privilege of a hearing to all who, expressly or by implication, have anything to say in substantiation of the immoral effects of our teaching on the subject of faith.

In the first place, let us seek to attain to a definite understanding of the nature of the offence with which we stand charged. "Our writers," says the article itself, "are falsely accused of prohibiting good works." Now by good works here are not meant the unprofitable things generally understood by the term in its technical Romish sense, but everything whatever that God has commanded us to become and to do in his word; not the works justly characterized by our article as childish and needless, such "as keeping of holidays, set fasts, fraternities, pilgrimages, worshiping of saints, the use of rosaries, monkery and such like things," but the moral virtues, the fruits of the Holy Spirit, and the righteous conduct and Christian life thence proceeding.

Now these works, thus understood, they accuse us of forbidding. By this, however, they do not mean to charge us with disapproving and condemning the good works themselves and therefore discountenancing and opposing them for their own sake, but, that we hold and teach such views concerning justification as virtually and practically amounts to the prohibition of the very graces and duties enjoined by God himself.

The attack, accordingly, is aimed at the very citadel of our Protestant faith—the article gloried in as the one with which the Church stands or falls; and the charge of prohibiting good works is merely the weapon with which our stronghold is to be demolished—the evidence that justification as taught by us is an invention of man and not a truth of the word that endureth forever.

That the point of assault is where we have represented, is evident from the whole contents of our article, which is, from beginning to end, a setting forth and defence of the doctrine of faith; as also from the Romish Confutation in which this article

of our Confession is entirely rejected on the ground that it teaches "that good works do not merit the remission of sins."

Understanding now what the indictment is which is preferred against us, let us ascertain what proof they propose to furnish to sustain the same. The arguments mainly relied on to convict us of guilt may be reduced to the three following: 1. The manners and lives of those who hold that we are justified by faith, are corrupt and ungodly; therefore the doctrine itself must be false and immoral. 2. In various passages in which faith is spoken of, the leading Reformers have plainly and expressly declared that good works are of no consequence if only men do not cease to believe. 3. The logical and inevitable tendency of the doctrine that faith alone justifies, is to produce indifference to righteousness and holiness; for if by faith, without the deeds of the law, we are forgiven, accepted of God and made heirs of eternal life, then we have need of nothing further. Or, as Luther himself has put this last objection, "If faith does everything and by itself suffices for our justification, why then are good works commanded?"

That the three specified propositions contain the substance of the arguments ordinarily employed in support of the charge that the Protestant view of justification discourages morality, may be seen from the following specific statements and facts gathered from various sources.

Cardinal Bellarmine one of the most eminent of Roman Catholic theologians and controversialists, who lived in the latter half of the 16th century and a part of the 17th, is quoted by Bishop Davenant of the English Church as follows: "We prove that Luther used to deny the necessity of good works, from the lives and manners of his followers: who in consequence of this teaching abandon themselves to all wickedness with such incredible licentiousness that it became quite needful for Luther to praise good works and to exhort to the practice of them." Here the excessive wickedness said to be prevalent among the followers of the great Reformer, is boldly ascribed to the peculiar doctrine taught by him in opposition to that of the Church of Rome.

Archbishop Spalding of this country in his History of the Protestant Reformation dovotes a long chapter to the influence

of the Reformation on morals. In this he professes to give an analysis of the testimony of the leading Reformers themselves as to the practical moral results of their own teaching. This testimony is gathered by the *Dublin Review* from a work by Dr. Döllinger and inserted by Spalding in the chapter referred to. Luther is the first and most important witness. He testifies as follows: "Everything is reversed, the world grows worse every day for this teaching; and the misery of it is that men are nowadays more covetous, more hardhearted, more corrupt, more licentious and more wicked than of old under the Papacy. * * * Our evangelicals are now sevenfold more wicked than they were before. In proportion as we hear the gospel, we steal, lie, cheat, gorge, swell and commit every crime." The writer of the article in the *Review* further adds that "it could hardly be expected that Luther would himself attribute this universal depravity, the presence of which he thus frankly acknowledges, to the influence of his own gospel. But he cannot and does not conceal that such was the popular impression concerning it. * * * Indeed, not to multiply evidence of a fact so notorious, he himself acknowledges that the peasants, through the influence of the gospel, have become utterly beyond restraint and think they may do as they please. They no longer fear hell or purgatory but content themselves with saying 'I believe, therefore I shall be saved;' and they become proud, stiff-necked mammonists and accursed misers, sucking the very substance of the country and the people."

Not having access to the work of Döllinger's from which the extract is collected, we are not in a position to verify it by comparison with Luther's writings, but, damaging as the testimony may be, we presume its genuineness must be admitted from the character of the several writers, from the evidence furnished by the style which is evidently that of Luther, as also from the fact that the state of things described is confirmed by statements derived from Protestant sources, as, far example, that of Köstlin which will be given a little further on.

Melanchthon is next called up and he bears witness as follows: "In these latter times the world has taken to itself a boundless license; very many are so unbridled as to throw off every bond

of discipline, though at the same time they pretend that they have faith, that they invoke God with true fervor of heart, and that they are lively and elect members of the church; living meanwhile in truly cyclopean indifference and barbarism and in slavish subjection and adulteries, murders and atrocious crimes."

This frightful state of morality, according to the authority from whom Spalding quotes, "is attributed without disguise even by the Lutherans themselves to the doctrines of Luther already alluded to."

Köstlin, the Protestant author of a recent life of Luther, gives a picture of the spiritual condition of Wittenberg, the very centre of Protestant light and life, but little less dark than the representations given in Spalding's awful chapter. He says, "But more painful and harrassing to him (Luther) than even the threats of the Romanists and the attacks upon his teaching, which his own words, he was convinced, had long since refuted, was the condition of Wittenberg and the university. It was a favorite reproach against him of the Catholics that his doctrine yielded no fruits of strict morality. Notwithstanding all the rebukes which he had uttered for years, we hear of the old vices still rampant at Wittenberg—the vices of gluttony, of increasing intemperance and luxury, especially at baptisms and weddings; of pride in dress and the low-cut bodices of ladies; of rioting in the streets; of the low women who corrupted the students; of extortion, deceit, and usury in trade; and of the indifference and inability of the authorities and the police to put down open immorality and misdemeanors." Elsewhere the fact is mentioned that the condition of things described by Köstlin was so intolerable to Luther that he had made up his mind to quit the place and was with difficulty dissuaded from this purpose "by the united intercessions of the Elector and of the authorities of the university and of the town."

From the admirable work of Archdeacon Hare on Luther we learn that even the character of the great Reformer himself was frequently assailed in the Church of England, for the purpose of bringing discredit upon the peculiar truths brought to light and so ably and successfully established by his voice and pen. The period referred to is the second quarter of the present cen-

tury—a period made memorable in the English Church by the rise and spread of Tractarianism and the excited controversies that broke out in consequence.

Referring to this movement Mr. Hare says, "Moreover, since that disastrous cloud has come over the religious minds of England, which leads so many of our divines to decry the Reformation and its authors, the most unfounded charges against Luther have found acceptance with many, who catch them up with a parrot-like volubility in repeating ugly words. Therefore seeing that Luther's character is so closely connected with that of the Reformation, it must needs seem desirable that Luther's name should be cleared from all unmerited stigmas."

Again near the close of this volume this same writer, in justifying the size to which his book had grown, says, "But the question of Luther's character is intimately connected with the miserable controversies which are now disturbing our church; and though the decision of these controversies ought to turn on wholly different points, the enemies of Protestant truth have always felt they were gaining an advantage, if they could, by whatever artifices, detract from the fame of its first and greatest champion."

Facts such as those thus far given show very plainly, that in opposing the truth concerning justification, the adversaries place no little dependence upon the argument based upon the establishment of the immoral character of its advocates and professors.

The second argument relied on by our gainsayers is that the very leaders of the Reformation in discussing faith have said expressly that good works are of no consequence, provided only that men do not cease to believe. The inference is very plain. If the people are taught to regard faith as the only thing that is essential and good works are spoken of disparagingly by the side of faith, then the neglect of the moral law will follow as a natural consequence.

The passages relied on to establish the fact of this direct and express immoral teaching are, however, far from being as numerous and plain as is desirable for the purpose intended; in truth, they are significantly few when it is remembered how

ample si the field from which they might be gathered, Luther alone having published no less than seven hundred and fifteen different works during his life time, "sending them forth at one period," as Mr. Hare says, "almost like flights of birds." But few as they are, all that is possible has been made out of them to the detriment of a doctrine humiliating and hateful to the pride and self-righteousness of the unrenewed heart. But let us hear the accusers themselves.

Cardinal Bellarmine says: "Protestants think that man can be saved although he does no good works, nor observes the Divine commands. This I prove from the words of Luther; for in his book on Christian Liberty he thus writes: 'Good works do not make a man good, nor bad ones make him bad.' Also in another passage he says: "Where there is faith, no sin can hurt." Concerning these extracts Davenant says: "These and other things of the same kind, Bellarmine has scraped together from parts of Luther's writings to make it be supposed that the necessity of good works is entirely set aside by the Reformer."

Mœhler, theological professor at Munich, in his celebrated work on Symbolism, cites for condemnation the following passage of Luther's from his "Babylonish Captivity": Now thou seest how rich is the Christian or the baptized man; for though he will, he cannot lose his salvation, however great his sins may be, unless he refuse to believe. No sin can damn him but unbelief alone."

In a foot note this same author gives another extract from a letter by Luther to Melanchthon: "Sin lustily but be yet more lusty in faith and rejoice in Christ, who is the conqueror of sin, of death and of the world. Sin we must, so long as we remain here. It suffices that through the riches of the glory of God, we know the Lamb which taketh away the sins of the world; from Him no sin will sever us, though a million times in a day we should commit fornication or murder." This certainly seems to grant all the license to sin that the most depraved heart could ask for.

Nampon in his "Catholic Doctrine" quotes the same passage giving parts not found in the preceding extract: "If you preach grace preach the reality and not the appearance of it; if grace

be a reality, bring it a true and substantial sin (to cure) and not a mere semblance of sin. Sin then and sin stoutly, but still more stoutly trust and rejoice in Jesus Christ who is the conqueror of sin and death and the world." Then after stating that sin, however often committed, will not separate us from Christ, he concludes his quotation with the following sentence: "Can you believe that a Lamb so precious has not superabundantly paid the ransom of all our crimes?"

Melanchthon is also cited by these two authors as expressing sentiments almost equally as objectionable as those taken from Luther. These extracts are, of course, produced by these writers for the purpose of showing that, as Moehler expressed it, "by the side of faith the greatest sins can be committed."

Again, Moehler in his chapter on good works, after having asserted that we deny all internal connection between salvation and holiness, illustrates and supports his assertion by the opposition excited against George Major for teaching that good works are necessary to salvation. Though Major's object was to counteract the neglect of the Divine precepts, so prevalent among members of the church, yet he was finally obliged to give up the use of this form of expression.

Melanchthon also at one time approved and employed this same formula, to prevent misapprehension of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, but subsequently omitted it from his writings.

At a colloquium held in Worms by appointment of king Ferdinand in hope of bringing about a union between the Catholics and the Lutherans, this hostility to the necessity of good works for salvation was again manifested, especially on the part of the Saxon deputies. These more rigid Lutherans insisted on it that, before entering into a conference with the Catholics, certain errors, claimed to be held by a considerable portion of the adherents to the Augsburg Confession, should be condemned. One of these errors thus to be rejected is our famous proposition—good works necessary to salvation. To this demand Melanchthon ultimately and after much hesitation agreed, though not soon enough to prevent our Weimar theologians from withdrawing from the conference.

Besides it is a well known fact that the Formula of Concord, one of the acknowledged Confessions of the church, rejects this proposition as inconsistent with the words of the apostle Paul. Now in this determined opposition to the formula before us and in its final total rejection, there does seem to be plain and decided evidence in favor of the charge that our doctrine does "prohibit good works."

The last argument, and the one mainly relied upon to make good the accusation of favoring immorality is that the logical and inevitable tendency of the doctrine of justification by faith alone is to produce neglect of the moral law. Owen, in his work on justification, speaking of several things which are generally pleaded against this doctrine by Papists, Socinians &c., says: "The first and fountain of all others is that the doctrine of justification by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ renders our personal righteousness needless and overthrows all necessity of a holy life."

The *Christian Observer*, an able periodical of England and a staunch and powerful defender of the evangelical faith against the whole Oxford school of divinity, remarks, in the volume for 1836, "that parties who taught justification by faith and *something else* accused all who opposed it of sapping the foundation of moral virtue."

Bossuet in his "Variations of Protestantism" says, speaking of Melanchthon: "He saw himself always pressed with this question of the Catholics: if we are agreeable to God independently of all good works, and all fulfilling of the law, even of that which the Holy Ghost works in us, how and whereto are good works necessary? Melanchthon perplexed himself in vain to ward off this blow and to elude this dreadful consequence: therefore good works according to you are not necessary."

Nampon, already referred to, writes thus: "When men wish to emancipate themselves upon a system from all laws human and divine they may imagine many such systems." Then after having mentioned Pantheism and Fourierism as two of these systems, he describes a third according to which "men may acknowledge sin, recognize it in themselves, but proclaim that

it is necessary, unavoidable * * * and at the same time perfectly compatible with the friendship of God, predestination to life and with salvation. Of these three systems the last seems to me to be the worst. It is degrading, void of consolation, inconsistent and immoral; nevertheless it is that which was eagerly adopted by the leading doctors of the Reformation, by the Lutherans and still more by the Calvinists." Here the audacious assertion is made that the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith is a system devised for the express purpose of setting men free from all laws human and divine—a system framed designedly to allow men to live according to all the lusts of their evil hearts and yet at the same time enable them to cherish the hope that they are in favor with God and shall inherit everlasting life.

Socinus charges Protestant divines with teaching "that God justifieth the ungodly, not only those that are so and whilst they are so, but although they continue so; that they required no inherent righteousness or holiness in any one nor could do so on their own principles, seeing the imputed righteousness of Christ is sufficient for them, although they live in sin, are not washed nor cleansed, nor give themselves up to the ways of duty and obedience to God whereby he may be pleased, and so bring in libertinism and antinomianism into the Church." These plainly expressed views of this bold heretic are gathered by Owen from a treatise written by Socinus in opposition to the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's satisfaction.

Even the Quakers, as shown by Moehler in citations from Barclay and other Friends, who have confounded justification and sanctification very much after the manner of the Catholics, making the former to depend on a work wrought in us and corresponding in degree to the progress of that internal work, whilst commending Luther for opposing the mere external works of the Catholic Church, yet censure him for going to the opposite extreme and denying the necessity of good works.

Goodsir, a clergyman of the Established Church of Scotland, declares: "It is impossible to get rid of the fact that there is in this dogma an insoluble puzzle, paradox, or contradiction and that one of its contradictory propositions is armed in a logical

sense with an irrestible antinomian force." The dogma he is speaking of is that of justification by faith alone.

The same writer says: "Absolutely every reason and motive proving the necessity for entering on a new life and living in obedience to the commandment of the Lord, is flatly contradicted by the explicit statement of the doctrine of justification or salvation set forth authoritatively in the Westminster Confession of Faith."

Concerning our own symbol he uses the following language: "It came clearly into view in my examination of the Augsburg Confession that a most disastrous collision between justification or salvation and the Divine commands enjoining righteousness and holiness, is the direct and inevitable result of making the great gospel benefit a purely external or imputative, as well as a purely gratuitous thing. For whereas the divine commands promulgated by the Gospel declare that repentance, regeneration, righteousness and holiness are necessary in order to the reaching and enjoying of eternal life, this is flatly contradicted by the declaration that these graces are neither elements of justification or salvation, for it is external or imputative; nor conditions of justification or salvation, for it is as well gratuitous, as the undoubted ground or title for the attainment and enjoyment of eternal life." The objection of this writer to the confessions mentioned, is, in short, the following: from the idea of justification, that of sanctification is absolutely excluded, and then whatever there is left in it is bestowed gratuitously, or, which is the same thing, unconditionally, or, at the most upon condition of a mere instrumental faith from which, in like manner, every moral quality has been carefully eliminated. And yet the effect of such a justification thus bestowed is nothing less than forgiveness of sin and a title to everlasting life and all accomplished without the the need of any sanctifying element in the justification bestowed or any moral virtue in the faith through which alone it is received. Verily, this does look as though at last we had found a way of salvation without being obliged to give up sin—a way of getting into the kingdom of heaven without any change in our moral character.

Bishop Jebb and Alexander Knox, a layman, of the Angli-

can church," regard justification by faith as a mere notion or cold abstraction, and therefore a nonentity. They then infer that as a notion it can have no effect upon the heart, no moral influence on the mind and conduct. To remedy this defect they propose to adopt the Romish expedient of confounding justification with sanctification." Such is substantially the account of the *Christian Observer* of (the views of) these two friends in their correspondence with each other. This is, in general, also the view of the Tractarians, as Bishop McIlvain has demonstrated in his excellent work on Righteousness by Faith, in which he proves that the Oxford divinity was very largely the development of rudimental principles set forth in Knox's "Remains."

Prof. Ritschl of the University of Göttingen in his able work on justification and reconciliation regards the attempt of Protestant writers to show that the faith which justifies involves also the ability and the inclination to well doing as a failure—thus leaving a missing link between justification and obedience. Of Zwingli's definition that saving faith is at the same time the disposition to perform good works, he says: "the combination is merely asserted but not vindicated." Prof. Ritschl, it must be remembered, is not a Catholic theologian.

Dr. Godet, professor of Theology in Neuchatel, and the author of many most thoughtful and helpful books, also a Protestant, expresses himself as follows on the subject under consideration: "Protestantism, we must confess, has always shown itself weak and embarrassed, when called upon to point out precisely the organic connection between these two elements of salvation—forgiveness and holiness. Theologians of this way of thinking have generally looked for this connection in the feeling of gratitude, or else have contented themselves with simply adding on the exposition of the law to that of grace, without seeking to discover the inner relation which connects the latter with faith and the former with obedience." The juxtaposition he judges insufficient and the feeling of gratitude does not constitute a proper foundation for the duty of Christian sanctification.

Beard, in the Hibbard Lectures for 1883 on the "Reformation

in its relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge," declares that antinomianism follows logically from a hard and external interpretation of justification by faith."

Swedenborg, himself the son of a Lutheran bishop of Sweden, gives it as his decided conviction that the doctrine of justification by faith is subversive of morality and extremely pernicious to all practical Christianity, and, accordingly, in his "True Christian Religion" he opposes it with all his power, in season and out of season. He assures us, on the authority of an angel, that those who embrace the doctrine here are doomed to take up their abode hereafter in a desert in which there is no grass, whilst those who rely on both faith and charity are permitted to dwell with the angels. And he further informs us that as the result of his own persistent efforts with him, Luther himself has become convinced that his favorite doctrine had been taken, not from the word of God, but from his own intelligence, that he frequently laughs at his former dogmas as diametrically opposed to the Bible, and, admitting that he seized upon the idea of faith to break away from the Catholics, wonders however how one crazy man could make so many others crazy so that they could not see that the Scriptures were against his doctrine.

Of course if this testimony is to be admitted against us, if it must be conceded that our heroic leader, who while on earth feared neither devils nor flames, has struck the flag, and if residence in a monotonous, grassless plain is the just award of heaven to such as hold this doctrine, then it is all up with justification by faith alone. But when we remember that this same witness also testified that the Christian Church had come to an end on the 19th of June, 1770, and that information to that effect had been sent out by Christ himself to the whole spiritual world, and that a new church should be raised up among the Gentiles, there is some hope that his testimony against Lutherans may be ruled out.

A stronger argument, however, against the moral effects of our doctrine than that brought from the regions visited by this wonderful dreamer, is involved in the well established fact that many of the staunchest and most devoted friends of justification

felt and acted on the conviction that there ought to be some modification in the form of its expression. Thus, for example, Osiander proposed to include sanctification as an element in justification. Melanchthon, Major, Menius and others wished to guard the doctrine as ordinarily stated, by the declaration that good works, whilst not necessary to justification, were necessary to salvation. Others, while adhering to the approved mode of expression, sought to prevent antinomian consequences by extending the meaning of faith so as to make it really equivalent to faith and works. Such was the course advocated by Lauterwald of Upper Austria and Bishop Bull of England. The same desire for a qualified statement of this important doctrine manifested itself among English Protestants. J. T. Goodsir, of the National Church of Scotland formerly, makes the declaration that for a period of a hundred and twenty-five years, to the adoptation of the Westminster Confession of Faith in 1646, "controversies were caused in the Protestant world by the collision between an external and gratuitous justification and the moral requirements of revealed religion, and that it was urged in these controversies that righteousness and holiness were not merely necessary, but necessary either as elements or conditions of justification and consequently necessary to the enjoyment of eternal life."

But even after the settlement of the controversy in favor of an unconditional justification by the adoption of the Westminster Confession, and especially its eleventh chapter, the desire for a change or qualification continued to manifest itself, and in about seventy-five years afterwards was influential enough in the Assemblies of the Church of Scotland of 1720 and 1722 to pass an act declaring "good works to be necessary to everlasting salvation;" thus materially modifying the doctrine of justification by faith alone, as well as diminishing its influence indefinitely. Now, as already remarked, this persistent agitation in favor of some more guarded statement seems plainly to denote that in the judgment of many of its most faithful friends the doctrine of justification in its present form was easily susceptible of such interpretation as to lend encouragement to evil doers to continue in their sinful course.

Having now set forth the nature of the charge brought against us, with sufficient minuteness and fullness to enable us to understand definitely what the accusation involves and also to appreciate the force thereof, let us next proceed to inquire what defence may be set up against the indictment preferred.

THE DEFENCE.

Our article unhesitatingly declares the charge to be false and promptly and energetically goes on to justify itself for pleading not guilty.

The writings of the accused are summoned to prove that useful instruction has been imparted in regard to the duties of men in the various relations of life; and that this instruction has even had the happy effect of bringing about a decided improvement in the preaching of the adversaries, causing them to say less about the childish and unprofitable things before discussed and more about faith.

Next there follows a re-statement of the doctrine assailed and a confirmation of the same from the Scriptures and the Fathers.

Then there is given a full definition of the faith to which justification is ascribed. This is felt to be a vital point in the defence. For if faith be merely a belief that what is revealed in the Scriptures is true, then it would indeed become a most difficult thing to maintain that the faith which justifies does also sanctify. But faith has an element beyond belief, viz. "trust which comforts and lifts up disquieted minds."

After this comes an explanation as to the manner in which faith produces good works. By faith the Holy Spirit is received; by the Holy Spirit the heart is renewed and new affections are begotten, the fruit of all which is the very thing we are accused of prohibiting—viz. good works.

The line of defence thus adopted by our Confessors is in every respect admirable, having unquestionably been based upon and suggested by, an experimental knowledge of the workings of faith as observed in their own hearts and lives. We shall use the long-tried weapons laid up in this arsenal of truth in attempting to resist the attack upon the faith delivered to us by these faithful soldiers of the cross.

The portion of our article which consists in a re-statement and confirmation of the doctrine of justification need not be dwelt upon in this discourse, it being sufficient to refer the reader to the able and satisfactory discussion thereof in the Holman Lecture on the fourth article of the Augsburg Confession, published in the October number of the EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW for 1869. The design and advantage of its introduction into this article must not, however, by any means be passed by without due consideration; for it is inserted here as part of the answer to the charge stated at the beginning and involves a most important argument in our favor. They mean to say, we can show that our doctrine concerning faith is taught in the Scriptures and being a Scripture truth it cannot possibly give encouragement to evil doing nor prove a hindrance to works of righteousness and holiness. Having established it as a doctrine from God, we can say it is holy, just and good; and if in any case it is claimed that that which is good was made death to any one, we insist upon it that it was not the doctrine concerning faith that deceived and slew him, but, his own sins wrought death in him by that which itself is good. Whatever is done, therefore, to show that this doctrine as held and expounded by our Church is derived from the Scriptures is so much done to vindicate it and us from the charge of forbidding good works. For if the fact that justification hinders good works is proof that justification is not true, then also the fact that the doctrine is true, becomes proof that it is not and cannot be detrimental to the cause of morality.

The other arguments contained in our article will all be made use of at the proper time, in our answer to the charge to which our Confessors refused to plead guilty.

Believing that all the evidence furnished by our adversaries to substantiate the charge they have made, is contained in the three propositions mentioned near the beginning of this lecture, we shall proceed to consider these and in the order in which they were before enumerated,

The first of these is an argument from the character of the professors of any particular doctrine to the character of the doctrine itself, or from the character of the effect to that of the

cause. The doctrine of justification by faith alone, it is maintained, must be immoral and false because the manners and lives of those who have embraced it are corrupt and ungodly.

In replying to this, let us first hear the answer Bishop Davenant gives to this objection as made by cardinal Bellarmine: "What frivolous arguing! Many Lutherans live wickedly, therefore Luther denied the necessity of good works. As if many Papists, many cardinals, yea Roman Pontiffs did not live very wickedly, although the necessity of good works is by no means denied in the Roman Church. * * * And lastly what outstrips all the folly is that a Romanist should infer error of doctrine from corrupt manners; a process of reasoning by which Rome herself, the chief seat of all wickedness (as all the world can testify) must be concluded to be herself the very sink of all errors." It is certainly not going beyond the truth to say with Owen that "those who at present oppose this doctrine do not in holiness, or righteousness, in the exercise of faith, love, zeal, self-denial and all other Christian graces, surpass those who adhere to it;" or with Bishop O'Brien that "this doctrine has no reason to fear the result of a comparison of what those who hold it have been enabled to do and to suffer in the cause of Christ, with any sacrifices or any labors which have been the fruits of any other view of the gospel."

And that a very considerable portion of Catholics are far from being worthy to have their names appear in the calendar of saints, is evident from admissions by Catholic writers themselves. Dr. Milner, for example, an able controversialist of the Church of Rome, writes as follows in his "End of Controversy": "I, as well as Baronius, Bellarmine, and other Catholic writers, have unequivocally admitted that some few of our pontiffs have disgraced themselves by their crimes and given just cause of scandal to Christendom. I acknowledge with the same unreservedness that the lives of very many Catholics in this and in other parts of the Church are a disgrace to that Holy Catholic Church which they profess to believe in—unhappy members of the true religion by whom the name of God is blasphemed among the nations."

Now from this frank acknowledgment it appears that the lives of those who adhere to the supposed true faith are, to say the least, no better than those of the members of the Protestant Church. If, therefore, the Lutheran view of justification is false and immoral because the lives of many of its adherents are sinful, then it follows likewise that the Catholic view is false and immoral, for the lives of its adherents are corrupt likewise. Accordingly, there is neither justification by faith without works, nor justification by faith with works. This of course is an absurdity and so is the argument that leads to it.

But besides its being absurd, necessitating a conclusion known to be false, the argument is also impracticable and therefore without value. In the case of the persons whose immoral lives are to prove the immoral effects of justification, it must certainly be shown that they had indeed actually embraced the doctrine taught by Luther; not merely that they had in swarms renounced the Catholic faith, and professed the Lutheran, but that they had from the heart and with a correct understanding, adopted the same. The establishment of this single fact in the case before us is by no means a simple matter when the peculiar circumstances of the period referred to are taken into consideration; and yet the demand that the fact be established is just as reasonable as the demand, that before the death of any individual be charged to the mal-practice of a certain physician, it should be shown that the deceased had actually been under his treatment and had made use of his prescriptions.

Then again after having shown the co-existence of belief in Luther's theory of salvation and general corruption of manners in the same subjects, it ought to be made to appear that the corruption was really produced by their belief and not by any one of the many other causes that give rise to it. And when it is remembered that the neglect of good works complained of is found where no theory whatever as to the way of salvation has been adopted; yea, even where the Catholic view itself is held, it can readily be seen that it is a matter of extreme difficulty by any mere process of reasoning to show to a certainty that the persons referred to by Bellarmine would have lived better lives had they not come under the influence of Luther's doctrine con-

cerning justification. On account of the difficulties involved in this method of argument by deduction, it becomes simply impracticable and therefore useless. If the connection between belief in justification as taught by the Lutheran Church and disregard for the requirements of the moral law can be established at all, it must be done in some other way than the one now under consideration. The only effectual method, in fact, of arguing from the conduct of the adherents to a certain faith against the faith itself, is by the process of induction. Cases must be adduced of persons or communities that before adopting said faith were living in obedience to the will of God but afterwards manifested a total disregard of the same.

Now this very thing is attempted to be done in the work by Dr. Döllinger on the "Reformation as to its interior Development and Effects," as may be seen in the extracts taken from it by the *Dublin Review* for Sept. 1848 and inserted in Spalding's History of the Reformation. By means of exclusively Protestant testimony it is claimed that the people of Germany in general, who under Catholic influence had been virtuous and pious, became licentious and ungodly to an unusual degree upon adopting the Protestant faith. Luther declares that nowadays men are more corrupt, covetous, hard-hearted, licentious and wicked than under the papacy. * * * Our evangelicals are sevenfold more wicked than before. Melanchthon says, that never in the days of our fathers had there existed such gluttony as now. Althamer writes: "Nobody cares to instruct his child, his servant, his maid or any of his dependants, in the word of God, or his fear. And thus our young generation is the worst that ever existed." It is further claimed that the testimonies gathered from Protestant documents describe the social condition not only of a portion of Germany under the Reformation, but of the country in general, specially naming the following: Saxony, Hesse, Nassau, Brandenburg, Strasburg, Nurenberg, Stralsund, Thorn, Mecklenburg, Westphalia, Pomerania, Friesland, Denmark and Sweden.

It is further asserted that "districts in which crimes were unknown were scarcely initiated in the principles of the Reforma-

tion till they became corrupted to the heart's core." Ditmarsen in Holstein is cited as a remarkable instance.

The universities are declared to have become more corrupt after the Reformation than before, being pronouned by Protestants themselves "asylums of dishonesty and vice," and "dens of immorality to which parents feared to send their children." And from Wolfgang Menzel, Spalding shows that the imperial court of Vienna afforded by its dignity and morality a bright contrast to the majority of Protestant courts.

Now here we are furnished with a fearful array of evidence, gathered exclusively from Protestant sources, which seems abundantly sufficient to prove the immoral effects of the Reformation of the 16th century. Admitting, as I suppose we must, that the state of things in Germany is correctly represented in this testimony, do the facts furnished necessitate the conclusion our opponents draw therefrom in regard to the tendency of the Protestant faith? We maintain they do not, and for the following reasons.

The facts relied on to verify their theory are taken from too narrow a strip of the entire field of investigation to justify a conclusion as to the character of the whole. True, this at first glance does not seem to be the case, inasmuch as the testimony is taken from common life, from life in the universities and at the courts of the nobles and of the reigning princes; not from one section of Germany merely but from no less than fourteen different countries which are specifically enumerated; not from one institution of learning only but from all; not from one Protestant court but from the majority of them. This certainly does look as though the experiments were sufficiently varied and general to justify the conclusion that what was true in so many cases must be true in all, or at all events, in the majority of cases, and reveal the existence of a law to the effect that the adoption of the doctrine of justification by faith is followed by the neglect of God's commandments.

Nevertheless, on closer examination it will be found that, in spite of the long list of particulars, the experiment is really but one—made on one people, one country, one period and one general condition of things. The people examined, whether taken

from the court, the university, the field or the shop, from German or Scandinavian lands, all belong to one common family—the Gothic.

The time in which the experiment is made is the remarkable period of transition from the bondage of the papacy to the freedom of the Gospel. This one circumstance, that the numerous facts adduced are supplied by one people subject to one common influence goes very far toward overthrowing the whole argument based upon the evidence so laboriously collected by Dr. Döllinger in his History of the Reformation.

Then again the testimony of the facts is not uniformly in favor of the theory to be proved even in the one period and country from which they were obtained; for it is a truth beyond question that among those who professed the new faith there were found many most godly men and women whose holy and devoted lives reflected great credit on the religion they had embraced. This is a second circumstance calculated to vitiate the argument we are examining.

And when the experiment is made, as it must be to have any value, in other nations and in other periods it will be found that there are many instances in which countries adopting the Protestant faith were not only improved thereby but attained to a moral and religious condition not easily paralleled in the best Roman Catholic country in the world. This, with the other considerations presented, is enough completely to overthrow the argument by induction from experiments made "in the circle of the Lutheran Confessions," and to prove beyond a doubt that whatever the facts may signify, they do not serve to establish it as a general truth, that the acceptance of the doctrine of justification by faith alone results in neglect of the law of God. They really, formidable as they appear from their number and character, prove nothing more than that the introduction of the Reformation with the various countries of Germany was accompanied by an apparent deterioration of the public morals; and this result can be most satisfactorily accounted for by the peculiar circumstances under which the Reformation was brought about, without any admissions derogatory to the moral tendency

of the glorious doctrine which our Church has the honor to have given back again to the world.

The circumstances we refer to as accounting for the facts adduced by Dr. Döllinger are the following.

The long forgotten truth which Luther was raised up to set forth and defend is one of the things of the Spirit of God which the natural man cannot receive because spiritual discernment is required; a doctrine to the reception of which a genuine inner religious experience is essential.

Besides, it had to be set forth in terms peculiarly liable to be misunderstood.

Mr. Beard in the Hibbert Lectures for 1883 well says: "All the words to which faith answers, have in different proportions an intellectual and a moral side. On one side they rise into 'trust' and imply a personal affection; on the other they sink into 'belief' and may mean no more than an intellectual assent. But unhappily 'glaube' alone covers the whole ground. It is faith and belief too." On this account justification by faith may very readily be taken to mean no more than justification by belief, which, as any one can perceive, is a very different thing from what Luther maintained.

Again, many of the teachers of this doctrine were not competent to exhibit it with the clearness and correctness necessary to a proper apprehension of it on the part of the hearers. "Most of the preachers," writes Bucer, "imagine that if they inveigh stoutly against the anti-Christians (the Papists) and chatter away on a few unimportant fruitless questions and then assailed their brethren also they have discharged their duty admirably." Seckendorf assures us that some preached of nothing but forgiveness and faith, neglecting the doctrine concerning sanctification and good works, and thus weakened the desire of holiness. Ledderhose in his life of Melanchthon informs us that Melanchthon was commissioned to prepare a manual of instructions for the ministers in the Electorate of Saxony. The very fact of such a work being ordered, as well as the instructions given in the same, show clearly that the teachers themselves needed to be taught. This is a second circumstance that

must be considered in accounting for the exceptional moral effects attending the first introduction of the Reformation.

And lastly, this highly spiritual doctrine, to a great extent entrusted as a matter of necessity to men poorly fitted to teach it, was to be lodged in the understandings and brought to bear upon the lives of a people still less prepared to receive it. Luther complained of the condition of things in Saxony: "Help, dear Lord, what frequent distress have I seen, because the common people, particularly in villages, know nothing at all of Christian doctrine, and it is but too true that many ministers are unskilful and unfit to teach. And yet all are called Christians, are baptized, and enjoy the holy sacraments, and do not even know the Lord's Prayer, or the Creed, or the Ten Commandments, and live on like the brutes."

Melanchthon often went out and wept, as he writes himself: "What can be offered in justification, that these poor people have hitherto been left in such great ignorance and stupidity. My heart bleeds when I regard this misery. Often when we have completed the visitation of a place I go to one side and pour forth my distress in tears. And who would not mourn to see the faculties of man so utterly neglected, and that his soul, which is able to learn and grasp so much, does not even know anything of its Creator and Lord." Seckendorf, as quoted by Hare, declares "that through the sloth or unfaithfulness of their priests before Luther began to preach, the great body of the common people were kept in ignorance of religion and merely urged to a servile observance of ceremonies." That most of them were so rude "as not even to recognize enormous sins to be such, nor have any thought of avoiding them, being accustomed to rely upon the outward expiations hitherto practiced, by means of confession and ecclesiastical satisfactions."

Now take all together: a doctrine requiring a true knowledge of self and of the Saviour of mankind, is to be taught by men in many cases ill-fitted for the work, to a people such as described by the testimony above given, and what conception is it likely that they would form in the main of the grand truth whereby the world was to be made glad. Uninformed and undisciplined in mind, ignorant of the most essential parts of God's

word, morally so abased as almost to have lost the very power of discriminating between right and wrong in the clearest instances, accustomed to a method of forgiveness after sinning which instead of regarding amendment of life as at all essential made light of it and attached all importance to mere outward observances, such as confessions, repeating Pater Nosters, fastings, bodily mortification and other mere external ceremonies, is it to be wondered at that people in such a case would by a free justification understand their former doctrine of penance to be meant with the penance left out; or in other words, that they would conceive Luther's doctrine to denote that they could sin as before and be spared the trouble besides of making confession to a priest and submitting to the penalties imposed by him. The practical effect of such a view by such a people would in all likelihood be a state of things very much like that depicted by Dr. Döllinger's plain-spoken and faithful witnesses. Not to the legitimate effect of the soul-comforting doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, but to the degraded intellectual and moral condition of the people to whom it was proclaimed, must the results complained of be attributed—a condition of things that Luther and the Reformation inherited, but did not create.

We have thus far proceeded on the supposition that the fact asserted by our opponents in respects to the superior moral condition of the German people before the Reformation was correct—a supposition absolutely essential to their argument—and yet have been able, as we think, to make it appear that, granting what they assert, their testimony does not prove our doctrine guilty of prohibiting good works. But we honestly believe that too much was admitted; that notwithstanding appearances the people in reality were just as corrupt before the Reformation as after it. Like an unruly son held in check by the strong hand of a determined father, the masses were restrained in a measure from overt acts of sin by penances, purgatory, and hell; but as soon as the fear of these things was taken away they acted out the evil nature in them without let or hindrance, just as the morally uncultured boy referred to gives free reins to his untamed passions the moment he leaves the parental home for college. In both cases there seems to be

a change for the worse, but the change is only apparent; they were not saints before nor afterwards. In the case of Saxony the testimony we have produced before shows that its moral condition was as low as it could well be conceived to be. In respect to Ditmarsen, a district in Holstein, it is claimed that it was remarkably free from certain crimes before the Catholic religion was abolished in 1532, but that in less than ten years after "public crimes prevailed so universally that neither preaching, teaching, instruction, menaces, nor the terror of God's wrath and his righteous judgment was of any avail." Now will any man in his senses believe that if these people had been as harmless and pious as represented they would so soon thereafter have become so fearfully corrupt. Verily it requires a total renunciation of the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints to accept a claim like this. And what we have good reason to believe as to Saxony and the district in Holstein specially singled out, is no doubt true also in regard to the other countries of Germany and Scandinavia—they were fully as bad in reality before their conversion to Protestantism as afterwards, and we feel sure that if Catholic writers had been as frank as ours were in describing the moral condition of their people it would not have required the indefatigable application of a Döllinger to have collected a mass of evidence from their own writings equal in all respects to that contained in the famous work on the Inner Development of the Reformation. The true verdict to be given in the case under consideration we believe to be that drawn up by Beard in the Hibbert Lectures in a note at the end of his fourth chapter, where in commenting on Dr. Döllinger's work he speaks as follows: "Again in a certain way the Reformation inherited the sins of the preceding age. It arose in part out of the dissolution of morals in which mediæval Christianity had ended and with which it had more or less successfully to cope. May not the worst that can truly be said of it be, that it had to deal with a corrupt generation and left it little better than it found it? The monasteries were full of monks and nuns, without vocation, who embraced Protestantism for the sake of the liberty which it offered them, and were afterwards

its disgrace." Or in other words, many of the converts to the new doctrine who had been left in a fearfully corrupt moral condition by the religion under which they had been reared are afterwards made to furnish evidence by their unimproved morals against the faith they have professed but whose transforming power they have not experienced.

Having now disposed of the objection to our faith based upon the character of its adherents, let us see what force there is in their second charge which accuses Protestants of favoring immorality by their direct and express teachings.

So far is this from being the fact that the very opposite is the case. Our confessors in the article under consideration refer to their writings on the Ten Commandments as proof of the useful instruction imparted by them in respect to the various Christian relations, duties and works. In the article itself they say with the utmost plainness that good works should and must be done. A separate article—the sixth—is introduced into the Augsburg Confession setting forth the necessity of good works as the fruits of faith. The works of Luther and Melanchthon abound in passages enjoining obedience to the precepts of God's word. "Both subjects," says Luther, "even faith and works, ought to be diligently taught and urged. For if works alone are taught, as is the case in the papacy, faith is lost sight of; if faith alone is taught, immediately carnal men imagine that good works are not necessary." Archdeacon Hare regards Luther's concluding remarks on the Ten Commandments in the Larger Cathechism as in themselves a sufficient answer to the charges of antinomianism made in Hallam's Literature of Europe. The passage quoted by Mr. Hare sets forth the superior excellence of the commandments with great force and beauty. Ranke's admirable words also deserve a place in this connection: "It is in this that Luther seeks his chief glory, in applying the principles of the gospel to common life. More especially did he deem himself bound to instruct the various classes of society—the magistrates and those under authority, fathers and other members of families—concerning their duties from a religious point of view. He displays an incomparable talent for popular teaching. He directs the parsons how they are to preach so as

to edify the common people—the schoolmasters how they are to instruct the young in the several stages, to combine secular knowledge with religion, to avoid all exaggeration,—the masters of families how they are to train their households in the fear of God. He draws up a series of texts to guide all in right living, the clergy and the laity, men and women, parents and children, servants and maids, young and old. He gives them a form for blessing and grace at table, for morning and evening prayer. He is the patriarch of the severe and devout domestic discipline and manners of the families in Northern Germany."

Equally decided as that of Luther, is the testimony borne by Melanchthon, by Chemnitz and many others in behalf of the importance and obligation of obedience to the moral law. Osiander, himself a Lutheran theologian, entertained the idea that according to Melanchthon and others God justified the believer without making any change in their moral condition. This charge was repudiated by his opponents, who denied that by justification they intended such a judgment passed by God upon the sinner as leaves him inwardly unchanged. They affirmed, on the other hand, that with the declaration that the believer is righteous is immediately connected the working of the Holy Spirit toward illumination, renovation and new obedience. They also pointed out to Osiander that they maintained, as a result of God's sentence of justification, a real union of Christ and the Holy Spirit with the believer. Such is the account Prof. Ritschl gives of the difference between Osiander and Melanchthon on the subject of justification.

In addition to this testimony of leading individuals, we have the evidence of our confessional writings as to what was taught in our churches on the subject of good works. The Augsburg Confession in article sixth says: "Also they teach that this faith should bring forth good fruits and that men ought to do the good works commanded of God, because it is God's will." "We should and must do good works," says the Apology, because God requires them: they are the fruits of faith." The Formula of Concord declares: "We believe, teach and confess that all men, but especially those who are regenerated and renewed by the Holy Ghost, are under obligation to do good works * *

* * Faith is first enkindled in us by the Holy Ghost in conversion, though the hearing of the gospel. This faith apprehends the grace of God in Christ, through which the individual is justified. Afterward, he is also renewed and sanctified by the Holy Ghost. And after such renewal and sanctification the fruits or good works follow. This is not to be understood as if justification and renewal are separated from each other, so that true faith can sometimes exist in connection with an evil design for a season; but here the order alone is exhibited according to which the one precedes or succeeds the other." Mœhler, the Catholic author of "Symbolism," admits that there is another side to the Lutheran principles of faith whereby it becomes the fruitful mother of love and good works. Bossuet, another Catholic divine, also acknowledges: "Luther did not exclude from justification a sincere repentance, namely—the horror of sin and the will to do good and, in short, the conversion of the heart—and judged it as absurd as we do to be justified without contrition or repentenance."

Now from the the foregoing extracts it is evident that the general tone and spirit of Protestant writers is decidedly favorable to morality and holiness: and knowing their general intention to be to commend and encourage the cause of righteousness, we can feel sure that if any passages are found in any of their writings of an opposite character they must be capable of an interpretation consistent both with true morality and sound doctrine; or, if there is a real departure from the truth it must be regarded not as a wilful sin on their part, but one of infirmity, such as any man, however advanced in the divine life, is liable to commit. In regard to the passages commonly cited to show that Luther and Melanchthon maintained sentiments immoral in themselves, and therefore necessarily promotive of vice, it will be found on due examination that there is nothing in them to warrant the unfavorable conclusion often drawn therefrom.

Bellarmine, as we have already seen in the former part of this lecture, criticises the following sentence from Luther's treatise on Christian Liberty: "Good works do not make a man good, nor bad ones make him bad." That this expression, properly

understood, contains no error but a most important truth can be seen at a glance by any unprejudiced mind. The correctness of this judgment will appear quite readily when the whole passage of which it forms a part, is examined. It is found in Luther's Primary Works, recently issued by the Lutheran Publication Society, on page 121, and reads as follows: "A bishop when he consecrates a church, confirms children, or performs any other duty of his office, is not consecrated as bishop by these works; nay, unless he had been previously consecrated as bishop, not one of these works would have any validity; they would be foolish, childish and ridiculous. Thus a Christian, being consecrated by his faith, does good works; but, he is not by these works made a more sacred person, or more a Christian. That is the effect of faith alone; nay, unless he were previously a believer and a Christian, none of his works would have any value at all; they would really be impious and damnable sins. True, then, are these two sayings; good works do not make a man good, but a good man does good works. Bad works do not make a man bad, but a bad man does bad works. Thus it is always necessary that the substance or person should be good before any good works can be done and that good works should follow and proceed from a good person. As Christ says, a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. * * * As then trees must exist before their fruit and as the fruit does not make the tree either good or bad, but on the contrary a tree of either kind produces fruit of the same kind; so must first the person of the man be good or bad before he can do either a good or bad work; and his works do not make him bad or good but he himself makes his works either bad or good. We may see the same in all handicrafts. A bad or good house does not make a bad or good builder, but a good or bad builder makes a good or bad house. And in general, no work makes the workman such as it is itself; but the workman makes the work such as he is himself. Such is the case, too, with the works of men. Such as the man himself is, whether in faith or in unbelief, such is his work, good if it be done in faith, bad if in unbelief." Now in all this there certainly is nothing worthy of condemnation for it is but an ex-

hibition of the truth taught by Christ himself in Matthew 7 : 17, 18, that if any man would do the works commanded of God his first concern must be to be renewed in the spirit of his mind by the grace of Christ through the operation of the Holy Ghost. Yea, instead of being held up to the scorn of the world for uttering ungodly sentiments, Luther deserves no little praise for being able to enter so fully into the profound meaning of our Lord's deep saying and setting it forth so clearly and plainly. There is in it a world of wisdom and practical instruction for all who are concerned either to make themselves or others better. The world over, the first and instructive impulse is to begin at the wrong end in the improvement of character—by putting off the bad fruit and trying to force the production of good fruit. This holds good of ministers, teachers, parents and men in general; the great majority of laborers in the Master's vineyard are wasting time and effort in trying to do two impossible things—making corrupt trees bring forth good fruit and turning bad trees into good ones by first making them bear good fruit. Wise to win souls is the man who sees as Luther did, that good works do not make a man good, nor bad ones make him bad, and who consequently feels the absolute necessity of first committing every tree into the hands of the Lord of the vineyard to be transformed by the power of his might, regarding it as his great and chief business not to counsel men to attempt the impossible task of making themselves better by their own works, but to point them and urge them to the Lamb that taketh away the sin of the world.

Another saying of Luther's condemned by Bellarmine is this: "Where there is faith no sin can hurt." This same passage is quoted more fully for censure by Prof. Mœhler, and at still greater length by Nampon. Ward, an English writer, also harps on this same string. The passage is taken from Luther's treatise on the Babylonish Captivity and may be seen in the work already referred to, Wace's Luther's Primary Works, on page 185. The subject of which Luther is speaking is baptism, and his object is to persuade men when they have sinned to rely for forgiveness upon the promise of God made to them in their baptism, instead of depending upon any satisfactions they can per-

form themsclves. His own words will best show his design as well as his meaning. "The first thing we have to notice in baptism is the divine promise which says, He who believes and is baptized shall be saved. This promise is to be infinitely preferred to the whole display of works, vows, religious orders and whatsoever has been introduced by the invention of man. On this promise depends our whole salvation and we must take heed to exercise faith in it, not doubting at all that we are saved, since we have been baptized. Unless this faith exists and is applied, baptism profits us nothing; nay it is hurtful to us, not only at the time when it is received but in the whole course of our after life. For unbelief of this kind charges the divine promise with falsehood, and to do this is the greatest of all sins." This promise, he goes on to say, ought to be studiously inculcated by preaching, because having been once conferred upon us its truth continues to the hour of death; the penitent's heart will be comforted and encouraged to hope for mercy if he fixes his eyes upon that divine promise once made to him, which could not lie, and which still continues entire, unchanged and unchangeable by any sins of his. And then, after illustrating his point by the case of the children of Israel, who when they returned to God in repentance first of all called to mind their deliverance from Egypt, he utters the sentiment censured by our opponents: "We see then how rich a Christian or baptized man is; since, even if he would, he cannot lose his salvation by any sins however great, unless he refuses to believe; for no sins whatever can condemn him but unbelief alone. All other sins, if faith in the divine promise made to the baptized man stands firm or is restored, are swallowed up in a moment through that same faith; yea, through the truth of God, because he cannot deny himself if thou confess him and believingly cleave to his promise. Whereas contrition, confession and satisfaction for sins and every effort that can be devised by men, will desert thee at thy need and make thee more miserable than ever, if thou forgettest this divine truth and puffest thyself up with such things as these. For whatever work is wrought apart from faith in the truth of God is vanity and vexation of spirit." The case that Luther has under consideration is that of a believer or bap-

tized person who has fallen into grievous sin since his baptism. How shall such a one obtain pardon and get back again the lost grace and the lost right to heaven? By the sacrament of penance, says the Church. The virtue of your baptism has come to an end by the sin you have committed; the ship of baptism is wrecked. Henceforth your only hope is in the plank of penance which the Church throws out to keep you from perishing. Or in other words, it has set up a tribunal on earth to dispose of the cases of persons sinning after baptism. The priest, as the appointed vicar of Christ, has full authority to try such cases, pronounce judgment, and determine the penalty. Before this tribunal of the Church every man who has sinned after baptism must appear, exercise contrition, confess his sins and perform the satisfaction imposed on him by his confessor. Otherwise there is no salvation. Now what Luther teaches in the passage objected to is diametrically opposed to all this and entirely subversive of this priestly court. When the Church says to the penitent seeking pardon, Do penance, Luther bids him exercise faith in the divine promise given him in his baptism. When the Church answers that the virtue of baptism has ceased, Luther declares, it continues till the hour of death. When the Church further argues, that one mortal sin is sufficient to annul the grace and salvation secured in baptism, Luther then insists on it that "a baptized person cannot, even if he would, lose his salvation by any sins however great, unless he refuses to believe, for no sins whatever can condemn him but unbelief alone. All other sins, if faith in the divine promise stands firm or is restored, are swallowed up in a moment through that same faith; yea through the truth of God, because he cannot deny himself, if thou confess him and believingly cleave to his promise." In short, Luther here teaches that sins after baptism are remitted in the same manner as those committed before—through faith in the promise of God in Christ; that the old ship has not been dashed to pieces as was supposed, but still sails safely on its course and need not be exchanged for one of the fragments into which it has been broken. Thus summarily does Luther turn this whole sacerdotal court out of doors by his doctrine concerning baptism, and it is not to be wondered at that the view

set forth and advocated by him should fail to find favor in the eyes of those whose jurisdiction is thus overthrown.

The third passage of Luther's that has often been employed to prove him guilty of favoring immorality by direct teaching, is that in which he seems to counsel and urge the commission of sin on the ground that however often and however greatly we may sin we yet shall not be separated thereby from the love of Christ; yea, even though a thousand fornications and murders were committed in a single day. This certainly seems to deserve the severe condemnation which it has so often received; yet as in the case of the other passages it admits of very satisfactory explanation. The expression is taken from a letter written by Luther to Melanchthon, a circumstance which at once puts the whole matter into a more favorable light. According to Hare, who bases his views upon Baur's reply to Mœhler, Luther, in the letter referred to, discusses the question whether the reception of the communion in one kind only is sinful. He expresses his gratification that at Wittenberg it is celebrated in both kinds as instituted by Christ. Then he goes on to speak of fearful calamities which appear to him to be hanging over Germany. Immediately after this occurs the passage that has given so much offence, in which Melanchthon is apparently urged to commit the most abominable crimes and with the utmost possible frequency, inasmuch as through the riches of God's grace they will all be forgiven. When it is borne in mind that, just before, Luther had expressed his apprehensions in regard to calamities that threatened his native land, we cannot suppose that, "unless some evil spirit had actually taken possession of him, he could just then have cried out to Melanchthon, Come, brother, let us sin, let us wallow in sin, so that our enemies may indeed have good reason to exult and triumph over us and that all lovers of godliness may be offended." The following paraphrase by Mr. Hare, we believe, sets forth the true meaning of this notorious passage, and we will therefore give it in his own words: "When we look back to the previous argument about the eucharist, it seems evident that Melanchthon must have been insisting on the sinfulness of receiving in one

kind. This, Luther speaks of as a fictum peccatum, and says: You who are a preacher of grace, remember that the grace you are to preach of is not a make-believe but a mighty reality and that it is not bestowed on us for the forgiveness of artificial peccadilloes, but of those awful, cleaving sins of which every man with an awakened conscience must acknowledge himself guilty. God sent his Son into the world to save real sinners—not fictitious sinners. Therefore be a sinner and sin boldly. Acknowledge that thou art a sinner, but be of a good heart notwithstanding. Do not torment thyself about peccadilloes; let not the consciousness of thy sins drive thee to despair; believe in Christ and rejoice in him who is the conqueror of sin, of death and of the world; and let this faith prevail over the consciousness of thy sins. We needs must sin as long as we are in our present state. This life is not the habitation of righteousness, but we look, St. Peter tells us, for a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. It is enough that through the riches of the glory of God we have known the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world. From him sin shall not separate us, even though we committed fornication and murder a thousand times; yea a thousand times in a single day." Whether this explanation of Mr. Hare's be satisfactory to all or not, one thing is certain from the very force of the passage, and that is, that Luther does not mean to exhort any one to the commission of these crimes; and not any the less sure is it, that he does not mean to say that a believer can be guilty of these enormous sins and yet not be deprived of the fellowship of Christ. He undoubtedly aims to magnify the grace of God to the utmost possible extent. Having unlimited confidence in its efficacy, he assures us that nothing can be too hard for it. No matter how aggravated the sin, the grace of God can forgive and wash it away. And then supposing an extreme case, he declares that though one should be guilty of fornication and murder a thousand times in a single day, even such a sinner could be washed, sanctified and justified in the name of our Lord Jesus and by the spirit of our God. There is in this whole passage nothing whatever to alarm the friends of morality; it is the effort of a great soul struggling after language to express

the exalted conception it has formed of the Gospel of Christ; it is only Luther's way of saying, where sin aboundeth grace doth much more abound.

One other expression demands examination under the head of favoring immorality by direct teaching: it is the one asserting the necessity of good works to salvation. As shown in the former part of this lecture, our church was not willing to sanction the use of this formula, and for its rejection has received censure, as if opposed to that which is right and good. The unwillingness to tolerate this famous proposition, we believe, can be accounted for without being obliged to acknowledge that it indicates hostility to good works themselves. Let the object of their opposition be clearly distinguished. It is not good works that they objected to. On the contrary they insist on it that these are necessary and should be done; necessary for various reasons, but not for salvation in the sense in which the phrase was invariably understood in those days. The opposite proposition, that good works are pernicious to salvation they reject with the utmost promptness and emphasis, "because thereby discipline and decency are impaired and a barbarous, savage, secure, Epicurean life is introduced and strengthened." They give as a reason for not approving the expression under consideration: "That it is not in accord with the form of sound doctrine and with the word, and has been always and still is set over against our Christian faith by the Papists, in which we confess that faith alone justifies and saves."

Bishop Davenant makes the following sensible remarks upon this point: "In contending with the Romanists about justification it is not wise or safe to use or admit these propositions—that good works are necessary to salvation." And he assigns as a reason that, when they are nakedly propounded, the Papists always understand by them that works are necessary as being from their real and intrinsic worthiness meritorious causes of man's salvation, which is most false." He then goes on to point out various senses that may be given to this proposition that are not true, and on this account the formula in its unqualified form is to be rejected. The long and short of the matter is, that this proposition is susceptible of an interpretation and

an application that are erroneous and misleading. There are conditions and states of mind in religious experience in which the counsel involved in our formula would be unwise, impracticable, and calculated to lead to despondency and despair. Our Reformers were Augustinian, and not Pelagian or Semi-Pelagian, in their conceptions of the state of mankind since the fall. They did not merely regard man as stubborn and unwilling to do what he ought, but they also considered him as sick and helpless. They accordingly felt that what a man, unable to raise an arm for very weakness, needed, was not commands and incentives to quit his bed and go about and attempt the work of one in perfect health, but encouragement and admonition most urgent to commit himself at once, before doing another thing, into the hands of the good Physician who came to heal them that are sick. Persuaded of the folly and misery of dealing with a condemned and helpless sinner, as you would with a righteous holy being, they could not tolerate any utterance or teachings that put the halt, the blind, the sick and impotent to work to heal themselves by doing good work, and as this expression was always interpreted to mean that a sinner must save himself by his own working, they rightly and to the comfort of many troubled hearts rejected the proposition—not because they were opposed to good works, but to the consummate folly of setting a multitude of impotent folk to work to cure their impotency by vigorous exercise and labor, or as Luther has tersely put it, in his Christian Liberty: It is not from works that we are set free by the faith of Christ, but from the belief in works.

In concluding this portion of our subject let us call to mind the several facts that have now come into our possession: The Reformers expressed themselves with the utmost fullness and freeness upon the various subjects of religion, and what they spoke or wrote was proclaimed to the ends of the earth; out of all their numerous sayings and writings only a very small number of passages have ever been objected to on the ground of their discouraging virtue and promoting vice; these passages thus censured and condemned have been found not only to admit of a satisfactory explanation but of such interpretation as to be made to teach most precious and important truth. Now

when all these circumstances are considered, does it not seem miraculous that these men should not have offended more frequently and more decidedly, and do we not in this fact alone have proof conclusive that they knew from inner consciousness whereof they affirmed, and that they spake as they were taught and moved of the Holy Ghost.

We have now disposed of two of the arguments commonly relied on to prove that the Protestant faith prohibits good works; that based upon the lives of Protestants, and that drawn from the professed teachings of several of the leading Reformers. The third and only one yet remaining to be examined is that based upon the natural tendency of the doctrine of a free justification, which tendency it is claimed is unavoidably antinomian. Men, it is urged, will have no motive to obey the precepts of God's word, when they are assured that without the deeds of the law they shall be justified and saved by faith alone.

The chief reasons assigned for charging our doctrine of justification with antinomian tendencies are the two following. The prominent external motives that constrain men to avoid wrong-doing and follow after righteousness are the threatening of punishment and the promise of reward, and the force of these is taken away by belief in the theory of faith advocated by our churches. These external influences being removed, internal impulse alone must be depended on to produce the conduct required by God's word. This, in the case of the consistent Protestant believer, must all come from his faith, for that is the only internal quality made necessary to justification; and this faith, it is confidently maintained, has no moral power in it at all adequate to the production of a righteous course of conduct. Accordingly, there being no force within or without to constrain to a life of obedience, man, left to himself, will naturally walk after the lusts of his unrenewed heart and continue in the ways of sin.

Let us look at these reasons in the order above given. The first is that the force of the punishments threatened against disobedience and of the rewards promised to righteousness, is annulled by the Protestant view of faith. The Protestant Christian is taught to believe that the moment he turns to God in

faith he obtains remission of sins, acceptance with God and a right to eternal life, not on account of anything he has done or can do himself, but solely on account of what Christ has done in his behalf. Thus from the first step toward the Father's house he may have hope and peace, instead of doubt and tormenting fear. The Catholic, on the other hand, is taught that he is not justified until, and in so far as, he is also sanctified. His justification, being based on his having been made inherently righteous, follows his santification; and as any man's obedience is always imperfect and doubtful, there is always more or less uncertainty as to his acceptance before God and his final salvation. This uncertainty, it is claimed, begets a wholesome fear, which acts as a continual restraint upon wrong-doing and an incentive to righteousness, whilst the Protestant's more confident and more cheerful view of his relation to God and eternal life has the opposite effect and renders him careless about his conduct. As Bishop Davenant says: "The Papists object that this doctrine of the assurance of faith, which we lay down, puts men at their ease, and that the effect is that men take occasion hence to give the reins more boldly to unholy lusts." Father Paul tells us that in the debates in the Council of Trent on the certainty of forgiveness and grace it was maintained that uncertainty was profitable and meritorious besides; that otherwise "a Christian would become drowsy, careless and negligent to do good."

Now in considering this objection it must be distinctly borne in mind that it can apply to none but believers, for none others are freed from the fear in question by our teaching on the subject of justification. According to our doctrine also, as well as that of our opponents, the fear of eternal condemnation can be brought to bear upon the minds of impenitent men to bring them to repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

In further noticing the objection now before us we have the following considerations to present. That while disposed to admit that the threatening of punishment has a restraining effect upon wrong-doing under all circumstances, we nevertheless feel that the value of this motive to the cause of religion may very easily be overrated, and that when it is constantly present to the

consciousness or exists in a high degree, it actually hinders, and sometimes even paralyzes activity, instead of promoting or producing it. Prof. Wace in the Boyle Lectures for 1874–1875, in speaking of the doctrine of justification as favoring amendment of life, ascribes this result to the fact that the doctrine delivers men from fear and establishes confidence between the soul and God. He must have very different ideas as to the effects of fear on morality from the Tridentine theologians who pronounced it both profitable and meritorious. This is what he says on the subject: "If I have at all succeeded in explaining the meaning of the doctrine (justification), it will not seem wonderful that it should have such an influence. Its very object, as we have seen, is to remove from the soul every fear, to banish those shadows of guilt which render it timorous in action and in thought, and to restore it to perfect confidence in a just and an almighty God. This is the Protestantism which in the mouth of Luther, gave a new life to the world. The proclamation of the Reformer was that 'it is the design of God to have dauntless, calm, and generous sons, in all eternity and perfection, who fear absolutely nothing, but by confidence in his grace triumph over and despise all things, and treat punishments and deaths as sport. The rest He hates as cowards, who are confounded by the fear of everything, even by the sound of a rustling leaf.'"

Again, the facts of religious experience, as far as they bear upon the question under discussion, do not favor the view that uncertainty as to our acceptance with God is conducive to piety; for these facts indicate very clearly and decidedly that the stronger a man's conviction is that he is in favor with God and is in possession of the gift of grace, the stronger is his desire for holiness and the greater and steadier his effort to attain it.

The inspired writer,s in appealing to men to cultivate holiness, evidently do not apprehend any unfavorable results from the assurance of faith. Thus the apostle exhorts the Corinthian Christians to cleanse themselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit because they have the promise that God would receive them and be a Father unto them. St. John uses the fact that we are sons of God now and shall be like him hereafter as a reason why every man should purify himself. St. Peter, hav-

ing first reminded his readers that the divine power has given them all things belonging to life and godliness, assures them these exceeding great and precious promises are given that by them we might become partakers of the divine nature. Now all these appeals are addressed, not to the feeling of fear begotten by our uncertainty as to our relation to God, but to the feeling of confidence produced by the conviction that God is truly our Father and that we are his children indeed.

The objection against the doctrine we are seeking to defend bears equally hard upon the blessed Gospel of the son of God, if the apostle Paul's representations as to its design are to be trusted. He declares in the epistle to the Hebrews that it was the purpose of Christ to destroy the devil who had the power of death, and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage. In his epistle to the Romans he says: Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. How well this accords with Luther's expression, quoted by Wace: "It is the design of God to have dauntless, calm, and generous sons, who fear absolutely nothing, but by confidence in his grace triumph over and despise all things and treat deaths and punishments as sport."

Lastly, the faith through which the fear in consideration is cast out, itself calls into play other influences, which, to say the least, are fully as efficacious in preventing the believer from acting contrary to the will of God, as the uncertainty which our opponents pronounce so wholesome in its effects. The restraints referred to are the following, and their operations are so well understood that the bare enumeration of them is sufficient to our purpose. The conviction that God is ever near us and sees all we do: the desire to enjoy the esteem and good will of one so exalted in character and power as God; the fear of displeasing God and thus bringing upon ourselves his paternal chastisement; the fear of being deprived of the Holy Spirit's presence and assistance; the dread of the sense of guilt, shame and misery that sin produces; the aversion to the very nature of sin, and the doubt that any act of disobedience begets as to whether we are in the faith or not. These various motives to

righteous conduct, which faith calls into activity, will more than compensate for the loss sustained through the casting out of that fear that hath torment, and remove all occasion for uneasiness as to any injury the cause of morality and religion may suffer by its expulsion. All things considered, the fact that our faith delivers men from this slavish spirit should be regarded, not as an argument against our view of justification, but as satisfactory evidence in favor of its truth and excellence.

But, interpose our opponents, not only is the motive of fear counteracted by your doctrine of justification, but that of hope also. What is there to stir up a man to do his best in the cultivation of spiritual graces, or to stimulate him to zealous exertion in the service of Christ, in the case of a person who believes himself accepted of God and entitled to eternal glory in consideration of what another has done in his behalf? Does not faith break off the connection between our efforts here and our destiny hereafter, and thus rather impede than help in completing Christian character and performing Christian works. The argument is that the believer has no incentive to exertion in the attainment of holiness and in the rendering of service, inasmuch as admittance into heaven is not made to depend upon these things but upon the work and righteousness of Christ. The believer is supposed to say within himself, "since by faith in Jesus I am in possession of a title to heaven, it matters not whether I am diligent in the culture of my inner life and in the performance of duty or otherwise; the result is all the same in either case—it is a penny a day whatever the amount or character of the service rendered."

In examining this objection let us inquire whether it is a fact that, on the supposition that our right to heaven depends upon the work of Christ for us and not upon the merit of our own doings, a greater or less degree of fidelity and activity in the pursuit of moral excellence and the discharge of Christian obligation makes no difference in our future condition. We think it will turn out far otherwise. We feel assured that it can be made to appear from the word of God that the outward circumstances of the saved will differ very materially hereafter, even as

they are known to do in the present life. The Scriptures furnish various representations that indicate with much clearness that there are differences in external condition in heaven as well as upon earth. For instance, the apostle Paul in the 15th chapter of first Corinthians sets forth the great variety that exists in the objects of this world; all flesh is not the same flesh but differs in the case of men, of beasts, of fishes and of birds. So also there is a difference between celestial bodies and bodies terrestrial. The sun, moon and stars differ in glory; and again one star from another. Then he adds, "so also is the resurrection of the dead." The idea of the apostle seems to be that different kinds of nature take upon themselves different outward forms. The higher the nature the nobler the body assumed. And there is every reason to believe that what holds good in respect to the different kinds of nature is a law also in respect to different degrees of the same nature. The nobler the nature the nobler the external form in which it is clothed. Consequently the higher the degree of holiness—which is the sum of all moral excellence—the nobler and better the resurrection body. Superiority of inner life will express itself in superior external form. This is already of itself a difference in outward condition, for superior bodily excellence is an advantage by no means to be despised. But having reason to believe that hereafter there will be a perfect adjustment between the nature of all God's creatures and their external circumstances, we feel confident that superiority in outward condition may be inferred from superiority of character.

Still more decided and clear however is the evidence in support of this position furnished by the teachings of the Saviour in the parable of the pounds and of the talents. The parables in general reveal to us the unseen things of the Kingdom of Heaven by means of the known things of this world.

The Saviour, before whose eye both worlds lie equally open, tells us what he sees in the one by comparison with what we know in the other. The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man going into a far country who delivered his goods into the hands of his servants, directing them to trade therewith till his return. After a long time he cometh again and reckoneth with them.

Now let us see carefully on what principles he deals with them, for like him is the kingdom of heaven, or as this nobleman dealt with his servants so will the Saviour deal with his likewise. In the parable in the 25th of St. Matthew, that of the talents, the following are the facts given. One of the servants had received five talents; with these he traded and made therewith other five talents. The percentage of gain is exactly one hundred. The reward is commendation for fidelity and the assurance that he shall be made ruler over many things. Another servant has received only two talents; gains therewith two talents more. The percentage of increase is one hundred, the same as in the case of the first servant. The reward is precisely the same as in the former instance, expressed in precisely the same words. The reason undoubtedly is that the diligence and fidelity were exactly the same in both servants.

Now in St. Luke, the 19th chapter, we have the parable of the pounds very similar in many respects to that of the talents. Here all the servants are entrusted with a like amount—one pound. The first one reports a gain of ten pounds; the second of five or only half as much on the same capital. As the sum traded with is the same, there must have been twice the activity and faithfulness in the case of the first servant as in that of the second. Will there be any difference in the reward? or will the declaration of the Saviour be precisely the same to the second as the first, as we found it to be in the parable by St. Matthew. Read the 17th and the 19th verses, "Well, thou good servant; because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities." That is what he said to him that gained ten pounds. "Be thou also over five cities," is what he said to him that had gained five pounds. Here is no word of commendation; he is not called good servant; he is not pronounced faithful, for that would not have been true as with precisely the same abilities and opportunities he ought to have accomplished as much as the first, with equal application. Now we for our part believe that the Saviour is not careless in the use of expressions and that the distinctions perceived in his language were designed by him, and designed because he wanted to teach mankind that reward in his kingdom would correspond with the ut-

most nicety to the degree of faithfulness manifested in his service.

Nor is there, as is commonly supposed, in the parable of the laborers who wrought different lengths of time but received the same compensation, anything to conflict with the teaching of the two we have considered. That only teaches this additional principle that the motives of the laborers, and their opportunities, are taken into consideration in fixing the rate of compensation and not merely the length of the service or the amount of work.

The following extract from Prof. Bruce's Training of the Twelve expresses the same truth, "The kingdom of glory will be but the kingdom of grace perfected, the regeneration begun here brought to its final and complete development. But the regeneration, in its imperfect state, is an attempt to organize men into a society based on the possession of spiritual life, all being included in the kingdom who are new creatures in Christ Jesus, and the highest place being assigned to those who have attained the highest stature as spiritual men. This ideal has never been more than approximately realized. The visible church, the product of the attempt to realize it, is and ever has been a most disappointing embodiment, in outward visible shape, of the ideal city of God. Ambition, selfishness, worldly wisdom, courtly arts, have too often procured thrones for false apostles, who never forsook anything for Christ. Therefore we still look forward and upward with longing eyes for the true city of God, which shall as far exceed our loftiest conceptions as the visible church comes short of them. In that ideal commonwealth perfect moral order will prevail. Every man shall be in his true place there; no vile men shall be in high places, no noble souls shall be doomed to obstruction, obscurity, and neglect; but the noblest will be the highest and first, even though now they be the lowest and last. 'There shall be true glory, where no one shall be praised by mistake or in flattery; true honor, which shall be denied to no one worthy, granted to no one unworthy; nor shall any unworthy one ambitiously seek it, where none but the worthy are permitted to be.'" The last sentence Prof. Bruce quotes from Augustine.

The argument is undoubtedly supported also by reason and experience. That men should be rewarded according to their excellence and works no unprejudiced mind will deny. That the qualities and actions of men have much to do in determining their outward circumstances in this world, is a matter of common observation. To a great extent every man makes his own surroundings, and similar causes will have like results always and everywhere.

But not only will there be differences in external condition, graduated according to the degree of moral character, but even under precisely the same outward circumstances the man that has made the greatest progress in holiness will enjoy the largest amount of satisfaction and of good.

Happiness is by no means proportioned to the means of happiness which our circumstances afford us, but depends very much also upon our own state of mind, and our dispositions. There are feelings and affections that will make happiness impossible under any circumstances however favorable, and there are others again that will keep the mind in a state of peace and joyfulness under the hardest external condition. Happiness accordingly comes very largely from within, and not exclusively from without. On this subject Chalmers says most excellently and truly: "Virtue is not the price of heaven—it is the very substance and being of heaven. * * * All who refuse a life of virtue, do in fact refuse the only heaven of eternity—the heaven of the New Testament; for search far and wide over all the domains of infinite space and there is positively no other heaven to be found than a heaven of righteousness and true holiness. Were it only a musical heaven, we ask of what use and enjoyment it could be to the deaf? or were it only a heaven of beauty and splendor, a panorama of glorious spectacles over which the delighted eye might expatiate, of what use could the privilege of entry into such a heaven be to the blind? or were it only an intellectual heaven, how could it prove a heaven at all to those bereft of understanding? or finally, being what it is, a moral and spiritual heaven, it can be no heaven to the wicked, or the secular, or the earthly; and that it might be a heaven to us there must be an adaptation of the subjective to the objec-

tive, or in plainer language we must be sanctified, we must be moralized."

Again, our ability to derive profit and enjoyment from any opportunities the providence of God may afford us, depends also upon the degree of cultivation bestowed upon the various faculties through which we perceive and appreciate the excellencies of the objects around us. A man's ability to derive pleasure from the beautiful, the grand, the sublime in nature, depends upon his taste for these glories of the world in which we live; one will be unaffected by the scene that thrills the soul of another with delight. A man's ability to derive enjoyment from the noblest productions of literature depends altogether upon his ability to apprehend and appreciate the thoughts and feelings that are expressed therein. The book, that one reader will thrust aside as dull and tedious, another will hang over with deepest interest and attention and lay aside with regret when finished. And thus it is with every means of rational enjoyment; he whose powers have been most highly disciplined by faithful exercise thereof will, other things being equal, derive the highest degree of pleasure and profit from any circumstances calculated to furnish these.

From these considerations it appears that the cultivation of all our various faculties, moral and intellectual, constitutes an important element in every man's happiness; and that the measure of cultivation of mind and heart becomes the measure of enjoyment and advantage that our external surroundings will yield. Now it can readily be shown that both character and mental culture are the product of our own actions while in a state of discipline here on earth; and that thus we ourselves create the constituent elements that enter into our happiness, here and hereafter.

And, first, moral character is the outgrowth of our daily conduct. Any desire, whether good or evil, that arises in the soul impels to action corresponding in character to that of the desire itself. If the desire, by the consent of the will, passes over into an outward act it gains strength by the gratification afforded. The act being continuously repeated, the desire becomes established as a habit or permanent disposition of the mind and

this is character. Now in the school of life it has been so ordered that demands are made almost hourly upon the virtuous feelings, as self-control, self-denial, forbearance, benevolence, zeal for God and many other Christian affections. According as we respond to these demands, gaining victories over evil dispositions and indolence, so we advance in moral character, and that, as before shown, is an important and essential element in happiness whether on earth or in heaven.

So also it is in respect to the improvement of all our mental powers; every pursuit in life calls them into play and the man that is most careful and faithful to put his whole soul into his work will acquire the highest degree of discipline. Faithful performance of any work, whatever, will involve the best use of all the intellectual faculties we possess, and such use will always bring with it increased power of the kind that was called into activity. The man, consequently, who employs his gifts most faithfully on all occasions that require their exercise, is the man in whom these will become most fully developed, and superior development always enables him to derive greater satisfaction and benefit from any circumstances in which he may be placed. He that hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly.

Summing up our argument, then, we find, that in the future life our external condition will be pleasant and profitable in a higher or lower degree in proportion as we have attained to a higher or lower degree of excellence of character, and have manifested greater or less zeal and fidelity in the service of God; likewise, that even out of the same circumstances we shall be able to derive more or less of enjoyment and advantage according as our moral and intellectual faculties have been more or less improved by cultivation; and lastly that the degree of moral and intellectual development we attain depends upon the manner in which we discharge the duties of every day life, and the use we make of the opportunities for self-discipline with which God continually surrounds us. In short, happiness corresponds with character, and character is the product of fidelity in respect to opportunity and duty. Thus, after all, even on the admission that our works do not purchase a right to heaven, it turns

out that our reward hereafter varies according to the deeds done in the body, and that the Protestant Christian is not deprived of the stimulus to duty which comes from the hope of eternal recompense. We conclude this part of our subject with another most excellent extract from Dr. Chalmer's: "Now our safety, our state of salvation, or which is the same thing, our state of spiritual health, and so of spiritual enjoyment, lies in a state of earnest, progressive, aspiring holiness, along a career in which the greater our holiness the greater will be our happiness also; or in other words the more virtuous here, the greater will be our preferment there—the more we multiply and heighten our graces on this side of death, the greater will be our moral and spiritual treasures through all eternity. Thus ought we to understand the precepts of laying up our treasures in heaven; and the virtues of the new creature, instead of being the price which we give in exchange for these treasures, or only the evidence of their being in reserve for us by the time that we enter into Paradise, are the very treasures themselves which regale and satisfy the spirits of the celestials. Holiness is more than the way to some better and higher landing-place; holiness is itself the landing-place, and our restoration to holiness the great object of the economy under which we sit. Christianity does not begin with virtue and end with justification—it begins with justification and ends with virtue."

Again, it is argued, that not only are the threatenings and promises of God's word made ineffective by our doctrine of justification, but that all moral elements having been carefully excluded therefrom, there remains in it no moral force that is at all adequate to the production of obedience and holiness. The connection between justification and sanctification, it is claimed, cannot be vindicated.

From the elements that constitute justification the Protestant view shuts out sancification, retaining forgiveness of sin, restoration to God's favor, adoption into his family and heirship in the kingdom of heaven. These, our opponents regard as external things, not necessarily involving any moral change in the justified. Thus, in their opinion, the only element that involves a change of character is carefully eliminated from our doctrine.

And not only this, but we do not admit any moral quality, they say, into the condition by which a sinner becomes justified. The condition is a single thing—faith; and that faith justifies, not as Bishop Bull holds, because it is a complex quality including all the works of Christian piety, but because it is the instrument by which the righteousness of Christ is embraced. Thus, the Apology admits "that faith is efficacious not on account of its worthiness but because of the divine promises." The Formula of Concord declares, "that faith, in the case of justification before God, relies neither on contrition, nor on love, nor on other virtues, but on Christ alone. For faith justifies, not because it is a work of great value and an eminent virtue, but because it apprehends and receives the merit of Christ in the promise of the Gospel." Thus it seems we are obliged to look to faith alone not only to justify us but also to sanctify us and to take our stand with Luther when he says, "Justifying faith is trust, comes first, justifies by itself and then gives birth to all graces." Faith is the one thing of all the parts of justification that is within us, and thus becomes the only point of attachment for all the Christian virtues and the Christian works that the word of God requires. Will the existence of justifying faith insure the various effects involved in sanctification?

Let us, in seeking to answer this question, distinctly bear in mind that the object that must be secured is sanctification or the production of holiness and obedience to the divine will, and this must somehow be the fruit of faith. Now, holiness is not a mere logical process but in the words of Prof. Wace, "something created and developed in us by the influence of a personal Spirit on our souls." According to the Scriptures it is Christ that has undertaken to save his people from their sins; that gave himself for the Church that he might sanctify and cleanse it and present it to himself at last as a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing. This purification Christ brings about by the agency of the Holy Spirit, for as Dr. Newman well says: "Since his ascension Christ has ceased to act by his own hand but sends his Spirit to take his place, he himself coming again by his Spirit. This is evidently

the truth taught by the Saviour himself in John, 14 : 16–18.

The Holy Spirit, bestowed by Christ, takes up his abode permanently in the soul of the believer, brings him under the influence of the truth and works in him that love which is the fulfilling of the law. We need not stop to show that these agencies and means, expressly appointed for this purpose, will prove adequate to the production of holiness and obedience. Proof of this will be furnished in the further discussion of this subject; besides, the efficiency of the instrumentalities is generally admitted. The point to be established here is that faith brings us into connection with them—unites us to Christ, secures the gift of the Holy Spirit, subjects us to the power of truth and begets in us that love to God and to man on which hang all the law and the prophets. If faith can accomplish this connection, then our question is decided in the affirmative, and the fact is established that the faith which justifies also sanctifies, and the charge that it prohibits good works must be withdrawn.

And, first, will faith bring us into union with Christ so as to secure his active co-operation in the work of delivering our souls from the dominion of sin? The union contemplated will require the consent of both parties concerned—that of Christ who is to save, and that of the penitent who is to be saved; and the moment both are willing the union is consummated and the work of deliverance from sin is begun. Just as the physician and the patient have come together when the former has agreed to undertake the sick man's cure, and the latter has concluded to submit himself into the physician's hands for treatment, so Christ and the lost sinner have come together when Christ consents to undertake the sinner's salvation from sin and the sinner himself has decided to surrender himself to Christ to be healed of all his spiritual diseases.

As far as Christ is concerned he is ever ready and willing to perform his part in the work. He gave himself for the Church to sanctify and cleanse it and he will not be remiss in the office he has taken upon himself. He came to seek and to save that which is lost; he went about doing good. And he has expressly and emphatically declared, "him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out." Christ, as shown, being always willing

to accept men for salvation, it only remains for the sinner to consent to commit himself into Christ's hands in order to complete the union, and to bring into action the various agencies and appliances appointed for man's deliverance from sin and his restoration to holiness. This is clearly the teaching of Christ himself in various declarations that fell from his own lips. "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not." And to the Jews he said on another occasion with the utmost plainness, "Ye will not come to me that ye might have life." Both these passages teach that if men had been willing, their salvation would have been assured. This fact simplifies the question to be answered and reduces it to this form: Will faith, wherever it exists, secure the believer's consent to submit himself into the hands of Christ for spiritual treatment? The physician stands ready. Will the sick man accept him? Will faith make him willing to submit himself into his hands?

To answer this question let us determine what conditions of mind are necessary to induce this willingness and self-surrender. We say there must be in the first place a sincere desire for the salvation that Christ has to bestow—a desire for the pardon of sin and restoration to the friendship of God—a desire also for deliverance from sin and restoration to holiness. Unless a man is sincerely concerned to secure the blessings which Christ came to impart, he certainly will not take the trouble of going in pursuit of them. Again, this desire must be sufficiently strong to make a man willing to accept the blessings wished for in any way and on any conditions according to which it may please Christ to communicate them. Many a young man appreciates the advantages which a full course at college secures and would like to possess them, but unfortunately he does not desire them sufficiently to subject himself to the laborious and self-denying process involved in such a course. Before his desire will lead to any practical results it must rise to a height in which it will accept the course notwithstanding the hard work and the self-denial that belong to it. So in respect to the vastly greater blessings of holiness, one must desire them to such a degree as to be willing to submit to the entire discipline Christ in his wis-

dom may see fit to ordain. This, as any one can see, implies a complete surrender of one's self into the hands of the Saviour and involves an act of the will.

To this desire another element, however, must be united in order to produce this willingness; and that element is trust in Christ. At his hands we are to receive the unspeakable gift of salvation. But we are sinners, under sentence of condemnation; and can we in such a case look for favors at the hands of Christ? It is evident that before we can come to him for the gift of his Holy Spirit to accomplish our sanctification we must trust in his mercy and believe in his willingness to forgive us our sins. So likewise trust is necessary to induce us to make the complete self-surrender required to our salvation. No man will unqualifiedly subject himself to the control of another unless he has unlimited confidence in his wisdom and good will. Nor will any man agree in all things to follow the directions and submit to the requirements of Christ unless he is persuaded that Christ is more competent to direct him than he is himself, and that Christ is truly his friend and aims at his advantage in all that he ordains. From this examination we find that in order to beget the willingness which will lead a man to submit himself into the hands of Christ for sanctification, there must be an honest and unqualified desire for the blessing he has to bestow and at the same time full confidence in his wisdom and goodness.

Now, does faith include in itself these two elements—of desire and trust? Does it include desire? Faith presupposes contrition in respect to sin; never exists unless contrition has previously existed. And contrition unquestionably constitutes desire for reconciliation with God as also for freedom from the power of sin. In the opinion of our Confessional teachings, contrition and faith are the two parts of repentance, using the word repentance in its larger sense. Faith, therefore, necessarily presupposes contrition, that being the first part of repentance. Luther says, "Faith is inseparable from contrition." The Apology declares: "Faith dwells in those who are truly penitent; whose alarmed consciences feel the wrath of God and their own sins." The Formula of Concord says, "A true and saving faith therefore does not dwell in those who entertain no contri-

tion and sorrow and who have the evil design to remain in sin and to persevere in it." Accordingly in every case in which faith is known to exist, in every such case we are assured that contrition has preceded. Now this contrition which always accompanies faith is described as including acknowledgment of sin, sorrow for sin and abstinence therefrom; and a state of mind like this, as all who have experienced it can testify, certainly contains an earnest and honest desire for deliverance from sin, or as the Apology expresses it: "Such a heart or conscience that has fully felt its wretchedness and sins and is truly alarmed, will not relish or seek the lusts of the world." Where there is anything like a true realization of the evil of sin, its degradation, its guilt, its ruinous tendency, and where, in addition, there is a sense of personal sinfulness, depravity and peril, there will arise a strong desire for deliverance from the punishment and from the power of sin. The contrition presupposed by faith accordingly supplies the element of desire needful to move the mind in search of a deliverer.

But, faith also includes in itself the trust that will result in the believer committing himself into the hands of Christ for salvation. The anxiety awakened in the contrite spirit gives the mind no rest; it is in misery and must have deliverance. This feeling of wretchedness will impel to unceasing efforts after peace and joy. Trust in Jesus will turn these efforts in the direction of Christ and eventuate in the sinner's committing himself into the hands of Christ. For, according to the Lutheran view of faith, it is not a mere knowledge of the things to be believed concerning Christ; nor mere approving assent to the truthfulness of scripture declarations concerning him; but it is confidence in Christ—an act of the will's resting in him and embracing him as our present good and as the cause of the forgiveness of sins and of eternal life. That faith will thus result in the entrusting of the soul of the believer into the care of Jesus will appear from a consideration of the circumstances of the case. Faith involves desire to be freed from the misery sin has occasioned; it is accompanied also by a feeling of our own inability to deliver ourselves, and constrains us to look for help from without; in casting about for a deliverer it perceives in Christ

the helper it needs—one who can and will save. Now we maintain that the combined effect of this longing for relief from present wretchedness, this conviction that we cannot rescue ourselves by anything we may attempt, and the persuasion that Christ both is able and willing to deliver us, will lead such a soul to surrender itself to the friend of sinners for salvation in whatever way and by whatever discipline his love and wisdom may conclude to employ. And when this self-surrender has once taken place then the union between Christ and the penitent is an accomplished fact.

Our faith, whose effects we are seeking to ascertain, in so far as we have now traced its operations, has been instrumental in inducing the sinner to commit himself into the hands of Jesus and has thus brought about a union between himself and one that is mighty to save. In the act of sinking, all hope in self utterly gone, he surrendered himself to Christ and cried, Lord save me. Immediately, as in Peter's case, Jesus stretched out his hand and caught him. There is where we want him. With the hand of Jesus on him we know he is safe, and that ere long there will come to us a joyful shout: "Bless the Lord, oh my soul, and forget not all his benefits; who forgiveth all mine iniquities; who healeth all my diseases; and redeemeth my life from destruction."

Now when an individual, desirous of salvation, and convinced of the uselessness of undertaking the work himself, has entrusted himself into the hands of Jesus by faith, then the Holy Spirit is given him to abide with him continually, to enlighten his mind through a knowledge of the truth and to incline his heart to do the things that are agreeable to the will of God. Thus in consequence of our faith in Jesus we obtain the gift of the Holy Ghost to the end that we may be sanctified. Accordingly we are taught in the Apology to the Augsburg Confession that "we cannot receive the Holy Spirit except through faith. * * * The veil which covers the face of Moses cannot be removed except by faith in Christ the Lord, through whom the Holy Spirit is imparted." Our Article also declares that the Holy Spirit is received by faith. This is also the teaching of Scriptures: John 7 : 38–39; Acts 2 : 38; 10 : 43–45; 11 :

15–17; 15 : 8–9; 19 : 2, and Galatians 3 : 2–5 and 14. From these scripture declarations it is clear that after attaining to faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, the believer in consequence of his faith receives the permanent gift of the Holy Spirit. But it is not on account of a direct faith in the Holy Ghost that the Spirit is communicated, but because we have been justified through our faith in Christ; the gift of the Spirit is the purchase of Christ's atonement and is imparted permanently only to them who are reconciled to God through faith in the Lord Jesus. Meyer on Gal. 3 : 14 pronounces the reception of the Spirit as the consequence of justification and an aim of Christ's redeeming death—faith thus becoming the apprehending cause both of justification and of the reception of the spirit. Dr. Eadie, speaking on the same passage says, "The reception of the Spirit implies justification and is a blessing either dependent on it or collateral with it." Or, in other words the habitual presence of the Holy Spirit is not to be enjoyed by any one who is not in right relationship to the Father through Christ. The gift of the Holy Spirit in its permanent form is in reality an indwelling of a divine being in the human soul and this can take place only after reconciliation with God through the acceptance of Christ. That the spirit comes to us not directly but through the mediation of Christ is evident from numerous and plain passages of God's word. Matt. 3 : 11; John 7 : 39; 14 : 16, 26; 16 : 7; 14 : 8. The last passage very clearly implies, that in some mysterious way the coming of the Spirit is also the coming of the Saviour—that the Lord Jesus comes again to his disciples by and through his Spirit. All these passages in the most emphatic manner make the bestowment of the Spirit dependent upon the work and will of Jesus, and from previous passages we learn that it is the will of Christ to give the Holy Spirit to them that are justified through faith in his name.

It is also the constant teaching of our Confessions that we become partakers of the Holy Ghost by means of faith. Now then having connected the reception of the Holy Spirit with faith in Jesus, can it be made to appear that from this abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in one who is in the state of mind denoted by faith, obedience and holiness will invariably en-

sue? We feel that we can make our minds easy as to the sanctification of the man that has become a temple for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. If faith in Jesus secures the inhabitation of the Spirit of Christ we run no risk in predicting that faith will sanctify.

Says Bishop O'Brien in his work on Faith: "The Bible is express in referring the sanctification, which it promises to those whom God justifies, to the direct exercise of the power of his everlasting Spirit continued to the very end of their mortal career; distinctly ascribing every advance in holiness which believers make, every act of obedience that they perform, every Christian grace that they acquire, all holy counsels by which they are directed, all good works that they bring forth, all to the continued exercise of the same power by which it has been first given to them to believe in the Redeemer."

From Luther on Gal. 2 : 18 we quote the following: "Now after that a man is once justified and possesseth Christ by faith, and knoweth that he is his righteousness and life, doubtless he will not be idle but as a good tree he will bring forth good fruits. For the believing man hath the Holy Ghost, and where the Holy Ghost dwelleth he will not suffer a man to be idle but stirreth him up to all exercises of piety and godliness, and of true religion, to the love of God, to the patient suffering of afflictions, to prayer, to the exercise of charity towards all men." Says our Article: "Faith alone constantly secures grace and forgiveness of sins. And because the Holy Spirit is given through faith the heart becomes qualified to perform good works. For before this, while it is without the Holy Spirit it is too weak, &c., &c. The Smalcald Articles declare "That Paul in Rom. 7 : 14–25 shows that he wars with the law in his members, &c.; and this not by his own powers but by the gift of the Holy Ghost that follows the remission of sins. This gift daily cleanses and purges the remaining sins, and works so as to render man pure. * * * For the Holy Ghost does not permit sin to have dominion, to gain the upper hand so as to be completed, but represses and restrains it so that it must not do what it wishes." The testimony of Scripture is to the same effect. "For the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness and righteousness

and truth," Eph. 5 : 9. "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Gal. 5 : 22; Acts 15 : 8–9; 1 Pet. 1 : 22.

From the foregoing examination we find it to be the teaching of our Church, grounded on the testimony of God's infallible word, that the faith to which we ascribe justification brings about a union between Christ and the believer, by begetting in the latter a state of mind disposing him to commit himself unqualifiedly into the hands of Jesus for deliverance from his spiritual diseases; and that in consequence of this union resulting from justification by faith, the habitual presence and operation of the Holy Spirit is secured to the Christian—the result of which indwelling must necessarily be his deliverance from sin and his complete restoration to holiness. The personal influence of Christ exerted upon the believer by means of the Holy Spirit is sufficient cause to account for sanctification in the case of all who believe.

But this view of faith, which unites to Christ, secures pardon and reconciliation and sends the individual forth anew on his course with the gift of the Holy Ghost in his heart, involving as it does an exercise of the affections and an action of the will, and accounting so satisfactorily for all the internal changes necessary to sanctification, is of course stoutly combatted by all who are opposed to our doctrine of justification. They regard faith as an act of the understanding only—a mere intellectual assent to the truths revealed in the Scriptures, having no moral side and no sanctifying power, until made perfect or effective by the addition of charity. Thus the Apology complains, "Our adversaries think that faith consists in a knowledge of or an acquaintance with the history of Christ; hence they teach that we can believe even when sunk in mortal sin." Luther declares, "Moreover these perverters of the Gospel of Christ do teach that even that faith which they call faith infused, that is faith not received by hearing or gotten by working, but created in man by the Holy Ghost, may consist with deadly sin and that the worst men may have this faith; therefore they say if it be alone (not informed by charity) it is idle and utterly unprofita-

ble." Davenant says, "That misshapen faith which the Papists denominate orthodox, Christian and justifying, is found to be in most cases idle and buried in sleep. Bellarmine while vehemently contending that justifying faith is nothing else than an assent to what is contained in the word, at the same time confesses, yea, contends, that this justifying faith consists with the fact of those endowed with such a faith remaining wicked." Of course if this be the correct view of faith, then there is in faith itself no sanctifying power, and wicked men and devils may possess it. As the practical effects of faith will be entirely different if our opponents' definition of faith be adopted, we must be sure, in order that our argument may be valid, that all we have claimed for faith is actually in it. That there is in faith in Jesus something more than mere belief in the truthfulness of fcripture testimony is the opinion of Protestant writers generally. Those who are not willing to admit that trust is an element of faith, yet insist on it, that it is an invariable, inseparable consequent thereof—that where there is sincere and genuine faith there a "trustful reception of Christ, though not one of faith's essential elements, is certainly one of its immediate and unfailing results; that therefore a trustful reception of Christ as he is offered in the Gospel is essential to the nature, or at all events, inseparable from the acting or exercise of faith in Christ." The practical effect is the same, whether trust or confidence be regarded, as is most generally done, as a component part, or as an inseparable concomitant of faith. Virtually, therefore, Protestant writers are of one mind in regard to the nature of faith. But let us hear the testimony of various writers on this subject. And first that of Luther himself in that celebrated description of faith which has elicited praise from such a sturdy opponent as Mœhler. "Faith," says he, "is a divine work in us which changes us and regenerates us of God, and mortifies the old Adam, making us quite different persons in heart, mind, disposition and in all our faculties and bringing with it the Holy Spirit. Oh, this faith is a living, active, efficacious, powerful principle; it must incessantly perform that which is good. It never asks whether good works are to be performed, but before the inquiry is made, it has done them and it is always in action.

* * * Hence men without constraint become willing and desirous to do good unto all, to serve all and to endure all things to the honor and praise of God who manifested this grace to him; so that it is impossible to separate works from faith, yea, as impossible as it is to separate heat and light from fire."

Schmid, in his Dogmatics, gives knowledge, assent, and confidence as the essential elements of faith. Confidence he defines as an act by which the will rests in Christ, the Mediator, as our present good and the cause of another good, namely the remission of sins and the attainment of eternal life." This confidence the author claims is to be regarded as the most essential element of faith, the element that embraces and appropriates salvation. This statement as to the nature of faith the author supports by the declarations of various eminent theologians, who all speak of confidence as an act of the will, desiring and seeking mercy, embracing and receiving Christ. The writers referred to are Chemnitz, Quenstedt, Hollazius and Baier. Meyer on Rom. 1 : 5 says: "Faith is, according to Paul, the conviction and confidence (Assensus and Fiducia) regarding Jesus Christ as the only perfect mediator of the divine grace and of eternal life, through his work of atonement. Faith alone is the apprehending cause of the salvation promised and obtained through Christ, but because it transfers us into living and devoted fellowship with him, altogether of a moral character, it becomes the subjective moral power of the new life regenerated through the power of the Holy Spirit, of the life in Christ, which, however, is the necessary consequence, and never the ground of justification."

Davenant says: "Faith which Scripture acknowledges to be justifying has in itself the complicated act of the will and the intellect. For to apprehend Christ to be the Redeemer of the world and to assent to this proposition, "Whosoever believeth shall be saved," truly appertains to the intellect; but this faith, though at once beholding and acknowledging the Redeemer, does not justify, before the sinner has drawn, as it were, Christ to his own home and joined himself to the Mediator; and this does not happen unless by that act of confidence which, we assert, belongs also to the will." Similar views may be cited from

Owen, who speaks of faith as a trusting in Christ—receiving Christ—committing ourselves to Christ, a proper reception of Christ and his salvation, and Julius Hare, who throughout holds and ably vindicates the Lutheran view of faith as including trust in Christ. Bishop O'Brien describes faith in the blood of Christ as faith in a remedy; faith in the Lord Jesus as similar to faith in a physician, in an advocate or in a friend. Crawford says: "The fiducial trust and acquiescence of the heart is comprehended in faith either as one of its constituent elements or as one of its proper fruits." Citations of like import from Chalmers, Prof. Wace, *Boyle Lectures*, Griffiths, *Divine Foot Prints*, and Melville, *Golden Lectures*, must be omitted for want of space. Prof. Hill in his "Divinity" says: "The Gospel bringing a remedy for the present state of moral evil, the mind is not disposed to accept of the remedy until a change upon the will and the affections be produced by the Spirit of God. Hence faith stands opposed to the love of sin which produces an aversion to the remedy; to that love of the world which produces an indifference about it; to that pride and self-confidence which make it appear unnecessary." Dr. Hodge says: "Faith is a complex act of the soul involving the concurrence of the understanding and the will. Assent to a moral truth is a moral act; assent to a promise made to ourselves is an act of trust. * * * The disposition to believe testimony or moral evidence, has its foundation in the will. Actual trust in a promise is an act of the will and not a simple judgment as to its trustworthiness. * * * The specific act of saving faith which unites to Christ and is the commencement, root and organ of our whole spiritual life, terminated upon Christ's person and work as Mediator, as presented in the offers and promises of the Gospel."

Dr. Valentine in the Holman Lecture on "Justification" says: "The essential thing, which itself constitutes the reality and fulness of faith is trust or confidence. It is the "fiducia" of the old theologians and expresses the act in which the penitent reposes in the merit and grace of the Redeemer. In it he accepts Christ who is a perfect Saviour and lays an appropriating hold of him, as he has been made unto him wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. It brings the believing soul and Christ

together. * * * Faith must therefore be regarded as apprehending the gracious work and righteousness of Jesus Christ. Hence, Luther's expression, Faith taketh hold of Christ and hath him present and holdeth him enclosed as the ring doth the precious stone," EVAN. REV., Oct. 1869. Dr. Sprecher in his *Ground-work* of Luth. Theology says: "Thus true faith involves both knowledge and feeling; it embraces an act of the intellect and a movement of the susceptibility. But it is also connected with an act of submission to God, which is manifestly an act of the will. Therefore knowing, feeling, and willing operate together in faith. * * * It has an object and consequently it has a cognitive element; it approves that object and consequently it has an emotional element; it assents to that object and surrenders itself to it and consequently it must have a volitional and active element."

The testimony of the leading Protestant Confessions is in harmony with the view here advocated. Besides the emphatic declaration in our Article that the faith here spoken of is not the mere belief of a historical fact concerning Christ, which devils and the ungodly possess, the Apology says explicitly, "And that no one may suppose that it is mere knowledge we will add further, it is to wish and to receive the offered promise of the remission of sins and of justification. * * * Again, Faith is not only knowledge in the intellect but also confidence in the will, that is, it is to wish and to receive that which is offered in the promise, namely reconciliation and remission of sins." It may be well to remark at this point that many of these declarations concerning the nature of faith as existing in the intellect and the will were made at a time when it was customary to regard the mind as divided into two parts only, viz., intellect and will—the affections and desires being regarded as parts of the latter. The Heidelberg Catechism (in its definition of faith) also adds the element of confidence to the knowledge whereby we hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in his word. The Westminster Confession speaks of faith as a receiving and resting on Christ and his righteousness. The principal acts of saving faith, according to it, are accepting, receiving and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal

life by the covenant of grace. The English Homilies define the faith spoken of in the Thirty-Nine Articles as follows: "True lively faith is not only the common belief of the articles of our faith but it is a true trust and confidence in the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ and a steadfast hope of all good things to be received at God's hands. * * * It is not only to believe that Holy Scripture and all the articles of our faith are true but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God's merciful promises."

That trust in Christ is an essential element of the faith that saves, likewise has the clear support of God's word, as will become evident by considering the following scripture passages in which the term faith occurs. In Matt. 6 : 30; 8 : 26; 14 : 31, and 15 : 28 various individuals are reproved for the weakness of their faith and others commended for the greatness of theirs, and by examination of the circumstances in each case it will be found that it is want of trust that is censured and the exhibition of it that is extolled.

In Luke 16 : 11; John 2 : 24; 1 Thess. 2 : 4; Gal. 2 : 7; 1 Tim. 1 : 11, and 2 Tim. 1 : 12, the verb corresponding to the Greek noun for faith is used, and in all these cases Mr. Crawford claims that the word means "not merely the belief that a certain person is trustworthy, but the consequent reliance that is placed in him to the effect of consigning important interests to his care."

Various synonymous terms and figurative expressions are employed to denote believing in Jesus, such as receiving Christ, coming to him, eating the bread of life, of which expressions the same writer says, "Their meaning is not exhausted by a mere belief respecting Christ that he sustains a certain character, has performed a certain work and is fraught with certain blessings. There is further implied a trustful reception of him and a personal application to him for such blessings as he has to bestow." Of the passage in John 5 : 40 the author says: "Here is not only unbelief in a statement, but the wilful refusal of an offer, which ought to have been trustfully and cordially accepted." Again in 1 Jno. 5, the apostle speaks of a record or testimony to be believed. The testimony is that God hath

given us eternal life and that this life is in his Son and concludes therefrom, "He that hath the Son hath life and he that hath not the Son hath not life." This passage plainly teaches that believing on the Son of God is not merely assenting to what Scripture testimony asserts concerning Christ, but is the actual having of the Son himself, without which, the having of eternal life is not possible. Merely to assent to the ability and willingness of Christ to save sinners, without the trust that actually commits the sinner into his hands, has no more virtue in it than the consenting to all the testimony kind friends may bear in favor of the skill of a physician, without an actual surrendering of ourselves into his hands for treatment.

In James 2 the faith which is a mere assent to the truthfulness of Scripture doctrines is decidedly rejected. The person holding a mere belief in scripture propositions is represented as professing to believe that there is but one God, as if this settled his claim to be regarded a believer in the Christian sense. This faith in the unity of God is commended and is praiseworthy, especially at a time in which the prevalent and popular opinion was that there were gods many and lords many. Yet according to James this is not enough. There is an element wanting to constitute faith in Christ, and what can that be but this important element of trust in Jesus, which begets a willingness to comply with the whole discipline of the Gospel unto salvation.

We may appear to have given more testimony on the nature of faith as involving trust and an action of the will, than was necessary, but our justification is that our whole argument to establish the connection between faith and sanctification hinges upon this point—that if our opponents are right in their definition of faith they can safely defy us to show that faith necessarily begets a life of obedience and true holiness. Besides, the testimony is interesting in itself and varied in expression and bears upon a subject, which is not only vital to our argument but, what is infinitely more important, to the salvation of immortal souls also.

Again, faith beside bringing us under the personal influence of Christ and of his Holy Spirit, also brings us under the power

of divine truth and under the influence which the realities of the whole spiritual world are capable of exerting upon the mind. The beings, objects and occurrences of the invisible realm revealed in the Scriptures have an effect upon us according to their nature, similar to that which the objects and events of the sensible, visible world are able to produce. This we will not stop to prove, as few will be disposed to question it, but will proceed to inquire whether it is to faith that we are indebted for bringing our minds into connection with these unseen spiritual verities. Now we feel confident that this can be established respecting faith inasmuch as it is by it that we attain to a knowledge of the existence of the invisible world with its beings, objects, and events and to such a realization of the same as to experience their influence upon our minds and conduct. As proof of this assertion respecting the office of faith we refer to the word of God, which describes faith as the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen, hereby teaching that it is by means of faith that we attain to certainty in regard to the existence of unseen things and confident expectation of obtaining that which we hope for, thus having to do with objects that sense cannot lay hold of. By faith Moses looked out toward a recompense of reward so far in the future and so unlikely, that neither the power of reason or sense extended to the same. By faith he endured as seeing him who is invisible. Faith brought God near to him and made him as real to his spiritual eyes as was the king of Egypt to his bodily vision. In John 3 : 11 f. we are assured that Christ came to tell us of heavenly things and likewise that it is by faith that his testimony is to be received. This is equivalent to saying that for our knowledge about heaven and heavenly things we depend upon our faith in the veracity and competency of Christ as a witness. From these several passages of Scripture it is plain that faith is the instrumentality by means of which we know, realize and appreciate the persons and things that make up the world beyond the sphere of sense. Archer Butler represents faith as the realizing power in respect to spiritual things. He says, "Its office is to make us see the unseen; to be the visual sense of the Spirit; beholds God around us even now; sees this

world pervaded by the providence of God and haunted by his angels. The spiritual system that encompasses us as Christians is the constant sphere of faith. And beyond them both stretches out into infinity that everlasting world which faith accepts with equal certainty."

Alexander Knox says, "What is faith but an apprehending of divine things as realities. He who finds himself in a storm on shipboard needs not argue himself into alarm, nor strive to recollect all the various circumstances of danger. If, therefore, divine and eternal things do once impress themselves as facts, religion will grow out of that impression by a necessity of nature, and in proportion to its strength it will influence all the movements of the inner and the outward man. The making then of this impression is the great operation of divine grace. Man cannot give it himself. * * * To have faith then is to have that lively sense of divine things which makes them efficient on our hearts, tempers and conduct. * * * All men would shudder at feeling the shock of an earthquake and would alike avoid a pestilential contagion. The things of eternity rightly impressed upon the mind are at least as much fitted to subdue all minds and work upon all tempers as either the earthquake or the pestilence."

To this argument, however, it is objected that it involves an inconsistency, inasmuch as the faith which connects with and brings under the influence of the whole truth of God's word is a very much more comprehensive thing than the instrumental faith to which Protestants ascribe justification; that in order to establish a connection between faith and sanctification we find ourselves under the necessity of quietly introducing into faith elements, which it was to our purpose to exclude when speaking of the faith that justifies because it simply apprehends the merits of Christ.

Mœhler, for instance, claims that even Luther in his celebrated description of faith is in most amiable contradiction with the Lutheran theory of justification; that he became entangled in his own distinctions, ascribing to faith as the moral vivifying sentiment, the power of justification; whereas according to the

whole tenor of his system it is to faith as the organ which clings to the merits of Christ that he must impute this power. Goodsir, in his examination of the Westminster Confession, cites passages from Melanchthon's writings to show that he uses the term faith in an ambiguous sense—sometimes making it equivalent to trust or a part of faith, and sometimes using it in its full sense; that he, for example, ascribes forgiveness and comfort of heart to trust, and yet elsewhere says that by this faith which comforts our hearts the Holy Spirit is received. He says further that trust is no more faith than a part is the whole, and that it is contrary to fact to describe the faith which receives the Spirit and works righteousness as identical with the trust which, according to Melanchthon, receives justification. He passes a similar criticism on the authors of the Westminster Confession, maintaining that in the chapter (14th) on saving faith, they reintroduce everything done by faith itself, the act of believing and evangelical obedience, which they had carefully excluded from justification in the eleventh chapter, thus putting in place of that instrumental faith from which every moral quality had been eliminated, a full and rich faith which is the fruitful mother, under divine grace, of all Christian acts and habits. The substance of this writer's objection is summed up in the following words: "Absolutely nothing about faith has any connection, either as an element or condition, with the external justification or salvation, except that so-called instrumental part or function of faith. What then, is this part or function of faith? And, if it can be pointed out, how is it connected with the other parts or functions of faith and with the internal elements in general, which along with the external or imputative elements constitute our redemption?" He claims that it is utterly impossible to answer these questions satisfactorily.

The gist of the objection made by these several writers is that we have a certain kind of faith which receives forgiveness and reconciliation by apprehending Christ, and that when we are called on to show how this faith—the only part of justification that has its seat in the mind—produces sanctification, we at once and boldly slip other elements into it and thus make it an entirely different thing from the faith by which we are justified.

In replying to this objection we admit in the first place that the *fiducia* or trust to which we attribute justification is not identical with the term faith in its other sense, in which it is equivalent to belief in all the truths revealed in the Bible; yea, so different are they that the first alone has the power of producing pardon and restoration to God's favor, while the second may exist in the hearts of men who continue in sin and end in destruction. But while trust or faith in Jesus is different from the mere belief in the truth of Scripture, yet the former is never without the latter, as the latter may be and often is without the former. By this we mean to say that the faith which trusts in Jesus and forms the condition of justification always involves and presupposes belief in the testimony of Scripture; in short, that where the *fiducia* or trust exists there the *fides* or faith is also necessarily found. And herein, we feel assured, consists the connection between what Goodsir calls the part and the whole, and which connection he confidently asserts cannot be pointed out.

In 1 John 3 two faiths are spoken of—believing on the Son of God, and believing the record or testimony that God gave of his Son. It is very plain that the former, the believing on the Son, expressed afterwards as having the Son, is distinct from believing what God says concerning the son. Just as distinct as confidence in a physician whom we knew not before and for ourselves, is distinct from the testimony of the friend who induced us to entrust our life into his hands. And yet at the same time it is equally clear that the two things are connected, that the believing on the Son ensues because we make not God a liar but believe the testimony he gives in behalf of his Son. Such, then, is the connection of the faith called trust and the faith which is equivalent to belief of Scripture testimony, that wherever the former exists the other must have previously existed, that faith in Christ is an evidence and guarantee of faith in the truthfulness of all that is contained in the Scriptures. Accordingly, Chalmers says, "It is impossible that any one should believe in one thing on the ground of finding it in the Scriptures and not believe in everything which he finds to be there; or that he should believe in one saying of God because of confi-

dence in his truth, and yet not believe in all his sayings." Bishop O'Brien in his Ten Sermons on Faith says: "Confidence in Christ is grounded upon the testimony of God's word and requires of course a belief in that testimony; but it is manifestly distinct from such belief."

Our conclusion, therefore, is that whoever believes that Christ has had mercy on him, because of what the Scriptures say of his goodness and love, is in a state of mind in which he must necessarily believe everything to be true which the Bible sets forth as true; and faith in Christ, will as we have claimed, gradually bring a man under the influence and operation of all the facts and doctrines made known in the word of God, and whoever has come under the influence of truth has come under an influence that sanctifies; for the Saviour himself prays, "Sanctify them through the truth, thy word is truth;" cf. 1 Pet. 1 : 22.

We have thus far, in following up the working of faith, ascertained that it brings into personal union with Christ, and as a consequence receives the personal gift of the Holy Ghost; also that it brings us under the operation of the various truths revealed in the word of God. We will yet further show that faith also begets and establishes the principle of love within our hearts, by which love we are constrained to do the things that are pleasing unto God. As to the effectiveness of love in producing and controlling our actions there can be no question. The Saviour declares that love to God and love to man virtually constitute the sum total of human requirement; on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets. The apostle Paul after mentioning various commandments which Christians are bound to observe, adds, "And if there be any other commandment it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and reaches this general conclusion, "Therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." Elsewhere he says, "The love of Christ constraineth us."

In reference to the influence of love Alexander Knox says, "Our love is ourselves. If we love base things we are base; trifling, we are triflers; earthly, we are worldly; divine and eternal things, we are spiritual and heavenly. Faith then is

such an apprehension of divine things as makes the things apprehended the object of supreme love."

Jacob Abbott has such confidence in the transforming power of love that he sums up his directions to parents in moulding their children, somewhat as follows: "Secure their love and then be in their presence what you want them to be." Archbishop Whately has a most excellent discourse on the subject, "Love toward Christ as a motive to obedience." In it he says that one of the most striking peculiarities of the religion of Christ is its continual appeal to the affections. He admits that Christ and his apostles also address themselves to the reason and the interest of men, but, especially in the case of believers, they chiefly insist upon love toward Christ as the mainspring of all their conduct.

The Catholic system, as is well known, attributes nearly everything in the matter of sanctification to the power of charity (love) which is the chief part of the inherent righteousness that expels sin and brings forth the works of righteousness.

The power of love in producing obedience to the divine precepts being universally admitted, there remains but one point further to be decided, does this love owe its origin to faith or may faith at times exist independently of love?

St. John declares that we love God because he first loved us, thus basing our love toward God upon his previous love to us. Now it is self-evident that this love to God could not possibly spring up out of the love of God toward us, unless we also believed that God did really love us as claimed. St. Paul in Galatians says, "faith worketh by love." Here evidently a close connection is affirmed between faith and love; yea, to faith a habitual working is ascribed as though it were its nature to operate by means of love. It is true that Cardinal Bellarmine argues that this passage ought to be read in the passive voice, meaning that faith is wrought or perfected by love. Boyse in his work entitled "Wrought Gold," has very satisfactorily and briefly answered this objection, by pointing out that the objection disagrees herein with the Fathers, and with their own Vulgate which is made binding on Catholics by the Council of Trent, as also with the English translation approved by the Church of Rome.

Again, the case of the woman at Simon's house teaches very plainly and emphatically that love is the result and fruit of forgiveness, as forgiveness is the fruit of faith. Thus the Saviour in the question he puts to Simon concerning the two debtors clearly intimates that love will follow forgiveness, and from his approval of Simon's answer it is equally clear that, in his judgment, love not only flows from forgiveness but is exactly proportioned to the extent of the forgiveness. And from this principle, that love is in proportion to the greatness of the sins forgiven, he argues that this woman's sins were many, for she loved much. And then that the love might not be viewed as the cause of the pardon, instead of the consequence, he says very plainly in verse 50, "Thy faith has saved thee." This passage (Luke 7 : 36–50) is in itself abundantly sufficient to prove the point made, that faith is the cause of love. But as this is a vital point in the controversy between Rome and Protestantism, as it in fact decides the dispute against Rome and all who with her say that faith cannot be depended upon to account for and to produce sanctification, they naturally make most desperate attempts to prove that faith does not invariably and necessarily bring forth love. Bellarmine accordingly discusses this proposition, "Whether justifying faith can be separated from love." He undertakes to maintain the affirmative of this question, but as Davenant asserts, shrewdly changes it into another, "True and Christian faith which justifies per modum dispositionis can be separated from love and other virtues." Dominic Soto, another theologian of Rome, maintains the proposition in this form, "True and orthodox faith and that which is necessary for justification, can exist without charity." Davenant over against them defends the Protestant view that faith and love invariably go together. We will not stop to follow out his argument as enough has already been said to establish the fact that, according to the Scriptures, love is the natural and inevitable product of faith,—that, constituted as is the human mind, where there once exists a sense of guilt and misery through sin, and this is followed up by the conviction that, through the merciful intervention of Christ, this guilt and its punishment has been remitted, and that in due course of time even the stains of sin are to

be completely wiped out—there can be no other state of mind than that of grateful love toward him who has delivered us.

The teaching of our Confessions is very clear and strong on the subject of the relation which faith and love bear to each other. Thus the Apology declares, "It is extremely foolish and improper on the part of our adversaries, to contend that even those who deserve eternal wrath, obtain forgiveness of sin through love or self-selected works of love; whereas it is clearly impossible to love God until the heart has taken hold of the remission of sins through faith. For a heart filled with anxiety and truly feeling the wrath of God, can never love him until he gives it relief and comfort and assures us of his grace. * * * What the Scholiasts say concerning the love of God is a wild conceit; it being impossible to love God before we know and embrace his mercy through faith. Then only does God become an object amiable, lovely. * * * How is it possible for us to love God when involved in such great terror and unspeakable agony, or feeling the great and terrible displeasure and wrath of God, which are then more forcibly felt than any one on earth is able to express or describe." Even Alexander Knox who with Bishop Jebb, regards justification by faith as a mere notion and nonentity, having no effect upon the heart and the affections, admits that "it may be the legitimate parent of feeling" in instances "where through error or ignorance there is a despair of divine mercy," and allows "that for this malady the truths included in the forensic system are perhaps the specific." From this admission it is very natural, with the Christian observer, to infer that if this doctrine is a specific for the very lowest forms of depression, a cure for the severest types of spiritual diseases, it will be an efficient remedy in all other cases.

Finally, in summing the points we have established in respect to faith, we find that wherever the faith that justifies exists, there will be the following results as a consequence of that faith. Faith brings the believer to a willingness to surrender himself completely to the control of Christ; this effects a union between the believer and Christ and secures the personal effort of Christ for the believer's salvation from the dominion of sin. In consequence of this union, the Saviour having now engaged him-

self to accomplish the believer's restoration to holiness, puts him permanently in charge of the Holy Spirit, who taking up his abode in the believer's heart, is continually at hand to instruct, to guide, to correct, to restrain from every wrong-doing and to incite to righteousness, in short to superintend and carry on the whole process of sanctification and salvation. By faith the believer is further brought into contact with, and under the operation of all the objects and beings that make up the whole invisible world around us, as far as these objects and beings are revealed in the Scriptures; or in other words, it brings him under the influence of all revealed truth, that truth which is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, and makes the man of God complete and thoroughly furnished unto all good works. This truth the Holy Spirit makes use of as a means of promoting the holiness of the individual given into his charge. This truth contains the most powerful motive force that can be brought to bear upon the human mind, whether to beget or regulate activity. Besides, faith also supplies an impulse from within in the direction of holiness—the impulse of love, the most constant and powerful principle that we have any knowledge of, a principle which, according to Christ, is the sum and substance of the Ten Commandments, the essence of the whole duty of man. Through faith then the believer is brought under the operation of the most powerful inner impulse in existence; under the operation of the mightiest external motives in the universe, and under the personal care and supervision of the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of sanctification, and if these combined influences are not adequate to guarantee the believer's holiness, then we feel very confident that nothing that the ingenuity of Rome has ever been able to suggest in place thereof, is worthy of a moment's consideration.

We conclude this discussion then in the words of our article, "From all this it is manifest that our doctrine instead of being charged with prohibiting good works ought much rather to be commended for teaching the manner in which truly good works can be performed."

ARTICLE II.

FEET-WASHING.

By Rev. John Tomlinson, A. M., Abbottstown, Pa.

What do Lutherans hold and teach in regard to Feet-Washing? No answer to this question, that the writer knows of, has hitherto appeared in the Lutheran Quarterly. Some statement upon it seems to be proper, if not necessary, in view of the surroundings of many of its readers. A few thoughts, therefore, obtained chiefly from Lutheran sources are hereby presented.

St. John, 13 : 4, relates that after supper, our Lord laid aside his garments; and took a towel, and girded himself and washed the disciples' feet and wiped them with the towel wherewith he was girded.

Such an act was customary in oriental countries. One guest would wash the other's feet, or a servant would perform this service. But Christ obviously saw more in this act than custom and usage. What then is the import of his washing the disciples' feet? In answer to this question, the following reasons may be assigned:

I. *Fraternæ Charitatis Commendatio.* Christ meant to give his disciples and through them to all his followers an example of brotherly love. For he says: "I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you," *i. e.* that ye love one another and bear one another's burdens. As long as Christians travel the way of this world, they will soil their feet and it will be necessary for them continually to have them washed. They must bear each other's infirmities and so fulfil the law of Christ, Gal. 6 : 2. For St. Peter says, 1 Ep. 4 : 8, "Charity covereth a multitude of sins."

II. *Humilitatis verae demonstratio.* The Lord Jesus, in the next place, gave his disciples an example of humility. Feet washing was a *sordidum ministerium*, a despised work which

belonged mostly to servants. The Saviour by performing this menial service exhibited to all his followers the most profound humility. Hence he says: "Ye call me Master and Lord; and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye ought also to wash one another's feet; " *i. e.* serve each other with humility. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, the servant is not greater than his Lord, nor the apostle greater than he that sent him."

III. *Fructus passionis praefiguratio.* Christ, by this symbolical action, prefigured the fruit of his sufferings, viz.: that he would freely shed his blood, and that by his precious blood he would cleanse us from all sin, 1 John 1 : 7. Consequently he says: "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me." If Jesus had not shed his blood to expiate our guilt, we would have been excluded from the kingdom of God, and could have had no part in him. Hence Irenaeus says, Adv. haereses, Lib. 4, cap. 22, "Ipsum verbum per se ipsum abluit sordes filarum Sion, manibus suis lavans pedes discipulorum. * * * Qui enim pedes lavit discipulorum, totum sanctificavit corpus et emundationem adduxit. Christ washed the disciples feet with his own hands to denote that he by himself would purge us from our sins and wash away the filth of the dauthers of Zion, Is. 4 : 4, *i. e.* that he would purify the whole church from sin by his blood. Accordingly the Confession of the Armenians contains these words: "Christus pedes discipulorum suorum lavit, ut lueret peccatum pedum Adami, qui ad scientiae lignum ambulaverat." Christ by this feet-washing atoned for the sin of our first parents whose feet bore them to the forbidden tree in the Garden of Paradise.

IV. *A peccatis abluti jussio.* The Lord Jesus Christ by washing the feet of his disciples enjoined upon them and all his followers spiritual feet-washing that they should daily wash and cleanse themselves from sinful lusts and affections, which are pedes animae. The Saviour refers to this matter when he says, "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." He would say, that although washed by baptism from sin, there are, nevertheless, remains of depravity and sinful lusts at which we must wash and cleanse while we

live. Such purification can only be effected by his blood and the power of the Holy Ghost. See 1 Cor. 6 : 11, where the apostle says: "Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of God."

V. *Ad coenam praeperatio.* Christ washed the feet of the disciples before he gave them the sacrament, undoubtedly, with a view to teach his followers that they should wash and cleanse themselves from sin and iniquity by sincere repentance, before the celebration of the Holy Supper. The Lord's Supper is a great solemnity, the nearest approach to God this side of heaven. And Christ wished to impress his followers with the importance of making suitable preparation therefor. For St. Paul says: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself not discerning the Lord's body." 1 Cor. 11 : 27, 29.

VI. *Odii et irae extinctio.* Christ aimed by washing the feet of his disciples to quench the fire of covetousness and anger which Satan had kindled in the heart of Judas. He washed even the feet of Judas himself and warned him to consider what he was about to do. When the enemy kindles in our hearts the fire of emnity, hatred and wrath, we should think of the example of Christ and draw water out of the wells of salvation and extinguish it. Gal. 13 : 4.

VII. *Typi in V. T. Impletio.* Christ by washing the feet of his disciples fulfilled a beautiful type of the Old Testament. God commanded in Exodus 50, that the priests should wash their hands and feet before they went into the tabernacle to offer sacrifice or to carry the ark of the covenant. Hence Christ washed the feet of his apostles, as they, by the preaching of the Gospel, were to offer to God acceptable sacrifice and bear the ark of Jehovah into all the world.

These appear to be at least some of the reasons why Christ washed the feet of the disciples. But to signify all these things and instruct the disciples fully in them, one feet-washing was all that was necessary. One washing answered the same purpose that a thousand would. A further amplification of this

subject is not called for, as the multiplication of words often darkens counsel. We close with a few

OBSERVATIONS.

1. Feet-washing is no sacrament. To constitute a sacrament three things are required:

a. A promise of grace and the pardon of sin.

b. An express command to observe it in the Church to the end.

c. A visible sign by which the grace of God is appropriated.

These requirements are not met in feet-washing. And it is, therefore, no sacrament, as Count Zinzendorf and others maintain.

2. The early Christians did not consider feet-washing of divine appointment, but simply an act of civility, (1 Tim. 5 : 10), or a *Muster-Handlung*. If feet-washing were an ordinance of the church, every other good work would be so regarded, and the church would be burdened with rites and ceremonies. Ambrose in the 14th century practiced it in the church at Milan, but the sacramental idea of feet-washing has been by no means prevalent.

3. Great stress is laid on these words of our Lord, viz.: "If I then, your Lord and Master (teacher) have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet." On these words Dr. Pfaff, of Tübingen, comments as follows: "Nach Beschaffenheit der Zeit, Orts und der Nothdurft, nicht dem aüserlichen Dienst, sondern der Bedeutung nach, durch Demuth und Beweisung der Liebe wie es nicht ungemein is in der Schrift, dasz unter dem Bilde eines Liebes-werks alle andere verstanden worden. Dann ist das 'leibliche Füsz-Waschen ein heuclerisch und blindes Gespötte, wenn es eine Erfüllung des Gebots Christi seyn solle."

On the words, So seyd auch ihr schuldig einander die Füsse zu waschen, the Berleburg Bible contains the following exposition: "Man solle bereit und willig seyn, einem jeden auch dem geringsten Liebes-dienst zu erweisen. Da musz es nicht heiszen: Nein, zum Fusz-hader lasz ich mich nicht machen! Sollt ich eines andern seinen Koth abwaschen? Ey du hast ja auch Koth: der andere thut dirs wieder. So ists ja temperirt genug."

4. Feet Washing is a *real* service and can not be converted into a matter of mere form and ceremony.

5. Neither can a holy duty like that of humility be changed into a mere ceremony. This would be a perversion of the teaching of Jesus Christ.

6. Human additions to the word of God lessen the influence of divine appointments.

7. Virtue should never be put where it does not belong. It should always be put in the blood of Christ, the Holy Ghost, the word of God, faith and prayer, and not in the externals of religion.

ARTICLE III.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION PRACTICE.

Translated from DR. G. WARNECK'S "Protestantische Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evang. Heidenmission," by REV. WM. ROSENSTENGEL, A. M., Grand Island, Nebraska.

Roman missions love to laud themselves that they are older than ours. This is a fact and it gives our opponents, no doubt, many advantages. One of these is that they had already gathered an abundance of experiences, when we first began to learn. But it seems remarkable that up to this day these experiences of centuries appear never to have been scientifically systemaized. I have, at least, not succeeded in discovering traces of such a system in all the extensive literature of Catholic missions which I have perused. Not even a single article, that treats of the methods of mission work, has come to my notice. Certainly there are in existence detailed instructions for the missionaries, but it seems they are kept secret. In this respect, too, Protestant missions essentially differ. The longer their work, the more they are concerned about collecting their experiences, about sifting and formulating them with solid methods of missionary principles; in short, they aim at a mission-science. And though this science is not yet in a state of completion, stones are constantly being collected from year to year for the building. Without mentioning the many articles in the larger missionary journals, which treat of the methods of mis-

sion work, the scientific treatment of the same subject in works on practical theology and many other independent theoretical works on missions, both of a special and general nature—the conferences, held by missionaries and other leading men of the Church, offer an astonishing amount of technical mission material. This needs only to be collected, sifted and arranged in order to secure a systematic evangelical mission doctrine.

It is characteristic that the much older Catholic missions are in this respect surpassed by the much younger evangelical efforts. Catholic missions walk in their own tracks, and these are essentially the tracks of a traditional practice. This practice seems to have been subjected but little to the illuminating light of scientific methods and criticism. True, the Catholic missions of to day, although they oppose and condemn Protestant missions, have nevertheless adopted many Protestant methods and principles. For instance: the care of schools, the production of a home literature, the education of native workers, &c.; but on the whole they follow the old tracks of the renowned Xavier. We cannot then enter into an examination of a proper mission system of Rome. If we wish to know the principles according to which Roman missions are conducted, we must content ourselves with taking a few glances at her traditional practice.

We begin with her *practice of baptism*, and first of all with the baptism of heathen children, who are either apparently or really dangerously sick. The Roman view of the sacraments, according to which sacramental grace works magically, ex opere operato, justifies her practice. When we, too, by special request on the part of Christian parents, baptize their sick children, children who would be baptized at any rate, it is essentially a different thing from the Roman procedure. But here the children of heathen parents are baptized to a great extent by the laity, (women as well as men) who are especially appointed and trained for that purpose.* Children who would very likely remain unbaptized, they baptize *secretly*, without the knowledge of the parents.

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*Jahrbücher 1873, VI. 25. In China special Schools have been established for baptist physicians. Kath. Missionen, 1884, 130.

We first give some statistics, mostly of recent date, in order to show to what an enormous extent this practice is carried on. Among the different Roman mission corporations, the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris gives the most regular and relatively the most complete statistics. According to these there were baptized within the districts occupied by this society in Japan, China, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Thibet and India, heathen children (it is not stated whether only in danger of death): In 1876, 213,042; 1877, 221,858; 1878, 269,723; 1879, 250,159; 1880, 256,387; 1881, 235,961: Total in 6 years, 1,447,130.* This is a prodigious number! And yet it includes only the districts occupied by the Paris Mission, in which districts there were laboring in 1881, 604 priests. But in order to show that this number is not an exception in Roman Mission work, but constitutes pretty nearly the normal status, several other examples may be cited, of course mainly from the Asiatic territory, where the kind of baptisms we speak of, seem principally to take place in such whole-sale numbers. In the western part of Tonkin there were baptized in 1864–70, 52,935† heathen children; in the eastern part of Tonkin 1864, 12,370, and 1865, 36,000;‡ in the middle part of Tonkin in 1864, 35,241, and in 1865 "the astounding number of 60,947."§ In China in the vicariate Kiangsi 1871, 4,000;§§ Kiagwau 1874, 14,913, 1875, 17,372; since 1848 (till 1860) over 130,000;|| Peking 1875, 7,578;¶ Petscheli

*During the same years on the same territory adult heathen baptisms are recorded: 1876, 13,835; 1877, 37,484; 1878, 60,496, (the year of famine); 1879, 28,737; 1880, 18,369; 1881, 18,983: Total, 177,904. In addition to these there are counted in the same years 166,038 baptisms of children of Christian parents, so that from 1876–81 the whole increase of Catholic Christians—not including the thousands of heathen children that remained alive—amounted to 343,942. But the real status is given as to these districts in 1876, 701,444 and in 1881, 796,710. According to this the increase would only amount to 95,266. There remains, therefore, a difference of 248,676 souls. It cannot be possible that all these, viz. above 30 per cent. should have died!—Roman statistics always have their mysteries.

†Jahrb. 1871, IV. 14.

‡Jahrb. 1866, V. 25. 1867, I. 58, "baptized and bought."

§Ibid, 1866, V. 36, 1867, I. 55. §§Koth, M. 1873, 19.

||Ibid, 1875, 105. 1878, 82. Jahrb. 1867, V. 23. 1876, I. 32.

¶Kath. M. 1876, 83.

in 20 years 100,000,* afterwards an average from 11–13,000 yearly; Lutschneu 1839, 12,483; 1840, 15,766; 1841, 17,825; 1842, 20,068; 1843, 22,292; 1868, 24,381, and 1875 even 56,347;† Kuytschen 1875, 10,881, and 1876, 6,805;‡ even in the small district of Hong Kong an average per year from 1500 to 2000, whilst adult baptisms number from between 27 and 64.§ In Barma there were baptized in 1862, 1075; in Madura during 22 years 22,000 heathen children, who were dangerously sick.|| And these "numerous baptisms of children dangerously sick" are expressly designated "*as the best fruits*" of Roman mission work.¶

We remember that Marshall affirmed the method of the Roman missionaries to be the same at this hour as that of St. Paul (p. 64). The same classic writer assures us: "Catholic writers do not exaggerate." Now if we are not to regard both these assertion—say as rhetorical phrases, then we ask proof from the writings of the New Testament that St. Paul baptized dying heathen children; baptized them at such wholesale rates, and with the aid of deception. We will say nothing of the impossibility of justifying such a perversion of baptism by the Scriptures, neither of this convenient method of making "Christians" or—as Catholic sources express themselves—even "*angels*" and "*intercessors*" in heaven,** nor the consequences†† that must follow such a course—let it suffice to say that the way and manner in which these baptisms are brought about is a downright disgrace to the whole missionary cause. A great multitude‡‡ of heathen converts and even *unconverted*§§ women and

*Kath. M. 1878, 154. 1879, 62. Jahrb. 1874, IV. 8.

†Venn 42. Jahrb. 1876, II. 58. ‡Ibid 1878, II. 53.

§Kath. M. 1881, 18. ||Jahrb. 1864, I. 12. Kath. M. 1878, 236.

¶Jahrb. 1878. IV. 47. **Jahrb. 1867, I. 55. 1872. I. 51, &c.

††According to this method the surest way "to people heaven with angels" would be for God to cause a great mortality among all heathen children and Roman missionaries and their helpers do nothing else but baptize the dying children.

‡‡"Thousands of Christians" are engaged in this work. Jahrb. 1867, V. 23. In the small vicariate of Hong Kong alone between 62 and 90. (Kath. M. 1881, 19). Especially do these baptizing women receive the greatest praise. They are called "bewunderungswürdig." Kath. M. 1878, 236, &c.

§§Kath. M. 1874, Beilage 3, 1882 Beilage 12. Camp. Allg. M.-Z. 1882 Beiblatt 59, where this characteristic history is reprinted.

men, who follow the calling of physicians, are appointed to go about sneakingly under pious pretence or as the yearbooks say: pious FRAUD, "unnoticed,"* and without any anticipation on the part of the parents of what is done to their children, baptism is administered.

It is rather difficult—thus writes the apostolic vicar of Madura—to make the simple believers at once understand, how meritorious and advantageous this service of love is to their dying children; but after they once see this, they willingly submit; and at certain places the zeal is such that care must be had, or else baptism is administered twice to the same child by different persons. * * * In several villages the Christians are really lying in wait to see that no heathen child may die unbaptized.† When the women (Täuferinnen) hear of the sickness of a heathen child, they visit its parent and offer their assistance. But if they are physicians and have received from the European missionaries medicine for eye-diseases, fever, &c., and because they *claim* to be physicians, they find everywhere admission and are naturally welcomed to the sick children. Finding the child very sick and thinking that it will surely die, they draw out a little sponge and a little bottle containing holy water, and whilst they wash the child's forehead, they at the same time baptize it *without the knowledge of the heathen parents.*‡

"This work requires much prudence" (Klugheit), writes his reverence, Father Ravary,§ especially where there are Protestant heathen converts. On this account Bishop Bataillan, who appeared otherwise to be a fearless hero, did not disdain practicing a pious deception. He writes himself, "that he kept two

*Reprinted in the Allg. M.-Z. 1876, Beiblatt 46.

†Jahrb. 1864, V. 34.—In Canton a single "poor Chinese woman" baptized during 20 years about 13,000 heathen children. Kath. M. 1874, Beilage, 4.

‡Kath. M. 1880 Beilage 12. And this is an *old* practice. Thus writes Father Bourges from India in the beginning of the last century: "We baptize—*without asking the parents for permission, which would certainly be denied.* Our catechists baptize *under pretence* that they are giving medicine." Beleuchtungen 1850, 30.

§Jahrb. 1867, V. 24.

little bottles, one containing fragrant water and the other baptismal water. Out of the first bottle he would pour a few drops upon the child's forehead and ask the mother to rub it. Then he would secretly exchange the bottles and pour baptismal water upon the child's forehead, without any one noticing it, and thus it would be born again."* This practice met, in the beginning, with no difficulty on the part of the Indians, until the parents became aware of the deception, and then, too, "pious fraud" was practiced.†

May 3, (1637) P. Pijart baptized a child two months old without the knowledge of the parents, who refused their consent. It was done in the following way: "*Our sugar performs miracles for us*," he said. He tried to give the child some sugar-water to drink, after he had dipped his finger into it. As the father of the child did not trust the missionary, he told him not to baptize it. Then the missionary gave the spoon to one of the women standing near by and said: give it to him yourself. She drew near and found the child asleep. Then P. Pijart, under pretence of seeing whether the child was really asleep, touched the girl's forehead with his wet finger and baptized her. A few days before, the missionary had used the same means in order to baptize a boy from six to seven years of age. His sick father had repeatedly refused to be baptized, and when he was asked now whether he would be willing to have his son baptized, he replied: No! You will certainly not object to giving him a little sugar-water? asked P. Pijart. No, but you dare not baptize him.‡ The missionary immediately gave him a spoon-full, then a second and a third. At the last spoon-full, before he put in the sugar he, as by accident, suffered a few drops to fall on the boy, repeating at the same time the baptismal words. A little girl, who had been watching him, cried out: Father he baptizes him. The father of the child became greatly excited, but the missionary sought to appease him by saying: "Did you not see that I gave him sugar-water?"

Thus Catholic Missions write verbatim in the year 1882!

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*Beleuchtungen 1845, 37. †Kath. M. 1882, 147.

‡If I mistake not, the doctrine of the Roman Church allows expressly the baptism of the children of unbelievers against the wish of the parents.

And this Jesuit organ has not only not a word of reproof with respect to such a *fraudulent desecration of holy baptism*, but it even declares: "The impossibility to administer the holy sacrament in any other way, makes this kind of baptism, *though its validity be doubtful, allowable;*" adding only, "Certainly the missionary had dipped his finger forcibly enough, so that it was a sufficient washing and consequently a *valid* baptism."

These shocking facts do not merely speak, but they cry aloud, without any commentary.

Of course many of these hundreds of thousands of children, that have been baptized "at the point of death" remain alive; what becomes of them? will it ever *be told* them that they have been baptized secretly? are they to be considered Catholics? how is it made possible to instruct them? And yet these cunning paedo-baptists find fault with the Russian popes, who, they say, did nothing else but baptize, and are bold enough to declare baptism, as administered by evangelical missionaries, to be sacrilegious.* But still more. With the zeal which the Catholic Christians manifest to carry on this "meritorious and advantageous" business in baptizing heathen children, many *not* in danger of death will doubtless be baptized also. The Paris Missions briefly say: "baptized children." Although the Catholic Missions write:† "Healthy children or such as are not very likely to be visited by death, they (die Täuferinnen) dare not baptize if the parents do not allow and give their consent that the child be also educated in the Catholic faith. *For otherwise baptism will be disgraced.*" A remarkable confession! But let us hear once more: In 1846 the apostolic vicar in Mantchooria related that 40,000 heathen children in his vicariate had received baptism; that of this number only 20,000 had died.‡ According to this no scrupulous pains were taken in reference to the "critical condition." Now, according to Catholic sources, in these 20,000 cases, has baptism been disgraced or not? And how much of the same nature may have taken place outside of Mantchooria!

Only, in passing, let it be remarked that Roman missionaries

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*Jahrb. 1874, V. 53. Marshall II. 467.

†1874, Beilage, 4. ‡Beleuchtungen, 1846, 56.

begin their work among the heathen by baptizing heathen children.* Often they buy them.† They baptize grown children of Christian parents, at stations where there are no missionaries, after having instructed them but *one* day.‡

We now turn to the baptism of *adults.* In our criticism upon that "classic" history of missions by Marshall, we have already seen how Rome glories in her multitudinous baptisms, or at least in the reports of them. Here again we first give some statistics. In Mexico the missions "blossomed so luxuriantly that within 15 years *seven millions* of natives received baptism."§ There, too, it was that during 37 years of mission work Turribius experienced such an outpouring of grace that he saw his zeal rewarded by 400,000 conversions.|| In Peru "Didacus (at different places and in a few years) snatched away from the power of the devil 57,000 souls; and Father Sandoval baptized in New Granada, in 7 years, 30,000.¶ In Hayti P. Ferdinand administered baptism with his own hand to more than 50,000 idolaters; and in Kongo P. Hieronymus baptized within 20 years more than 100,000 souls.** In Manilla were baptized within 9 years 255,000.†† In China within 14 years 100,000; in Tonkin in 2 years even 80,000.‡‡ It was the same in Japan. Here P. de Torrez baptized with his own hand 30,000; a person not named 70,000; and during one year, 1599, 70,000 "conversions"§§ took place. How fast the progress in the older missions in India has been, we have seen already.

What value these "conversions," brought about by such whole-

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*Kath. M. 1879, 90.

†Ibid, 1880, 172. 1883, 91, 199. Jahrb. 1785, III. 72. In order to accomplish this, they even enter into negotiations with slave-dealers. Jahrb. 1883, I. 64, 73. Kath. M. 1884, 135.

‡Jahrb. 1883, III. 74. In the same place we are told that at these baptisms, instead of a respectful "silence," there had been "a dreadful noise." "Satan had been raging because on that day so many souls were snatched away from him." It appears to us that Satan need not be "raging" about *such* baptisms.

§Henrion I. 392, 435. ||Henrion II. 3. ¶Ibid. I. 512. II. 133.

**Ibid. II. 64, 345. ††Ibid. II. 32. Kath. M. 1880, 6.

‡‡Henrion II. 376, 390. Jahrb. 1867, V. 16.

§§Henrion I. 395, 599. II. 210.

sale baptisms, would have, every sensible reader may judge. History has stamped its destructive judgment upon them! And yet in spite of this, Catholic organs to this day have not a word of condemnation to utter against such a *misuse of the sacrament of baptism*, against such mechanical methods of Christianizing!

Only one illustration as to the manner in which these masses were baptized. In reference to the baptism of those 7 millions in Mexico, Henrion writes:* "It was impossible for want of a sufficient number of missionaries to apply to them (the masses) the entire prescribed ritual of the Roman ceremonies; the new converts were gathered together in one place and then divided into three classes. The first consisted of children, the second of women, and the third of men. Whilst a beginning was made with the children, three to four were baptized with all the ceremonies belonging to this sacrament; to the rest only water was applied, as essential to baptism. Then, in the same way with the women and with the men. And to all persons of both sexes, who were baptized on the same day, the same name was given. And although the act was much shortened in this way, it nevertheless took the whole day; and those who performed the act became so tired that they were obliged to use the right and left arms alternately, until they could not any longer lift them up."

This history is highly instructive. Our historian considers this kind of baptism as a matter of course and the mode of procedure correct, simply because for want of a sufficient number of missionaries!

It found, nevertheless, its opponents. Bishops negotiated, universities disputed whether or not those ritually irregular baptisms were valid, until at last the Pope in a bull of June 1, 1537, decided "that those, who had administered baptism without the usual ceremonies, had committed no sin, provided the circumstances excused the omission. Still, except in cases of stringent necessity, the usual ceremonies were in the future to be applied in *all* cases." Thus never a thought enters the minds of either the bishops, or the universities or the Pope, as to whether those masses were prepared inwardly or even outwardly for baptism, whether there was any guarantee for a worthy recep-

*Henrion I. 435, &c.

tion—only the question of *ceremonies* troubles them! If these are right, everything else is right, baptism is baptism. *No importance is attached to the inner conditions of salvation.* In India, too, the same course was followed as in America. Tens of thousands were baptized, who, "for want of sufficient instruction retained their superstitious customs and vices."* No comment is needed here.

At the present day a change has taken place. Not such multitudes are baptized as in the post-Reformation period. But the cause of this is not to be found in a change of view on the sacrament of baptism, but simply in the change of times and circumstances, and perhaps also in an unconscious influence, which the more ideal and biblical evangelical practice as to baptism has had upon the Roman Church. Loud triumphal cries are indeed raised, also at present, in reference to the large numbers, as has already been shown in the bulletins of Msgr. Faurie (p. 184). And when during the year of famine in India alone, within the district occupied by the Paris Mission, in the vicariate Pondicheri, in 1877, 20,707 and in 1878, 29,420 adults were baptized, (and altogether 34,300 children, both of Christian and heathen parents;†) when in the small district of the apostolic vicariate Lutschnen (China) in one year "perhaps with too much confidential zeal, 10–11,000 were conquered;"‡ when in New Zealand the "honorable Bishop Pompallier, in a two months journey, won to the Catholic faith 15,000 Maori,—of which number we are of course not informed how many were really baptized,§ only later we hear "that the greater part had united with the Hauhaus or were altogether ignorant, indifferent and dull in reference to religion—then, such great ingatherings are lauded as a peculiar divine gift of grace bestowed upon the Roman Catholic Church.

But it is not only the great numbers, which make these baptism so suspicious and offensive; the real desecration of the sacrament lies in this, that it is so frequently administered to such as

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*Henrion I. 449.

†Kath. M. 1879, 135. In the evangelical missions, too, a great increase took place, but here the masses were not at once baptized.

‡Jahrb. 1866, IV. 50. V. 17. §Kath. M. 1877, 73.

show no trace of an inner change of heart and mind; yea without having received even the most imperfect instructions as to what baptism means.* From Thibet, the "apostolic missionary" Desgodius reports triumphantly that "with the turn of a hand *whole villages* had been converted and baptized." They were asked to say: Praise be to Jesus and to Mary, to kiss the crucifix, to make the sign of the cross and required to give up their drums. Having been previously instructed and told of the advantages as also of the duties, which they are to perform, and the vices which they are to shun, they are further told that they need not fear the attacks of the heathen because they could from now on be vigorously protected (in consequence of treaties recently made).† Often, too, adults are baptized when sick or in a critical condition, *without having been catechumens.* "Our hospitals"—writes the very honorable vicar of Madura—"are places of refuge for unbelievers. They are kept there wholly at the expense of the mission, which has the advantage of securing yearly baptismal grace to a considerable number of heathen. One seldom leaves who has not had the fortune of becoming a Christian, and *not a single one dies in unbelief*,"‡ *i. e.* unbaptized. In the apostolic vicariate Senegambia, in the time of famine, "hundreds of negroes (dying suddenly) were born again through holy baptism," without being prepared in any manner for the reception of the sacrament.§ And the same thing takes place often upon the journeys of the missionaries with individuals who are entirely unknown, and with slaves.|| In a fight, an Indian woman is struck by a ball on the forehead. "Do you wish

*Kath. M. 1877, 250, Jahrb. 1871, V. 37. 1882, II. 24. 1883, VI. 45. Hahn IV. 212. Spillmann 83, 86, &c.

†Jahrb. 1864, IV. 51, &c. Still greater success attends their efforts in Madura: Kath. M. 1880, 150; where also grace performed miracles in a short time and whole villages received the faith. With great eagerness they desired medals, holy water, the blessing upon their houses, &c., of course proofs of their special Christian piety.

‡Jahrb. 1864, V. 27. 1876, I. 37.

§Ibid. 1876, II. 48.

||Kath. M. 1876, 206. 1883, 84. Jahrb. 1864 VI. 21. 1865, II. 17. 1870, II. 28. 1878, IV. 35. In the older east-African missions the slaves of the Portuguese were baptized without further ceremony. Hahn II, 264, 279.

to die a Christian?" asked the missionary. And she having said yes, "he pours, out of a vessel, standing near, the water of regeneration upon her head."* In the older missions Henrion considers it necessary to make special mention of the fact when the missionaries are acquainted with the languages of their baptismal converts, because as a rule this was not the case. But even at the present day baptism is often administered without a knowledge of the language on the part of the one who baptizes.† What conceptions of the holy sacrament such baptisms create in the minds of the heathen, may be learned from a remark by a Congo negro, who advanced the most peculiar argument by saying that the elephant, which had not been baptized, grew nevertheless large and stout and lived a long time."‡ In most cases it is considered sufficient to acquaint the neophytes with the outer ceremonies; making the sign of the cross, bending the knees, the use of holy water, &c., besides teaching them a few prayers, and this very often after a most mechanical fashion.§ And yet the deportment of such Christians is declared to be "entirely satisfactory," yea even "wonderful," although "they scarcely know the most common prayers."‖ It is even affirmed that baptism had a noticeable effect on the negroes outwardly; one need only look into their eyes in order to distinguish the baptized from the unbaptized.¶ How little stress is laid on previous instruction, a characteristic example, given by the missionary Nottrott shows. One day he asked a Catholic Kolh, who had been presented with a baptismal garment, "have you also learned something about baptism?" The reply was: "No, we need not learn beforehand as you do; we are immediately baptized." And when Nottrott examined those Catholic Christians further as to what they knew of their religion, they excused their ignorance by saying: "*We have been baptized but*

*Kath. M. 1878, 160. That in such cases also cunning, surreptitious baptisms are considered allowable, we have already seen (p. 39) in the case of Queen Rasoherina of Madagascar. A similar example from Mesopotamia. Kath. M. 1882, 148.

†Jahrb. 1871, V. 37. 1874, V. 49, 59. 1875, II. 32. 1877, I. 62. 1883, VI. 63, 64.

‡Henrion II. 345.

‖Kath. M. 1884, 62.

§Ibid, I. 353. Kath. M. 81, 8.

¶Jahrb. 1880, II. 46.

a short time ago."* And what the Protestant missionary discovered, is confirmed again and again by Catholic authorities, viz.: that "thousands of their converts know scarcely anything of the Christian doctrines."†

Certainly not always and everywhere is baptism thus perverted, but wherever and whenever it is, it is *justified.* Again and again excuse is found for the ignorance and low state of morality on the part of the baptized in the insufficient number of missionaries, *but never a word of blame is uttered in reference to baptisms that take place without instruction.* As the magical view of the sacraments, so the mechanical view of the Church, justifies the superficial Roman practice of baptism. To bring the people merely into the sheepfold of the Church is considered a great success, all else must come as a matter of course. In Protestant missions, too, it happens that heathen are baptized who afterwards are found to be unworthy members; but if this is the consequence of a too hasty baptism, we blame the missionary. At all events evangelical missions look for inner qualifications on the part of their converts. Stress is laid on thorough instruction, and baptism, instead of being too soon administered, is often too long deferred. And when, after all, imperfectly instructed and inwardly unqualified subjects receive baptism, the missionary is to be blamed, but not the evangelical mission-method.

With Roman missions it is different. Here the method itself is an evil; and this again is only the consequence of Roman dogmatics and ethics. As the Roman view of the sacraments and the Church is wholly different from ours, so also its wholly different ideal of piety influences its missionary method. Its systematic equalization of Christendom and Churchdom makes its piety essentially a routine of churchly exercises. Again and again we hear Catholic mission-organs acknowledge the imperfect state of knowledge and living—these are admitted to be often *very bad,* as for example in Lagos, where "nearly all live in polygamy and vice‡"—and yet the piety of these same peo-

*Allg. M.-Z. 1884, 217. †Jahrb. 1877, II. 19.
‡Kath. M. 1874, 101.

ple, *i. e.* their churchly zeal, especially the worship of Mary, is praised as being "wonderful." Of the Indians in Guayana it is said: "As to their morals, much is not yet as it should be, and that a continuance in sin would exclude them from the sacraments and finally from heaven itself, they cannot comprehend; but their predilection for churchly celebrations, to which they cling tenaciously, and their zeal for works, which proceeds from a firm Portuguese belief, are praiseworthy."* Where, as in Ceylon, there is manifested attachment and obedience towards the priests, liberality for the needs of divine services, devotion for Mary, love for the Church and the holy father, there the spirit of the Catholic population is considered as being "*excellent.*"† In Madagascar "the heart of the missionary is often saddened because of the disloyalty; and the difficulty experienced in raising a native ministry is due to the inconstancy of the people. Up to this day only one native could be advanced to the priesthood." And yet the piety of the people is praised, for their participation in the sacraments is such, that nothing more could be desired; and there are in existence boys- girls- and women-congregations. When the holy names of Jesus, Mary and Joseph proceed incessantly from the lips of a murderer sentenced to death and hastily baptized, this is considered a great triumph of Catholicism.‡ The wild natives of New Britain "manifested great devotion for the holy heart of Jesus and all are in possession of its picture. They likewise wear the scapular of the holy heart of Jesus." The sacraments, too, "are frequently received." Therefore "we are satisfied with our little flock," and can say to day that they are on the whole good Christians and good Catholics.§ But in spite of this "they have their faults" and fall away by the "thousands."¶ An Indian is praised by his fellow-Catholics as being an "excellent Christian," because he refuses to have anything to do with heathen sorcerers, whilst others yet entertain more or less respect for them. One day when

*Kath. M. 1880, 133. Jahrb. 1864, II. 60, where the faith of these people is called "living," but their piety more external than internal.

†Jahrb. 1879, VI. 57. ‡Ibid, 1883, IV. 45, 48. 1877, II. 45.

§Jahrb. 1877, VI. 52–56. ¶Ibid, 1869, VI. 42· 1875, III. 64.

these sorcerers tried to get admission to his sick and almost dead child, he "showed them a picture of the most holy Virgin and said: "This is the one that has bruised your master's, the devil's, head. Be careful and do not come in for she might do the same to you."* What superficial conceptions they entertain in regard to conversions may be gathered from the following characteristic remark: at an Indian station all excommunicated members had experienced a change of mind, with the exception of one, *who postpones his conversion till the next year.*† At another Indian station, where for the first time they enjoyed the presence of two priests, some in their ignorant simplicity wished to make confessions to both. The bishop, deeply impressed with their great zeal which he was obliged to repress, considered this a sign of excellent Catholic piety.‡ Their ingenious zeal for fastings and flagellations, in the case of otherwise ignorant and morally rude Christians,§ as also the worship of the cross, of the virgin Mary and the saints, in its manifold variations|| is considered a similar sign.

Considering the great value which Rome attaches to external forms and devotional exercises, it is but self-evident that these things should be placed in the fore-ground in its missionary activity and made to play a principal part in the instruction of its catechumens.

Of course they also give particular doctrinal instruction. But, not considering now the haste with which great masses are often baptized, there can be no question as to a [lack of]thorough instruction merely for want of time. Complaints as to the ignorance of their neophites are very common, too, but this must be attributed largely to the limited knowledge of the languages of the natives on the part of the missionaries, although this may not be the case so much at present, as it was in the past. But, for this ignorance of the native languages, the Roman apostles, as is often asserted, compensate by their peculiar talent in mak-

*Ibid, 1878, IV. 49. †Ibid, 1875, V. 69.

‡Jahrb. 1882, I. 45. §Ibid, 1875. V. 67. Kath. M. 1883, 145.

||On the Island of Trinidad in a procession, the natives dragged along large wooden crosses, tied to their naked legs, which was doubtless regarded a special sign of piety. Zöckler, das Kreuz Christi (1875) 371.

ing clear to the most ignorant heathen, *in a few words*, the principal parts of the Catholic faith as well as the errors of Protestantism. But leaving all this out of question, the doctrinal instruction which is given, is much more of a specific Roman than of a general Christian character. In all the Protestant missions, on the other hand, in spite of the many divisions, the principal facts and foundation truths of Christianity are made the basis of preaching and teaching; and especially the facts of the life of Jesus as they find brief expression in the Apostolic Creed, and the demands of repentance and faith, as the main conditions of salvation. Thus these general Christian truths of faith and life seem to step very much into the background in Roman mission work. In my extensive studies in Roman mission literature, I have very seldom met with these important truths. The Gospel, *i. e.* the glad tidings: *there is a Saviour for you*, who has purchased for you forgiveness of sins and who gives you salvation through his grace, if you repent and believe in him—this apostolic foundation declaration, one hears in Roman missions very seldom. Almost throughout, Christianity, as taught by Roman missionaries, is designated as *law*—a characteristic irony of Marshall's assertion that they (the missionaries) are the privileged successors of St. Paul and their mission-method wholly his. "The laws of the Church are to them (the Catholic Christians) the laws of God—observing or transgressing which, the same consequences are attached to them—heaven or hell."* The doctrines of the Church (not of Christ), constitute the all-governing centre.

And when the missionaries explain to their catechumens the founding of the Church, they always place the dogma concerning the Pope and the privileges given to him by God, first. The new converts ask in what direction that Rome lies, where Jesus Christ placed the unchangeable throne of his vicar. When they know the direction, then they stretch their hands and visions towards the same, as if they beheld the way to heaven.† * * * With the life of St. Peter they are well acquainted (?); they know that he continues to live on in the Popes, that he is

*Jahrb. 1874, VI. 52.

†Just as the Mohammedans with reference to Mecca.

the root of all episcopal and priestly power. Therefore, when they see how Protestant preachers exhaust themselves through eager and fruitless efforts, in order to add to the shades of death new darkness they say: that the net of St. Peter alone is capable of catching fish; the net of the heretics catches nothing, because Jesus Christ is not in the boat. * * * The priest is in their eyes what he really is in the eyes of faith: the vicar of Christ, another Saviour. Their confidence in him is unlimited, and every word of his is an oracle. * * They believe him to be the lord of the God of nature.*"

Popedom, priesthood, Mariolatry, saint- and picture-worship, mass, celibacy, fasts, making the sign of the cross, bending the knees, processions, rosaries, the use of holy water and other things stand so much in the foreground in Roman missions, that Jesus Christ and his holy Gospel are completely hidden. It must be admitted that Roman missionaries, especially in recent times, do not only develop great zeal but also practical skill in grounding their neophytes in the forms and formulas of Romanism. In doing so, they make use, according to their own expressions "of all kinds of artifices,"† a system whose very nature consists in a mere *outward drill.* Then the constant exercises in churchly ceremonies, especially in the case of people intellectually undeveloped, must, as a matter of course, lead to mere externalism. Hardly ever do we hear Roman missionaries complain about a Christianity, which has been created by such outward drill;‡ mostly they are full of praise, when their neophytes only punctually perform the specific Roman ceremonies and blindly submit to priestly authority. Of the higher spiritual and moral demands, which evangelical missionaries make on the Christianity of their converts, Roman missionaries have absolutely no comprehension. Does on the other hand a Protestant missionary complain of the slow leavening-process of the regenerating powers of the Gospel, in his young heathen converts; then the Jesuits are bold enough to write:

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*Jahrb. 1874, VI. 52–54. †Jahrb. 1873, II. 6.

‡Henrion I. 343, 392, 400, 401. Jahrb. 1879, VI. 65 we read: "Many of the Islanders repeat their catechism like parrots, without understanding much of what they say."

"Again and again do the messengers (Protestant) find that the followers of their missions may be what they pretend to be in name, but as soon at it comes to the demands of Christianity, they prove themselves mere heathen."* If the Jesuits do not complain about an external Christianity, we are not at all surprised. The kind of Christianity which satisfies them, does not satisfy our messengers. And if Roman missionaries do not find in their young Christians, even though they have come over in masses, without instruction or change of heart, remnants of heathen superstition, this also is very natural. For the Roman worship of the Virgin, of saints and images, of relics, medals, &c., offers full substitute for the old heathen customs of worshiping idols and practicing sorcery; yea, it gives them a great many fig leaves beneath which, what we call superstition, sorcery and heathenism, may be artificially hid.

That the worship of the Virgin Mary plays a principal part in Roman missions, is an established fact. Being sufficiently acquainted with Mariolatry in Roman churches at home,† one example may suffice to illustrate its effects in Roman missions abroad.

According to reports in the "Yearbooks," the French "apostle" Mailfait landed on the Chinese island Hainan in March 1850. The Catholic reports expressly state that the natives consisted of "wild tribes, who followed their natural impulses." Without a knowledge of the language, the Roman apostle "began first by giving to those entirely forsaken and utterly neglected remnants of what had been—centuries ago—a numerous Christian people, *rosaries* and *medals*, and in this way he won all hearts."

"The Passion-week drew nigh and this holy season he wished to celebrate with all the customary churchly solemnities, although he had but few means to do it with: a table instead of a baptismal-font, a bamboo reed instead of an Easter candle, &c." "Nevertheless," writes Mailfait, "with these few things our people were greatly astonished; their eyes had never beheld

*Kath. M. 1877, 238. Allg. M.-Z. 1878, 49, &c.

†But recently I found on a grated door, with an altar devoted to Mary, in a Catholic church in Salzburg the following words: "*Einladung der verlassenen Mutter Gottes zum Gebet.*"

the like. On Good Friday we proposed to celebrate the *worship of the cross*, and on this account they came in troops already at midnight." * * "Easter was still more solemnly celebrated. One told the other that a French priest had come into the land, who performed astonishing things. Therefore they hastened together from all villages; among them an old tobacco dealer, who had come a distance of seven miles and whom the missionary kept with him as catechist. This celebration resulted in the first conversion. "On this day," writes Mr, Mailfait, "the altar was as nicely decorated as possible." "I had instructed two children in the ceremonies and they served at the altar dressed in little white gowns. A solemn high mass was held with the assistance of a little organ, which I had brought over from France and which my catechist played pretty well. The Christians were full of joy and did their utmost to brighten the solemnities. They brought petards, which were thrown up during the day in order to give the different signs."

The Marianic month of May* brought Mr. Mailfait new comforts. His filial love for the mother of God had made it his duty immediately on entering the island to recommend it for protection to the mighty Virgin. He could therefore not let this beautiful month pass without making known his filial devotion to the queen of heaven and inspire his Christians with love for Mary. "Nothing could be more edifying," he writes, "than the way and manner in which my new converts"—let it be remembered that he had been on the island now only six weeks and "scarcely knew its language"—"adored Mary during this month dedicated to her. Every morning and every evening they all came together at a certain place, which was devoted to prayer in order to say five rosary laws. At noon, one family, being purposely appointed, appeared in the name of all the rest and prayed the five remaining laws, in this way supplementing the rosary. Other, more pious souls, of their own accord, would always unite with this family. Heaven poured its richest blessing upon this little congregation. For, scarcely had the first prayers of

*How this month is celebrated in southern Italy, see Allg. ev. luth. K.-Z. 1884, 661. In the mission fields it seems also to be observed and to be noted for special conversions, which then took place. Kath. M. 1880, 151.

our hearts ascended to heaven, than the most blessed Virgin permitted her blessing to come upon my mission. On the first day a heathen living, at a distance of eight miles, came to me. He was married, and a nice young man. He had heard of the Christian religion and came to ask me to instruct him in the same. I see him yet coming in. Opposite the door stood the altar of the mother of God, adorned with the picture of the immaculate conception. When he saw this picture of Mary, he fell upon his knees and, WITHOUT KNOWING WHAT IT WAS, or what he should say, saluted it by a thousand movements of his hands and prostrations of his body. Then he asked me whether I would not instruct him. I authorized my catechist, a zealous servant of Mary, to do this. Already on the following day he knew the most necessary prayers by heart and had an idea of our holy religion. His zeal for instruction was so great, that he scarcely took time to eat. More than twenty times a day he saluted his deliverer [Mary], then returning to me and falling upon his knees said: my father, sin is in my heart, will you not blot it out through baptism? I baptized him on Pentecost in the presence of all the Christians, who were very much edified by his devotion and modest bearing. * * Even on the very day of his baptism, he wished to return to his family in order to make known the happiness, which he felt and ask them to adopt a religion, which was a source of so great comfort unto him. During the same month there came also an apostate desiring to return to the religion of his fathers. There were five other heathen who asked for holy baptism."*

Besides the *idolized Mary*, whose central position in Roman missions has already been pointed out (p. 4 &c.†) the whole army of the saints is also introduced into the heathen world. It is very plain that to a people brought up in polytheism, the Roman worship of the saints would necessarily become a new form of idolatry. Already in the Catholic churches at home, the difference which is made between *doulia* and *latria* (adoration and worship), is only a sophistical expedient to which no attention

*Deutsche-evangelische Blätter 1884, 273, &c.

†These references to pages are to the original work of which this article forms a part.

is paid in practical life. The Roman laity bend their knees before the saints and pray to them with the same devotion as that which belongs to the living God. They give the same honor and worship to both. According to their views and practical conduct, the saint takes really the place of God. Ebrard is perfectly right when he affirms that "the practice of calling on the saints in the Roman Church, presupposes an entire omniscience on the part of the saints."* When Janssen calls this an untrue and unproved assertion and thinks he has refuted it by saying: "In and through God the saints know all about our requests,"† it is only one of those sophistical artifices, in which Jesuit apologetics are so rich. We have not the capacity even to understand such subterfuge. Either the saints are not omniscient so that God must inform them of the prayers offered to them, and then the prayers are superfluous, or they inform God of the prayers of believers, and then they are more omniscient than God himself. But the Roman laity and even the priests do not concern themselves in the least about Janssen's theological subtleties. The saint hears and answers prayer, the saint (not God) helps, to the saints thanks are given, as has been shown a thousand times in word and letter. Thus, for instance, we read in the reports from Jesuit missionaries in Sambesi: "There is scarcely one among us, who does not owe thanks to the holy Antonius. I will speak here of only one favor. Bro. Nigg one day had lost his keys. This brought us all into perplexity, because some of them belonged to the kitchen. We asked him to call on St. Antonius. But he thought St. Antonius had already too much to do for him and he (Antonius) had to go too far in order to fetch those keys (!!). But at last he (Nigg) consented. Scarcely had he closed his prayer, when a negro came asking whether we had lost a bunch of keys, he had found them five miles from here. All right, these were the keys of the brother, not even one was missing. Indeed, not in vain have we commended ourselves to St. Antonius and burnt a mighty candle before his image in Brussels for two months from the day of our departure."‡

*Die Objectivität Janssens, p. 17. †Zweites Wort, 33. ‡Spillman, 61.

And what shall we say when it is expected of the holy Joseph that he could "infuse thoughts into Christian souls;"* when the honorable Mr. Guillemin on the Island Sancian, puts a slip of parchment, which during holy mass has been placed on the altar, and which contains the names of friends and benefactors, who through their generous benevolence support our enterprises, into the tomb of Xavier, in order that through the merits of this saint they may have a happy dying hour!"†

And they treat their dear saints just as the heathen treat their idols, if they do not comply with their wishes. I scarcely trusted my own eyes when, in the year 1884, I read verbatim the following utterances of the honorable Father Augonard:‡ "On this account one evening, when I suffered more than ever before, I was almost angry at the holy Joseph and said to him: Good, holy Joseph, who art the protector of this (Congo) mission, I have labored hitherto and you have done nothing as yet. I am sick and can work no longer. Arrange matters now as you like, for I am no longer good for anything. Two days afterwards came the good P. Krafft. He had brought with him a little statue of the holy Joseph. Again I recommended to the patriarch of Nazareth my concerns and gave him to understand that he (*i. e.* his statue) would not be taken up till he had brought matters in order."

How is it possible that heathen to whom such saint-worshipers bring such saint-worship, should apprehend this worship as a worship of the one living God? That—in spite of all subtle sophistries—polytheists should distinguish between these saints and their gods and between the images of the same and their idols and instruments of sorcery? Must Rome not necessarily, however unwilling she is to admit the fact, substitute a Christian for a heathen polytheism, *i. e.* plant a Christianity, which is in reality a white-washed heathenism?

The use which is made of pictures, is of special aid in the process of substitution. As to the use of statues even the "Catholic Missions" at one time manifested a sort of doubt—of course without expressing directly its disapproval and conse-

*Jahrb. 1878, VI. 28. †Ibid, 1869, VI. 8. ‡Jahrb. 1884, V. 52.

quently of no further weight. When a Chinese missionary urges the sending of pictures, which he intends to use as a "substitute for idols," this Jesuit organ writes: "We say (he asks) for pictures, not for statues, because these differ but little from the images, to whom the catechumens have shown devotion hitherto, and which might therefore easily become a snare to them—a reason, which in several apostolic vicariates has given rise to an absolute prohibition of statues. The pictures, on the other hand, displace the old idol statues—without leading the neophites into the temptation (?), to transfer to them the idolatrous worship, which they formerly offered to their idols."*

But how? If after all, statues are to be found in Roman missions by the hundreds and thousands, must not this Jesuit organ admit that we are right when we affirm that "to these statues the idolatrous worship is transferred, which the Catholic heathen Christians formerly offered to their idols?" And how can it now fly into a passion, when we designate Roman Christianity as being in various ways only a "white-washed heathenism?" From a multitude of illustrations on the use of statues in Roman missions only a few:† P. Delplace writes from the Ganges: "Already I am in possession of a statue of the holy Joseph, which is cut out of wood, richly painted. Under the special protection of this glorious patriarch, I place the young Christian congregation in Kharee, just as I have placed the one in Bashanti under protection of the Immaculate Conception."‡

The apostolic vicar from Madura writes: "In the evening, after solemn vespers, a procession took place and a statue of U. L. F. of Lourdes was carried about under a magnificent baldachin amidst loud prayers and songs."§ And that to these statues the worship formerly offered to idols is transferred, we give the testimony of the Lutheran missionary Zorn in Pudukotta: "In Karambagudi are three respectable Catholic families. Of

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*Kath. Miss. 1876, 240.

†Henrion. II. 455. Kath. M. 1877, 42. 1878, 103. 1881, 118. 1882, 215. 1882. Beilage, 10. Jahrb. 1865, V. 64. 1874, I. 9. 1884, V. 59, &c. &c.

‡Jahrb. 1876, V. 35.

§Kath. M. 1884, 63.

these a man came to me and asked me to come and see their house-chapel. These people have gone to great expense. There is a nice altar with candles of massive silver, a crucifix in the centre, above it an image of Mary, gilded with a gold crown, by the side St. Peter and Paul, the holy Xavier, Antonius and the arch-angel Michael. Here we pray every Sunday, said the man of the house; and once during the year the priest comes, reads mass and gives us the holy sacrament. What do you pray, said I, be honest, do you pray to these images? He said yes.* Likewise, according to the reports of the honorable Father Rabains, the pictures, which are carried about during nightly processions, are asked *for their blessing*.† Of course, these are misunderstandings of Roman doctrine; but why entertain and foster a worship that must necessarily, especially in the case of heathen, lead to such misunderstandings? The Buddhists in Barma, having been directed by Catholic priests to the ridiculousness of idol-worship, answered them: "Of such foolishness we are not guilty. In looking upon the statues of Gautama, we are only reminded of Buddha, who preaches the perfect law and on account of his perfection he has deserved to be placed in the Neibban."‡ I presume our reporter, the apostolic vicar, conceals the main part of that answer, namely: "Are you, Roman Christians, not guilty of the same ridiculousness in worshiping images?" And in case the bishop should have angrily declined and said: "These statues only remind us of Mary, Joseph, Peter, &c.," I am curious to know what reply he would have made to the Buddhist if he had declared: "Consesequently there is no difference between us and you." The heathen will hardly pay attention to the difference made—perhaps only in a moment of embarrassment—by the Catholic missionaries, between statues and pictures. If they are given a visible object for "adoration," (of course not for "worship,") they treat it simply as an idol and perform with it their superstitious practices and use it as a means of sorcery, just as they did in former times their heathen idols. Of course, Catholic missionaries think of having won great victories, when they influence the heathen to exchange their idols for objects of Roman wor-

*Allg. M.-Z. 1878, 476. †Jahrb. 1870, II. 6. ‡Jahrb. 1874, II. 22.

ship. They pursue this substitutionary method systematically and consider it wise pedagogically. Thus the Jesuit Oktave, who missionates in China, wrote to his Superior in Europe: "Each time a family announces its willingness to enter the catechumenate, my joy is always clouded on hearing the words: 'Father, give us pictures, in order that we may have something as a substitute for the idols, which we have worshiped hitherto.'" It were generous to think that the father would be painfully touched by the evident lack of Christian understanding on the part of his catechumens. But not so; he is sorry that the pictures are wanting in order to effect the desired exchange. For thus he continues: "I find myself in no little difficulty, for it is impossible to comply with all their requests. For each family wishes to have a picture of its own, and that a nice, large, bright one; and without such a substitute, it is with difficulty that the new catechumens determine to let go their idols. You will therefore do your very best to send me a rich supply. You could hardly do me a greater favor."* The exchange of heathen idols for Roman pictures could not be expressed *more explicitly.*

As to the use of Bible pictures in the missions, no objection can be raised, if their use is limited, as in the case with Protestant missionaries, to illustrate Bible history and Bible doctrine. In Roman missions use is also made of pictures, often the productions of a frantic imagination, in a pedagogic-didactic way, in order to influence the ignorant heathen, either through allurement or fright to accept the Christian religion. As for instance, the North American Indians, by pictures representing the last judgment, where dragons and snakes devoured the bowels of the godless; demons casting them dowm into the flames of hell, devils tearing them in pieces with thongs, &c.† As an illustration of the didactic use, which the Jesuits make of pictures, the following may suffice: "They introduced among other things a play of cards. Upon these cards, the sacraments, the principal virtues, the commandments of the Church, the mortal sins, &c.,

*Kath. M. 1876, 240.

†Relation de ce qui s'est en 1637. Fritschel 142. Kath. M. 1882, 148. Similar to day in China. Jahrb. 1873, II. 12.

were figuratively represented." "Thus our wild Indians learn how to obtain salvation whilst playing." The missionaries called this play *du point au point*, and the Iroquois Indians indulged in it passionately. It was also recommended to the priests in France to introduce it among their peasants as a suitable Sunday entertainment.*

But the didactic use of pictures stands far behind their use in worship. They were introduced principally in order to turn heathen views and usages into a different direction. Already in earlier times the Jesuits expressed themselves unreservedly by saying: "We give them (the Indians) permission to change the object of worship so that they may offer to the true God, *i. e.* to Mary and the saints, their petitions and prayers, which they before offered at their sacrifices."† We call this the *method of substitution.*

As a matter of course, out of this method grew the idolatrous worship of pictures, kissing them, investing them with miraculous power, and even attributing to them the conversion of whole tribes. Here is a single illustration from the missions among the Indians, which shows to what a fabulous extent idolatry was carried on by means of pictures.

A Huron congregation had been presented with a nice picture of the child Jesus, made of wax. The Indians looked upon it "as a present from heaven." The picture was carried from house to house in order that all might have a chance to worship it; and the priest assured them that this worship would bring them a thousand blessings from heaven. During a procession, the picture was first brought into the cabin of an old widow, who "almost died for joy." The priest made her say a prayer, as a salutation to the guest, in which she laid all that she possessed at his feet. A meal was then prepared and the guests were told that "the little Jesus was entertaining them." The picture was also used as a means of sorcery to remove family evils. When at one time a young woman refused to become reconciled to her husband, he turned to the picture and said: "Sir, you see how stubborn this woman is; be so kind, I

*Relation en 1670. Fritschel 140. †Relation en 1657. Fritschel 140.

pray you, and choose her cabin for your dwelling place and, without doubt, her heart will be softened and she will again perform her duties." And really, when the picture came, it changed the woman completely.*

And this idolatrous worship of pictures goes on to this very day. Among the many pictures, shown to the English missionary Kirkby on a visit to the Indians on the Mackinaw, in 1861, there was a large picture of Mary with the following superscription: Veritable portrait de la très St. Vierge Marie. * * d'après le portrait peint par St. Luc Evangelist. Des graces saus nombre sont attachées à cette image.†

Similar methods were pursued in the old South American and Congo missions. In order to have something in the place of the signs of idolatry, King Alfans distributed crucifixes and pictures of saints, which had been brought from Portugal.‡ In Japan the pictures of Buddha and other saints were changed, with few alterations, into pictures of Christ and other saints of the Roman Church.§ In India, during Romish festival processions which are introduced after heathen processions, Mary is put in place of almost any sort of heathen idols. Thus we find that in all her missions, in recent as well as in olden times, substitution is an established method sanctioned by the Church.‖

Nor are they satisfied with this method of exchange and substitution. In Madura, use was made of a heathen procession wagon during a Roman procession festival.¶ The description of this celebration, which shows its entire heathen character, is too instructive to be omitted. It may serve at the same time as an illustration of the celebrations of Roman church festivals in her missions. The Jesuit Lessmann writes:

"In Madura, St. Bartholomew, whose feast was celebrated the day before, is patron of the Church. For the celebration of such a patron-festival two things are necessary: A grand procession and a religious show. The central object and main adornment is a colossal wagon, upon which is placed the statue

*Fritschel 143. †Int. 1865, 120. ‡Henrion I. 291, 390, 425, &c.
§Allg. M.-Z. 1880, 110. Griffis 252. ‖*Dublin Rev.* 1884, 120.
¶Kath. M. 1874, 30. Dubois 65 relates that even the idol tower of Dschaggernat was made use of in the celebration of a Christian festival.

of the saint. This custom to drive about with such a wagon in a procession, is in imitation of the manner of the heathen. At every pagoda may be seen one or more of the wagons. On the axle of the wagon stands a short pyramid, built like the temple itself, upon which the idol, usually a colossal figure, is placed, and on certain festival days driven about. The wagon is drawn by a whole multitude of men. Now inasmuch as it is not the business of the missionaries to do away with these customs, *which are not heathenish in themselves*—for the missionaries do not intend to make of these natives European but Indian Christians—therefore they have left them their wagon and only Christianized it; for without such a wagon they would not consider it a procession at all."*

In China a certain mountain, which is regarded holy and upon which several gods are worshiped, has been changed to a place of pilgrimage and Mary-resort. Of this the Catholic missionaries write very minutely and with great satisfaction.† In place of amulets and other means of jugglery, medals are given to the people. They are asked to kiss the crucifix, or arrangements are made for processions, in which also heathen and Mohammedans take part, who without doubt ascribe to this religious festival an infallible power, similar to their own superstitious usages.‡

In the light of such missionary methods it is no longer a wonder that such Christianity as is being propagated by Roman missionaries, reveals itself as naked heathenism as soon as those so-called Christians are left to themselves. We are not surprised that the Amazons of the king of Dahomie carry crucifixes, brought into the land by the Portuguese, as fetiches around their necks; that on the Congo crucifixes, incense-boxes, silver goblets, statues, mass books, bells and sacred robes, which the monks at their departure left behind, are used as mere fetiches; that in Elmina Mary-festivals are celebrated with fetich services, noise, dancing, and perhaps also with bacchanalian revelry; that the Indians of South America worship

*Kath. M. 1874, 30. †1878, 89–94.
‡Jahrb. 1864, III. 78, &c. 1870, I. 31.

the cub; that in Tonkin the host effects conversions*—in short that Roman Christianity sinks down to a mere magic force, and is in reality nothing else than a whitewashed heathenism!

We have been obliged to confine ourselves to a few examples or illustrations.† Roman sources give them by the hundred. But these may suffice to prove what we affirm, viz.: that Roman missions do NOT teach the heathen the worship of God in spirit and in truth.

ARTICLE IV.

THE GENERAL SYNOD AND HOME MISSIONS.‡

By REV. CHAS. S. ALBERT, A. M., President of the Board of Home Missions, Baltimore, Md.

The 32d Convention of the General Synod occurs in a most beautiful season of the year. As we have hastened hither from North and South and East and West, nature has spread, on every side, rich and lovely sights upon which the eye has feasted with delight. What potencies have been at work to transform the earth from the deadness of Winter's ice and snow to this glory; what forces of genial sunshine and creative life to change the brown fields, the bare twigs, to the meadows carpeted with tender verdure, the fields rich with waving grain and the trees, clothed with rustling foliage, blushing with fragrant blossoms. Potencies of sun and rain, earth and life are here; but for what purpose? The answer is fruit. All life hastens without rest or cessation of labor to crown itself with fruit. The blade gives place to the ear, the ear to the full corn in the ear. The blossom is not the satisfaction, but the fruit, and for this the plant strives with what seems almost mad haste until it be accomplished. These potent powers are for result. God's pur-

*Kath. M. 1883, 90. 1880, 214. 1881, 95. Jahrb. 1871, IV. 15.

†In order not to become too diffusive, I have omitted the so-called Sacramentalism. In the Catholic churches at home, many of the consecrated objects are nothing else than a means of sorcery; but in the mission fields these consecrations effect fetich worship.

‡Delivered before the General Synod at Harrisburg.

pose is fruit, without which there is neither delight nor victory.

Whit-sunday has just passed. In the land of Judea, Pentecost was the festival of the harvest fruits, the out-come, under God, of the force of sun and rain, earth and life. On this day, in the Christian Church, new spiritual forces were given to the disciples. They were clothed with power from on high. The Holy Ghost gave them hearts of love, wisdom from above, tongues of fire. These potencies were also not for themselves. Immediately they bare witness. Peter preached the truth with love, wisdom, and fire. The first ingatherings from these forces were three thousand souls. The continuance of power, moreover, depended upon the fidelity with which they used the gifts of the Holy Ghost for the ingathering of men into the kingdom of God.

He gave them power from on high, but this power was to be used for the salvation of a world lying in darkness. He gave them new hearts, full of love toward God, but, likewise, toward men. He gave them tongues, whereby they knew mysteries and could speak in other languages, but that they might proclaim the Gospel to all lands.

It needed a persecution to teach them this. They would have remained content in their beloved home-work at Jerusalem, had not the persecution scattered them abroad.

Our heritage as a Lutheran Church is a glorious one. To us belong the first and foremost of the Reformers, Luther; the faithful Confession of Augsburg; the rich stores of the deep scriptural knowledge and systematized truth of theologians whose equals are not in the world; the living, profound and trustful piety garnered in our hymns and devotional writings; the millions who have borne and do bear the name Lutheran.

The Holy Ghost has given to us, as a Church, wisdom, power and tongues of fire, and for the continuance of these powers, he demands fruit.

It is not enough that the Church began well and has done well. It ought to show that it is doing and can do better. "Decrepit old age lives in the Past, active manhood in increased power in the Present and in lofty conceptions of the Future." *Aggression, Aggression* alone declares that we truly live and have both

the joy and the satisfaction of strong Christian life. The Lord Jesus says, "I must preach the Gospel in other cities and towns also." We are his disciples indeed when we burn to carry the Gospel beyond our own city, town, village, hamlet, or neighborhood, to others also. Aggressive Christianity is alone strong. The Church had died at Jerusalem if the disciples had remained there.

The Church content with the ground gained, unmindful of its high office, becomes first fossilized and then dead. Luther and the sixteenth century degenerate into the eighteenth with its formalism and lifelessness. Therefore, let us remember continuance of power, nay of hopeful, joyous, spiritual life, depends upon *aggression.* The potencies of the Church must present fruit unto the Lord.

The work of the early Church is characteristic *in its method.* The apostles found in almost every city and land the Jewish people. Through them the truth of the Old Testament was diffused and preparation made for the larger truth that comes through our Lord Jesus Christ. To these scattered bands of the chosen people, the disciples first preached the truth and then to the outlying world of heathenism, the Gentiles.

Our work is also prepared for us. All over this land are the scattered bands of Lutherans, committed to us by the providence of God. And to us it appears reasonable that we should gather congregations, beginning with them and then turn unto the rest of the world. Let us take our duty in the very largest sense. "As we have opportunity let us do good unto all men, but, specially to them which are of the household of faith."

Nor ought we to be discouraged because frequently slow progress is made. Every home missionary is ready with his testimony to affirm that oft we find it difficult to gather our own material. Lutherans and the descendants of Lutherans seem, and often are, indifferent to our own ministrations. Without a church home, they pass by the open church-door and do not enter, except once or twice perhaps in curiosity. The material is oft difficult to handle, given as it is to worldliness and in some instances to unbelief. They must be searched for, persuaded, plead with, ere they come. Why should we vex ourselves?

Because we are to meet a want and not a demand. Want is that which men need. Demand is that which they ask for. The world of traffic is organized on the law of demand and supply. This regulates business and makes prosperity. To meet the demands, the busy spindles of the factories clatter and whirr, the heavy trip-hammers fall, the trains speed along the iron track. Let the demands cease and the black clouds of smoke no longer pour out of the tall chimneys, the furnace fires glow not. Operatives leave their homes and seek labor if it may be found in other towns.

It is characteristic of the best of work, of the noblest conceptions, the highest love, of advance of thought and reformation that they meet a want and not a demand. They do speak truly to men, they are striving for the best and highest in him, but they win their way by persistent effort of word uttered and life lived against his selfishness, meanness, prejudices, until his higher self hears and the obedience is won that brings lasting peace and joy.

When our Lord Jesus Christ came, what reception was given him? They had their demands, which were of the earth, that they might reign as kings of the earth, lords as the haughty Romans were. They cried let us alone, when he would have led them into another kingdom of meekness and goodness, and refused their selfish demands. He sought to meet their deepest wants, to save them from their sins, to restore them to the Father, to give them the abiding joy of righteousness, and they took him and nailed him to the cross. Yet those teachings, that death and life have met for ages and are meeting to-day the deepest wants of the human heart and are satisfying it. He teaches us that he is god-like in his work who meets the deep spiritual wants of men and not their selfish demands.

Paul is sent of the Holy Ghost into Macedonia. The man of Macedonia cries, come over and help us. He goes. It is the cry of the deepest want of Europe but not its surface demands. He strives to help, and lo, a handful believe; he is scourged, cast into prison, and fastened in the stocks. God has made no mistake. Paul has not misunderstood, and regenerated Europe with her noble history and present prosperity attests that it is

better to meet the wants of the human race than the demands of a selfish present.

Let us in the slow upbuilding of our mission work learn this great lesson, that we are to meet the real want of men, not their demands. And yet ofttimes one is surprised to see how the want, the spiritual want of members of scattered Lutherans for a ministry, a church, with the means of grace, rises into the clear consciousness of a Christian demand. All are not indifferent and worldly. A large majority are anxious to be supplied with their own ministry and church with its loved life and doctrine.

The numbers of those who thus appeal to us and other bodies of Lutherans are enormous. The vast immigration of those of our own faith, it is estimated, numbers one congregation of five hundred souls for each day in the year. "Almost one-sixth of the population of the United States are the descendants of parents who came from the Fatherlands across the sea." It is true that the German and Scandinavian work of the General Synod is not large. Our efforts have neither been as persistent nor as commensurate with the demands as we would like. There is need of a larger supply of ministers, educational facilities and literature in these languages, but, even under these disadvantages, we have been doing much in these later years. What we may do under the deeper interest and hearty co-operation of our Synod in German and Scandinavian lines we may not tell, but the progress made in Nebraska and Wyoming and New York would indicate a magnificent future.

Whatever may be said of this, it is a matter of momentous importance that the English aggressive work, specially in the West, devolves largely upon the General Synod. Every year witnesses the anglicizing of the children of German and Scandinavian parents. There are also our own Lutherans who migrate from other States into new sections, who with their children, in addition to the former, form an immense number of our population. Who is to care for these large numbers in the next twenty-five years, almost a generation? To ask the question is to give the answer. There is work for all the Lutheran bodies in the English field, but which bodies are now equipped for present opportunities? The only body which in this generation

can be of large service and assistance to us in this work, is the General Council. A glance at her English missions in the great West shows a lamentably small number. We wish there were more. The reasons are obvious. So small proportionately is the English portion of the Council that it is overshadowed by the German and Scandinavian, and much of the strength must be used there. Her magnificent territory and membership in the East has never been thorougly mobilized, to use a military term, and until her large charges are divided, her present eastern fields more thoroughly possessed, the General Council can spare few men for aggressive English work in the West. Neither has the General Council ever perfected the organization essential to Home-Mission work as the General Synod has, or developed the spirit of liberality in home-missions, or Church Extension as the latter.

The other bodies, excepting the General Synod South, fully occupied with its own territory, numerically small also, have made but little effort to do English work, even in the congregations now becoming anglicized, much less to accomplish aggressive work of this character. We, therefore, are forced to conclude, with reluctance, (because of the greatness of the task which needs the combined effort of all,) that upon the General Synod the aggressive English work in the West will largely depend for the next twenty-five years. It is a land of promise, but it needs that we put forth all our strength to possess it.

Do the results encourage us? The Home Mission Board has cared during the past two years for 87 missions. The accessions have been 2,381 and the total membership 6,022. On the Sunday-school roll are 9,693 scholars. Thus we minister to at least 25,000 souls. But had we the men and means, the missions might be numbered by hundreds, the souls cared for by the hundreds of thousands.

It has been sometimes urged that there is an excess of churches given to many places and no room for new organizations. So great is the zeal of the different denominations that the accommodations far exceed the requirements of the inhabitants. Those who first enter are clamorous in their demands that they are amply competent to care for the population. Yet

there are certain facts which require consideration. There is, it may be concluded, great justice in this plea where churches of practically the same doctrinal basis and cultus, each erect churches. Where, *e. g.* the different shades of Methodism each build a church and organize congregations when one congregation and one church could fairly reach and accommodate all the Methodists in a place. So with the divisions of the Baptists and different phases of Calvinism. Representing as we do Lutheran doctrine and practices and life, distinct from these, if we have material in any place, or town, it is our business to care for it, whether there be sufficient church accommodation or not in that place or town.

The real kernel of the question is just this and not the other. Is the material that belongs to us ministered to as it should be by other denominations? Is not the real truth, that church accommodations do not mean church influence over members who have no affiliation, either in doctrine or practice to these churches? That many remain who are not attracted by them, nor enter their doors, and, because uncared for, are drifting away into the world, adding to the numbers of the indifferent, the worldly and the skeptical?

We must look upon the hard realities. There may be plenty of churches but with few worshipers and no power to reach the people, as in the town in New York of 5000, where the communicants do not number 500. It is the result of experience in this work, that among our people, other denominations have failed. And, upon the establishment of a mission which grew and multiplied, they have sold their church building to these Lutherans who loved their own doctrines and life. Shall we, when such are the facts, refuse to enter and care for our own, who largely are not cared for, reclaim the wandering, build them again into the Church of God? Are we not to throw our weight and influence, under God, to roll back the worldliness, the indifference, the godlessness, the skepticism which threaten all the future of this land, as well as cause the eternal loss of those whom God has entrusted to us?

We have thus spoken of these few cases where fault is found, but these represent but a small fraction of that work which is

ours in places where our material is and where the people are without churches and ministers. What is the result of unfaithfulness to God's call for these destitute? We can look at it from this lower stand-point first, its effect upon the people of the land. The oppositions to a Christian life are many in this new land. Our very prosperity is fruitful in evil. The nation gains wealth before its people have acquired power to use and spend it wisely. Our great centers rival the ancient Romans in the luxury which led to their enervation and debasement. "Luxury induces men to listen to a voice other than the highest—the voice that teaches them to enjoy in ease and peace their great possessions and find in things material a better measure of conduct and character than in things spiritual." Greed for wealth, mad haste to be rich, business recklessly carried on, a wild speculation that is gambling, the desire for the glitter and pomp of the world, are only too fatally undermining not alone responsibility to God, but morality; and lead men to unbelief that falls in naturally with their hopes and pursuits. With it all there is a widening gulf between labor and capital, between the poor and the rich. The laboring class, so long our joy for their stability and earnest godly character, are not under the influence of the Gospel and ministry to the same extent as in former years, but are listening to the apostles of false socialism and communism, forgetful that it is the abuse of Christian truth, the failure to carry out its principles that have wrought out these evils. And so on every side the danger to us is worldliness, rejection of Christ and his teachings, unbelief in God. It is the hour for supreme effort on the part of the whole Christian Church, to retard the progress of these ideas by faithful and diligent work, by possession of the land wherever men are gathered together, that over against the godless and unbelievers there may be arrayed the Christian employer and laborer, the masses of the poor and the rich who worship together the same God who is the maker of them all. It is the hour for the Christian Church to instil the true ideas of fellowship, right and Christian love that the nation may worship God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, in whom alone prosperity and a gracious future may be obtained. That is the condition essential to the prog-

ress and collective well-being of a people."* The moment when a people has the noblest conception of God and the strongest faith in him, in the order he has instituted and the law he administers in his inflexible righteousness and truth, is also certain to be the moment when its spirit shall be in its sublimest and most heroic mood. Over, a sturdy Scot, valiant in speech as in deed, English Ambassador to the court of Prussia, sat at the table of Frederick the Great, then meditating a war whose sinews were to be mainly formed of English subsidies. Round the table sat French wits of the infidel sort, and they and the King made merry over decadent superstitions, the follies of the ancient faith. Suddenly the talk changed to war, and war's alarms. Said the long-silent Scot, "England would, by the help of God, stand by Prussia." "Ah," said the infidel Frederick, "I did not know you had an ally of that name;" and the infidel wits smirked applause. "So please your majesty," was the swift retort, "he is the only ally to whom we do send subsidies." There stood the truth confessed. England's best ally is God; the times of her truest heroism and magnaminity have been the times when she was most obedient to him. And as with our nation so with all. A skeptic age is never a great, or a golden age; an infidel people can never be a noble or creative people. For deed, for achievement in politics, or letters, for the highest creations in art, in poetry, or sculpture, in architecture, or painting, religion is a necessity. In seeking for people that know no God, who live without faith, or worship, where do our philosophers go? Do they select for their inquiries peoples that have stood on the highest pinnacle of civilization, and do they, while the peoples stand there, point with proud and disdainful finger to the men in whom their culture bloomed in its most splendid flower? Were the Greeks in their most splendid era of philosophy, sculpture, poetry, without faith in God? Was Rome in her heroic days without men who believed in the state as the creation and symbol of Divine Law; no stalwart sons who dared in her hour of peril ask like brave Horatius,

*Fairbairn. The City of God.

How can man die better
Than in facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers
And temple of his gods?

Do they show Raphael, Angelo, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, John Milton, these flowers of human culture, without faith in God? Do they go to times and men like these and silence us by these or similar results? No, not they. But they go to some cannibal South-sea Island, scarce touched by the foot, or known to the science of the white man, to some degraded and wretched African tribe, and with these specimens dug from the very heart of the most dismal barbarism they come forward and cry, "Behold, peoples who acknowledge no God!" Well then let us accept the specimen and only answer, "Compare that atheistic race of yours with our theistic races, and let the distance between cannabalism and Christian culture measure the space that divide peoples who believe in no God and peoples who believe in him and have labored to follow his spirit and fulfil his ends."

This land of ours for noblest endeavor, for the happiness and well-being of its people, for its continued prosperity and progress needs Christianity. It is the youngest of nations, reserved in time and by discovery as a Protestant land, in God's purpose to be a mighty instrumentality in the redemption of this world, and in the upbuilding of his kingdom. The time for Christian work is *now* so that deep and stable foundations may be laid for the Christian nation that is to be, so that in the years to come, the land may abide in the favor of God, may remain a bulwark against evil, the nation from whence the Gospel will be carried to all the world until all the inhabitants thereof shall praise the Lord to the glory of God the Father.

The General Synod is called to faithfulness in Christian effort and self-sacrifice, because without such effort multitudes will be without the saving ordinances of the Church. The world is both permanent and changing. Nations have a continuous life, exist for centuries. England has a history of more than one thousand years, well-defined, that presents us with the spectacle of an unbroken life that has continued and increased, amid fluctuations of prosperity and adversity. Our conception of a na-

tion is like to the conception of a noble building. As the Cathedral of Cologne that slowly rose to perfection through the centuries until at last it stands with its solid stones wrought into beauty and magnificence, so the nation seems solid, permanent and majestic. The temple of the nation is, however, made of living stones, which are not solid and ever-existing, but of short duration. Whilst the nation is continuous, the men which constitute it are ever passing away. Generations quickly appear and disappear. The men and women, the vast majority of the children of America, of the sixty million or more inhabitants, will not be here fifty years from now. Almost all will be dead, and, as they die, so shall they appear before the judgment-seat of God. The generation of to-day is our concern. If we care for it wisely, we reach the measure of our duty to them and likewise best care for the future generation. This mighty post is entrusted to us by the Master. If they are without the consolations of the Gospel, are left defenceless by the Church in the world, are therefore tempted, betrayed, defeated and lost, if we could by our effort have provided for them and given them their church, will not their blood cry out against us, that agonizing cry ascending to God, "No man cared for my soul?" Will not the children growing up in worldiness, indifference, iniquity and skepticism at the judgment accuse us before God?

How much truth there is in the following. "A missionary in the West Indies having called on the colored people for a little help in spreading the Gospel, a negro with a wooden leg came forward, and pulling from one pocket a parcel of silver, said, "That's for *me*, massa;" and another parcel from another pocket, "That's for my *wife*, massa;" and another still (in all thirteen dollars), "That's for my *child*, massa." When asked by the missionary if he was not giving too much he said, "God's work *must be done*, massa, and I *may be dead*.'" Let us do and let us give *now* what we can, for "God's work must be done and we may be dead."

It follows from all that has been said that the home mission work of the General Synod must be Lutheran in its methods. The General Synod is a Lutheran body. It "receives the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doc-

trines of the word of God." The material it seeks is Lutheran, trained in this faith, inclined to the modest doctrines of that church which they and we believe to hold the teachings of the word of God in its greatest purity. Loyal to our own principles, it is common-sense and wisdom in addition, to approach these along the line of our church-life and church-doctrine. The name of Lutheran is not sufficient but the reality. The home mission work of the General Synod is doomed to failure if we do not cleave with fidelity to the truths of our Confession.

We claim that we have a right to exist since God has entrusted to us special truth. On no other ground have we a right to live, for otherwise we merely perpetuate a division of Protestantism, and unhappy weakness. If we approach our Lutheran people with other methods, doctrines and life which are foreign to our own Church they are alienated, or, if we gather them they are bound by ropes of sand, since they confess to no truth other than generalities, or rightfully belonging to others.

We commend ourselves best to the world even when true to our Confession and life, we declare that God has given us a special work and peculiar treasures. The thoughtful observer discerns that the religious world has moved in its religious conceptions toward us in these last decades. The conservative and profound teachings of the Lutheran Church centering upon the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, as they are better understood commend themselves to the thoughtful. The world will best hear us as we are faithful to our own doctrines.

To be sent of God, that gives strength to the messenger. Every missionary, every pastor that stands with support and prayer back of the missionary, to have heart in his work, must believe that as a church God has sent us to proclaim our truth. Such missionaries will commend themselves to our own material, and by a manly and thoughtful presentation of our doctrines will gain a hearing from others. Such work God has blessed in the past and will bless, I believe, in the future.

It may now be properly asked, How has the Board of Home Missions sought as the representatives of the General Synod to meet these opportunities and responsibilities?

The Board has tried to be comprehensive in its work. All

Lutherans are considered, whether they be German, Scandinavian, or English. It has endeavored to occupy as much territory as possible with the smallest expenditure consistent with successful work. Centres of population have been occupied that from them outlying and dependent neighborhoods might be reached. New work has been assumed in such fashion that new territory is possessed and yet connected with other General Synod Lutheran points already established. Isolation with corresponding weakness has been avoided. Nebraska has been strategically occupied, from thence, post by post, Wyoming and Colorado have been cared for. From Iowa and Nebraska, in the same manner, Minnesota and Dakota are to be occupied. If you had a map, and could follow, these new names would indicate this, Kearney, North Platte, Lodge Pole, Sydney, Cheyenne, Laramie, Denver, Pueblo. It has been a systematic and comprehensive advance, the reverse in intention. Yet, like in far-reaching wisdom to the southern advance of the Russians to the sea, we have boldly and systematically gone forward.

With all this the Board has not been unmindful of other opportunities, nor of the great cities. Every State has been under special supervision. Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Kansas City, Denver, with their thronging multitudes have had missions given them.

The Board has made mistakes, but errors attributable to human infirmity and not to lack of thoughtfulness and care. Neither the members nor the secretaries have been spared. The Board has met often, deliberated long, canvassed with caution all matters submitted. Our secretaries have been continuously at work, they have been sent in heat and cold on the work of the Church, required to supervise missions, awaken interest by addresses to established congregations, they have traveled thousands of miles, but we hold the expense judicious, for they have encouraged the missions, reconciled difficulties, founded churches, obtained money, aroused the co-operation and quickened the benevolence of congregations. Your secretaries have been faithful servants. By their oversight they have practically saved the Church thousands of dollars; for they have prevented the reception of missions which with little material would have

been beneficiaries for a generation, and on the other hand established missions in favorable points where growth has been rapid.

No less is it due to the pastors and membership of the General Synod to acknowledge the noble help they have given. The advance in contribution has been in despite of hard times magnificent. We can judge in two ways, we may look at the ideal and compare the Church with that. She falls far short of perfection. There is a better way. To observe her past and compare with the present. If that indicates growth, then is there hope. Such has been the marvelous progress in increased benevolent contributions that we are encouraged and our hopes are high for the future. In 1868, the contributions of the General Synod to Home Missions were $8,000, at this General Synod $46,000. The General Synod is doing well, but we must do better. Advance, advance, let it be our watchword, for we have not done what we could. The women of the Church deserve a special tribute. Generous have been their contributions; faith and patience amid difficulties have been theirs, whilst by them and by the whole Church the Board has been upheld with a trust; they have acquiesced in its plans and respected its wishes.

And now what is it that we need?

1. A devoted Christian church-life. We are first to be devout and then practical. When the Pope showed Thomas Aquinas his treasures, he said, "No longer can the successor of the Apostle Peter say, 'Silver and gold have I none.'" "No longer," was the apt reply of the saint, "can the successor of the Apostle Peter say to the lame, 'rise, take up thy bed and walk.'" The apostles loved first and then were missionaries. From the life of an earnest faith and love the life of good flowed, the undying desire for the salvation of men. We need silver and gold. We need before it the devout Christians, whose gold shall be given out of love to the Lord, who are constrained by that love to give it, whose prayers hallow and consecrate it.

2. We need missionaries. Men adapted to the work by their gifts, which gifts have been enriched by grace. Men who are hopeful, with tact to approach men, to devise well for the future, ready to sacrifice, content with a small and hard present, for a glorious future that shall be born out of it.

Ministers godly and amply qualified for regular pastorates are by no means always missionaries. They accomplish good, but they are not pioneers, men gifted in initiatives. There are gifts, and in the spirit of the Gospel let us rejoice that to some are given the gifts of an evangelist, and let us seek to encourage such men in their labors.

3. We need more men in the ministry. Let us plead with God for them. Preach to fathers and mothers to consecrate their sons to the gospel ministry; to young men to heed God's calls that they should forego earthly ambitions and be embassadors for Christ.

4. We need money. New missions mean new churches, fresh expenditures. Had we the men and the means, we might have in the next two years 500 missions doing gloriously, instead of 87.

5. We need literature. Books written to meet the religious and devotional wants of the membership. There has been good work in this direction, we want more. Our able men should give us Lutheran treasures, not merely in translations, but written by them at first hand, penetrated with Lutheran conceptions of truth, but adapted to the temperament and wants of an American people, mindful of their temptations and assaults. These writings should display that versatility, vigor, decisiveness, aptness of expression and felicity of illustration, which are the national traits over against the German meditativeness, diffuseness, abstruseness, which repel many from their otherwise noble and profound theology. Our seminaries, our thinkers in the pulpit, ought to furnish us with material for the religious thought and culture of our people, which should retain to us the truths of our theology in their largeness and mysteriousness and profundity, and yet adapted to the spirit of the people. We ought not to be dependent on others for our literature, books which, whilst in the main good, are not unmixed oft with pernicious error. Such are the great claims made, the noble opportunities presented. Let every minister heed the call and, in congregation and in synod, seek to advance in all directions that mission work given to us of God. It calls for sacrifice and labor, but we can gladly endure these for the Master's sake.

Our joy and reward shall be in the influence we thus exert on the moral and spiritual advance of the nation, that it, kept a godly land, may, through the blessing of God upon its wealth and people, send forth gifts and men to evangelize the world.

Our joy and reward shall be in the redemption and salvation of men and women who will greet us in the world to come though we may never meet them upon this earth, men and women saved by our prayers, our gifts, our children consecrated to the ministry, and our influence given to the mission cause. When Norman Macleod was buried, as the long cortege passed through the streets of Glasgow, thousands who honored and loved him thronged to see his body carried to the grave. Then amid the multitude, a brawny working-man was heard saying, as the dark column moved past: "There goes Norman Macleod; if he had done no more than he did for my soul, he would shine as the stars forever." What a testimony! Who cannot deny himself that through him others may know the riches of Christ?

Our joy and reward shall be in our likeness to the Master, who came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister unto others and to give himself a ransom for many." It will bring upon us his approbation and lead us into the holy fellowship of his love.

Let then the Lord's tireless spirit be ours. "I must work the works of him that sent me while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work." "I must preach the Gospel in other cities and towns also."

ARTICLE V.

THE USE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THE EUCHARISTIC SERVICE.

[Continued from the July QUARTERLY.]

By REV. E. J, RICHTER, Turner's Falls, Mass.

THE LITURGIES OF THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

These present a wide and interesting field for study and investigation. According to our limited task, we give only a few explanatory remarks on these documents, but complete enough to set forth the measure of their value as evidence.

The Eastern mediæval liturgies bear, in their titles, the names of apostles and the church fathers, and this nomenclature is generally adopted by liturgiologists as a matter of convenience. "St James'" means at first nothing more than the liturgy of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, "St. Mark's" that of Alexandria, "St. Basil's" and "St. Chrysostom's" those of Constantinople. These are the chief liturgies, some of them surrounded by a numerous kinship, both orthodox and heretic. The question of the authenticity of those names may be answered in the negative and in the affirmative, respectively. That *e. g.* St. James' liturgy, as it stands, was not and cannot have been composed by St. James the apostle, is evident. But it is no less obvious that the church of Jerusalem could not receive her communion order from another authority than from the apostles, and among these from St. James the Less, her president for many years. And when the so-called "St. James' liturgy" in its essential parts, eucharistic prayers and consecration act, commemoration and distribution, fits exactly into the frame-work, presented by the N. T. writings, and harmonizes with the panels of the same fabric which the primitive church joined into that frame-work; then the title "St. James'" may, in some sense, be regarded authentic. And so it is. The fundamental stem of these liturgies, eastern and western, is apostolic.

The codical authority by which they are supported reaches

to a greater or less degree far up into the mediæval era, the age of the manuscripts known to exist, ranging from the seventh to the thirteenth century. As a matter of course, the age of a codex is not necessarily identical with the age of the document copied. The written fixation of the typical liturgies, orthodox and heterodox, reaches back to an earlier date.

The apostolic and primitive church had no written liturgies. The stable parts were kept in memory, and the knowledge of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Words of Institution, etc., formed in olden times an object of the examination which candidates for the ministry had to pass. The fluctuant parts, for instance the eucharistic prayers, were left to the ministerial capacity and experience. It is natural for prayers, frequently offered on the same occasion, to assume gradually a stated form; first in one church, then in another, at last in a diocese. The communion prayers in the "Teaching" and in the seventh book of the "Apost. Constitutions" are instances of such crystallizations. Besides, the so-called Diptychs were early committed to writing. They were records of the dead, containing the names of apostles and martyrs, and of the departed bishops, presbyters and members of the local church, to be commemorated in the general prayer. Other variable parts may also have required a written help for the minister officiating. The first attempts at writing down formularies of some completeness, appear in an ancient Ethiopic liturgy (which we passed over as being of little value for our purpose), in the so-called Clementine, and in the oldest of Gallican liturgies. The fourth century, however, when the condition of the church, in view of the support and protection granted by the secular power, was greatly changed, brought many alterations, and also a more general revision and fixation of the liturgies which, by oral tradition and some written scraps, had come down from the earliest times. Liturgical quotations of such a distinctness as those found with Chrysostom and Augustine, are scarcely conceivable without supposing written formularies to have been extant. Chrysostom's statements on the contents of the prayers over catechumens, energumenoi and penitents, of the general prayer in the mass of believers, and partly of the eucharistic prayers, possess

such minuteness and elaboration that they cannot possibly have been quoted from memory. In the caption of this chapter we styled these liturgies as "mediæval"; but we may fairly assign their principal representatives to the end of the ancient era as well as to the middle ages.

Their literal fixation did not protect these documents from changes. They have undergone, in the lapse of time, various and considerable modifications. Parallel with the ecclesiastical development, for better or worse, in doctrine, practice, polity, they show the touches of nearly all the powerful agencies which were working and co-working in the history of the church, during the periods named. Part of these liturgies have preserved, comparatively, more simplicity and purity; part of them are ritually overladen, and doctrinally corrupted; all of them appear, in comparison with the ancient type, enriched and enlarged, both in the pro-anaphoral part and in the communion service proper. The first eucharistic prayer, indeed, nowhere reappears in such length and minuteness as in the Apostolic Constitutions, but it has been reduced and generalized. Other parts, however, originally simple, as the Invocation of the Holy Ghost or the "Sancta Sanctis," are frequently spun out into complicated performances, issuing in a series of exclamations, prayers, responses, and assuming a dramatic character. The words of institution are sometimes interrupted, after each comma, by a response of the people, either "Amen" or "We believe that it really is so." The intercessory element is much cultivated, some liturgies using, in both masses combined, from two to four shorter or longer general prayers, with unavoidable repetitions. All of the Eastern, and some of the Western rites have a great intercession within the communion service. The majority place it, as it was in the "Clementine" liturgy, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost; but some of the Egyptian group awkwardly insert it in the middle of the first eucharistic prayer, between the thanksgiving for the work of creation and the transition to the sanctus: an arrangement by which the progress of the liturgical action is greatly encumbered and protracted. But still, the very sanctuary of divine worship, though considerably enveloped by the luxuriant vines of a ritualistic propensity, has been

left unhurt. The fundamental stem of the communion liturgy —the first eucharistic prayer with the Sanctus, the second with the verba, the commemoration of the Lord's death, the distribution with the confession of the Lord's body and blood—remains unaffected. There is only one partial exception, and that in the Roman Mass, where the second eucharistic prayer has been forced away by things, more necesseary, it would seem, than a thanksgiving for the blessed work of redemption.

The wonderful essential harmony of these liturgies exhibits a grand and refreshing phenomenon which, coupled with the fact that they represent the most different geographical, national and sectional divisions of the church, is a clear evidence of their having been ultimately derived from one common fountain-head. In fact, these liturgies are just as apostolic and un-apostolic, as the Church, in her successive periods, was or is herself, when using those liturgies, and manifesting by the same, one of her most prominent vital functions.

We shall include, in our comparisons, the liturgies of the heretical eastern communions, Nestorian and Monophysitic. They are helpful to the study of the subject and, in their main branches, by no means unorthodox. Some of them bear marks of a higher antiquity and of a greater purity than those of the orthodox churches. This strange appearance is accounted for by the independent and secluded position of these separated churches, by which they were enabled to retain their hereditary liturgical possession unaltered. And as the dogmatical language of the old formularies was naturally less exact and rigid, they could interpret the same consistently with their peculiar doctrinal views. The chief Nestorian liturgy, "Adæi et Maris," goes back beyond the time when the Persian church, in 499, gave its definitive adherence to the Nestorian doctrine, yea beyond the Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, when Nestorius was condemned. The Syriac liturgy "of St. James" is common both to the orthodox and Monophysitic communities of Syria, and this remarkable fact places this liturgy in a period, prior to the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, since after the schism neither body would have borrowed a liturgy from the other. With the Egyptian Monophysites, the occurrence of such names as

Basil and Cyril (of Alexandria), in the titles of their liturgies, points likewise back to a time previous to the separation. Cyril's Coptic liturgy, *e. g.* apparently presents an older type of "St. Marks'" orthodox ritual, which, in its extant form shows already the influence of Constantinople.

The classification of this extensive material fluctuates with liturgiologists, certain grounds of division naturally presenting themselves, others being arbitrary. We shall follow, in our comparative tables, a classification, commended by the latest criticism. The members of a group or family are off-shoots from one and the same main branch; the families, taken as individuals, are the main branches of one common stem. Remains of an earlier form of these main branches are to be seen in the accounts of the Fathers and in the earlier liturgical formations.

Most of the heretical liturgies are living rites, still employed in Armenia, Persia, Syria, Egypt and Ethiopia. The orthodox liturgies of Alexandria and Jerusalem were forced out of use by the ascendency of the See of Constantinople, St. Mark's in the tenth century, St. James' gradually after the Mahometan invasion, definitively about 1200, the latter, however, as a relic being still used on St. James' day, in Jerusalem. St. Basil's and St. Chrysostom's liturgies constitute the official rite of the Greek Orthodox Church of to-day, the former having been in sole possession of that province for centuries, though afterwards greatly superseded by the latter, the local rite of the Patriarchal See, and now confined to certain days and seasons of the Christian year.

The Hispano-Gallican group to which probably the lost liturgies of Alemannia, Great Britain and Ireland once belonged, holds an intermediate position between west and east. These rites are geographically western, and in a certain direction materially so, viz. in their tendency to a great variableness of liturgical parts, according to the church-year, leaving even the eucharistic prayers in their ancient contents not unaffected. On the other hand, they show characteristic features, indicative of their eastern descent; *e. g.* the regular O. T. lections; the general prayer in its ancient place, at the beginning of the mass of

believers; the kiss of peace before the commencement of the communion liturgy; various exclamations of the deacon, bidding silence or attention; the invocation of the Holy Ghost; the sancta sanctis.

The Spanish liturgy is called "Mostarabic," *i. e.* "Arabized," denoting the ritual of churches, subject to the Arabic dominion. It was dispossessed by the Roman mass in the eleventh century, but not completely extirpated, and afterwards revived by Cardinal Ximenes who ordered its reprint and restoration, in 1500. It is said to be employed up to the present, in Toledo and Salamanca.

The Gallican branch, of which an earlier stage of development appears in the old Galican liturgies, embraced several forms: Gallican, Gotho-Gallican, Frankish, and succumbed to the Papal assaults as early as the eighth century, the rulers Pepin and Charlemagne supporting the Roman See in its endeavors to bring about uniformity.

The Roman family presents an independent growth in the Ambrosium rite which, according to its earliest monuments, was closely allied to the Hispano-Gallican group, but is now, at least in its communion part, greatly remodeled, according to the Roman mass. It has, however, preserved some peculiarities, and is in practical use in the Cathedral church of Milan.

Rome itself appears rather late on the scene of liturgical development. This fact is corroborative of the conjecture of some historians that the church of Rome, in its earliest period, used the Greek language, and a liturgy like that of Justin Martyr. The change of the language is supposed to have taken place at some time during the fourth century. The first traces of a Latin Roman liturgy became visible at the times of Innocent I. (402–17), and of Leo the Great (440–61), indicating a development independent in subordinate points, the most characteristic of which is the placing of the kiss of peace just before the approach to the altar, as it was in the African Church as early as the time of Tertullian. In other regards, the Roman ritual seems to have followed the generally adopted type, retaining *e. g.* the invocation of the Holy Ghost, as mentioned at the times of Leo the Great. But the increasing success with which the

Roman bishops were allowed to realize their pretensions of supremacy, induced them to take their own way even in liturgical revisions, and to stamp upon the order of worship the marks both of their hierarchical tendencies, and of a sad doctrinal and ritual decline.

The sacramentary which bears the name of Pope Gelasius (492–96) is, in its extant form, hardly authentic, but apparently assimilated to the later Gregorian rite; otherwise it would show an astounding rapidity in the process of deterioration. The sacramentary of Gregory the Great (Pope 590–604) is actually the Roman mass of to-day, being crammed with the all-controlling idea of a sacrifice of the mass, vitiated by pretensions of a meritorious effect of priestly performances, and stained by the cult of Mary and the Saints. The first eucharistic prayer, called preface, is reduced to a general praise of the divine majesty, and enlarged by the insertion of proper prefaces, according to special days and seasons. The second or special eucharistic prayer, one of the most devout and beautiful parts of the Greek liturgies, is disfigured beyond identification, having been replaced by a series of five prayers which contain a threefold supplication for acceptance of the oblation, an intercession for Church, Pope, clergy and people, and a commemoration of Mary, the apostles and other saints, twenty-five in all, together with an appeal to their merits and prayers. The words of institution, bating ornamental additions, both phraseological and ceremonial, have been left intact. The intercession is divided, the prayer for the living being placed before, for the dead after the consecration. The placing of the Lord's prayer immediately after the canon has been stated in a previous chapter. The customary additional prayer, "Libera nos quaesumus," is expanded by a renewed appeal to the intercession of Mary and the saints. The invocation of the Holy Ghost and the sancta sanctis are omitted, the former of which gave rise, afterward, to an animated controversy between Rome and Constantinople.

During the Middle Ages, the Gregorian "Canon Missae" remained unaltered, while the first part of the service, the ancient mass of catechumens, was enriched or at least augmented, *e. g.* by a series of five prayers after the offertory. And the Popes

gradually succeeded in introducing the Roman ritual into the whole of the western church.

This was the liturgical condition which Luther and his assistants had to face, when beginning their reform of public worship.

The Roman missal was, with slight modifications in text and rubrics, ratified by the Council of Trent, and is now the official and uniform rite of the Roman Catholic Church all over the world.

The literature on ancient and mediæval liturgies is very rich. To those who cannot make this field an object of special study, may be recommended *C. E. Hammond*, Liturgies Eastern and Western, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1878. It is a handy book, not expensive, presenting the material in a well grouped survey, summing up the results of previous investigations and criticisms, giving *e. g.* the quintessence of Renaudot's and Daniel's voluminous works, together with tables, glossaries, and other conveniences. The book is meant for Greek and Latin scholars. An English version of the chief liturgies, if we do not mistake the title, seems to be given in Bishop *Thomas Brett*, "Collection of the Principal Liturgies," with a dissertation upon them, 1720, reprinted 1838. An exact German version of a good selection of liturgies, with an instructive introduction, is found in *Johann Ludwig Kœnig*, "Die Haupt-Liturgieen der alten Kirche," Neustrelitz, 1865.

The *Lord's Prayer* will appear, in the following tables of parallel columns, with slight fluctuations as to its special position, but constantly between consecration and distribution, with the sole exception of the Ethiopic liturgy which places the Lord's Prayer after the post-communion.

I. EASTERN LITURGIES.

I. GROUP OF PALESTINE, SYRIA, (ASIA MINOR,) GREECE.						III. PERSIAN GROUP.
ST. JAMES', Greek, Jerusalem, orthodox.	ST. JAMES', Syriac, orthodox and Monophysitic.	OTHER SYRIAC, about forty in number, Monophys.	ST. BASIL'S, Constantinople, orthodox.	ST. CHRYSOSTOM'S, Constantinople, orthodox.	GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR'S, Armenian, quasi-Monophys.	SS. ADÆI ET MARIS, Nestorian. Chief liturgy out of three extant.
Verba	Verba	Verba	Verba	Verba	Verba	Recital of the work of Redemption: Verba wanting, to be supplied from the two other liturgies
Commemoration of the Lord's death.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.	Brief Intercession.
Oblation of "this awful and unbloody sacrifice."	Oblation of "this awful and unbloody sacrifice."	(Oblation seldom occurring.)	Oblation, "τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν"	Oblation of "this reasonable and unbloody service."	Oblation "we offer unto Thee of Thine own."	Oblation.
Invocation of the Holy Ghost.	Invocation	Invocation.	Invocation.	Invocation.	Invocation.	Commemoration of the Lord's death.
Great Intercession, Preface to the Lord's Prayer.	Great Intercession, Fraction, etc., with prayer Preface to the Lord's prayer.	Great Intercession. Preface to the Lord's Prayer.	Great Intercession, ending in the Preface to the Lord's Prayer.	Great Intercession, ending in the Preface to the Lord's Prayer.	Great Intercession, Preface to the Lord's Prayer.	Invocation of the Holy Ghost. Prayer for Peace. Prayer of Incense.
LORD'S PRAYER Additional prayer to the same, with Doxology.	LORD'S PRAYER. Add. prayer, resuming the last two petitions.	LORD'S PRAYER. Additional Prayer.	LORD'S PRAYER. Doxology to the Lord's Prayer.	LORD'S PRAYER. Doxology to the same.	LORD'S PRAYER. Additional prayer with Doxology.	Confession of the bread of life. Fraction, Consignat'n, etc. with many ceremonies.
Prayer of humble access,	Prayer of humble access.	Prayers of access and for worthy reception.	Prayer of humble access.	Prayer of humble access.	Prayer of humble access.	Prayer of humble access, ending in a Preface to the Lord's prayer.
Elevation.	Elevation.	(Elevation.)		Elevation.	Elevation.	LORD'S PRAYER. Additional prayer.
Sancta Sanctis with Response. Fraction, Commixture, etc., Psalms 23, 34, etc.	Sancta Sanctis, with Confession of the Holy Trinity. Fraction and Intinction.	Sancta Sanctis, (Confession of Trinity.) (Fraction not everywhere mentioned.)	Sancta Sanctis. (The rest to be supplied from Chrysostom's lit.)	Sancta Sanctis, with Response and Anthem. Fraction, etc.	Sancta Sanctis, with Confession, prayers, and Anthem. Fraction, etc.	Sancta Sanctis, with Confession of Holy Trinity.
Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.

II. EGYPTIAN GROUP (ALEXANDRIA AND PROVINCES.)

ST. MARK'S, Greek, Alexandria, orthodox.	ST. BASIL'S, Greek, Alexandria, orthodox.	ST. GREGORY'S Greek, Alexandria, orthodox.	ST. CYRIL'S, Coptic, Monophysitic.	ST. BASIL'S, Coptic, Monophysitic.	ST. GREGORY'S, Coptic, Monophysitic.	ETHIOPIC LIT., (or Abyssinian), Monophysitic.
Verba.	Verba.	Verba.	Verba.	Verba.	Verba.	Verba.
Commemoration of the Lord's death.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.
Oblation, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου	Oblation, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων σοι προσφέρομεν, with Anthem.	Oblation, τὰ σὰ κ. τ. λ. with Anthem.	Oblation, haec sancta dona proponimus ex illis quae tua sunt.	Oblation, offerimus tibi haec dona ex bonis tuis.	Oblation. offerimus tibi haec dona tua ex iis quae tua sunt.	Oblation, offerimus tibi hunc panem et hunc calicem.
Invocation, (elaborate).	Invocation.	Invocation, (addressed to the Son).	Invocation, (elaborate).	Invocation.	Invocation, (addressed to the Son).	Invocation.
Preface to the Lord's Prayer.	Great Intercession. Prayer of Fraction, leading to the Lord's Prayer.	Great Intercession. Entrance to Fraction. Prayer of Fraction, leading to the	Fraction with prayer, the latter leading to the Lord's Prayer.	Great Intercession. Fraction with prayer, the latter leading to the	Great Intercession. Entrance to Fraction, Prayer of Fraction, leading to the	Prayer of Fraction.
LORD'S PRAYER. Additional prayer.	LORD'S PRAYER. Additional prayer.	LORD'S PRAYER. Additional prayer.	LORD'S PRAYER. Additional prayer.	LORD'S PRAYER. Additional prayer.	LORD'S PRAYER. Additional prayer.	
Prayer of humble access.	Prayers of humble access and of Absolution. Elevation.	Prayers of humble access and of Absolution. Elevation.	Prayer of humble access.	Prayers of humble access and of Absolution. Another Intercession.	Prayers of humble access and of Absolution.	Prayers of humble access and of Absolution.
Sancta Sanctis.	Sancta Sanctis. Confession of the true body and blood.	Sancta Sanctis. Confession of the true body and blood.		Sancta Sanctis. Confession of the true body and blood.	Confession of the true body and blood.	Sancta Sanctis. Confession of the true body, etc.
Fraction, Commixture.						Distribution. Post-Communion.
Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.	Distribution.	LORD'S PRAYER. Collect. Benediction.

II. WESTERN LITURGIES.

I. HISPANO-GALLICAN GROUP.		II. ROMAN GROUP.			
MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.	AMBROSIAN.	GELASIAN.	GREGORIAN.	TRIDENTINE.
Verba, (with 1 Cor. 11 : 26).	Verba. ("Qui pridie").	Verba, (with 1. Cor. 11 : 26).	Verba.	Verba.	Verba.
Oratio post Pridie,	Collectio post Mysteria,	Commemoration. "Unde et memores * * Filii tui beatae passionis, etc."	Commemoration of the Lord's death.	Commemoration.	Commemoration.
variable, containing Invocation, Oblation, (that the Holy Ghost may bless, sanctify, vivify this sacrifice of the bread and of the cup).	variable, embracing Commemoration, Oblation, Invocation, (that the Father may kindly look upon this spotless, reasonable, unbloody sacrifice, this holy bread and this salutiferous cup, and overshadow the same with the Spirit of His Son).	Oblation, "offerimus * * majestati tuae de tuis donis * * hostiam puram, * * sanctam, * * immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae aeternae, et calicem salutis perpetuae."	Oblation.	Oblation.	Oblation.
Nicene Creed,* during the latter a, Fraction, b, Intercession for the living, c, Memento for the dead.	Fraction and Commixture.	Intercession for the Dead. "Memento etiam, Domine, etc." Fraction, while Choir sings the "Confractorium."	Intercession, for the dead. (Fraction?)	Intercession, for the dead.	Intercession, for the dead.
Preface (variable) to the PATER NOSTER, (Amen to each petition).	Preface (variable) to the PATER NOSTER, (said by priest and people).	Preface to the Lord's prayer: "Praeceptis salutaribus moniti." PATER NOSTER.	Preface to the PATER NOSTER.	Preface to the PATER NOSTER.	Preface to the PATER NOSTER.
Additional prayer.	Additional prayer, variable.	Additional prayer: "Libera nos, quaesumus."	Additional prayer.	Additional prayer. (Fraction?).	Additional prayer. Fraction, etc.
Versus cum Alleleuia. Sancta Sanctis.		Pax et Communicatio, etc. Offerte vobis pacem.	Pax, Domini, etc.	Pax.	Pax.
Three-fold "Benediction": three prayers, partly variable, standing for the prayer of Humble Access. "Gustate et videte" and other Psalm verses, with Alleleuia.	Three-fold "Benediction": three prayers, partly variable, standing for the prayer of Humble Access.	Four prayers for worthy Reception, with "Panem caelestem" interspersed.		(rest not given).	Agnes Dei. Four prayers for worthy Reception, with "Panem caelestem."
"Panem caelestem accipiam." Prayer for worthy Reception.	While Choir sings the "Trecanum," *i. e.* a confession of the Holy Trinity,		Communicat, sacerdos cum omni populo.		
Sumption and Distribution.	Sumption and Distribution take place.	Sumption and Distribution.			Sumption and Distribution.

*Peculiar in this place.

THE GERMAN REFORMATION.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century was the actual protest against the falsifications of the Romish Mass. Its fundamental principle was, *to reform the Church on the ground of the Gospel:* not by ignoring a history of fifteen centuries, but in accordance with the pure doctrinal development, and with due regard to such traditional institutions and usages as could stand the test of Scripture and experience.

This sound principle, radical when necessary, conservative if possible, found its comprehensive and energetic application in the reform of public worship; and all the momentous questions, theoretical and practical, which may arise in carrying out so difficult and responsible a work, received thoughtful consideration and, after a process of gradual sifting, their settlement in a true evangelical spirit.

It is not surprising that so thorough a reform fell into mistakes in some specialties. The Reformers found themselves compelled to draw from a turbid stream of recent derivation; but they could not help doing so. The Roman rite constituted at that time the general liturgical type of the Western Church. Thus, by the providential course of history, it became the natural constructing link between the Church of the Reformation and the Church Universal. Nevertheless, the Roman liturgy could not claim to represent the ecumenical type of Christian cult, since it exhibited in some significant features a wilful deviation from the universal liturgical tradition which reaches back to the primitive Church. So the Roman mass needed not only a dogmatical and ethical emendation, on the ground of the Scriptures, but also a technical correction, according to science and history. It might have served as a basis for the reform; but the other western rites, suppressed by the Popes, and the Greek liturgies, ancient and mediæval, together with the testimony of the fathers, ought to have been used for comparison, and if necessary for correction or completion. Such a work, however, was impracticable at that time. A few decades later, when the Reformation had become an accomplished fact, the condition was more favorable to liturgical study, as is proved by

Flacius Illyricus and Martin Chemnitz. But Luther and his assistants, amidst the urgency of the immense task which had devolved upon them, could hardly spare the time for studying liturgics in its details, or for gathering the scattered remarks of the fathers on liturgical topics. And the formulated liturgies, now accessible to everybody, were not yet brought to light, and as far as they were, could, in their small number and isolated appearance, scarcely offer any help for broadening the liturgical horizon. The old Spanish liturgy was first published at Toledo, in 1500; St. James' at Rome, Paris and Venice, from 1526 to 1528; St. Chrysostom's 1544–48; the Ethiopian in 1548; St. Basil's in 1560; the Milan Mass in 1560; the Clementine liturgy in 1563; the Gregorian Sacramentary in 1571, etc. Thus the Reformers, were confined mainly to the narrow limits of the Roman ritual. Hence sometimes a narrowness in their liturgical views. Hence the difficulty of their discerning, in every case, the old pure elements amidst the mass of corruption, resulting *e. g.* in a lack of appreciation of so magnificent a part as the preface. Hence their incapability of conveniently filling up the void spaces, left after the elimination of vitiated portions, as appears in the non-restoration of the second eucharistic prayer, and in their embarrassment in properly introducing the words of institution. Hence sometimes a want of insight into the reasons of a liturgical structure, causing a displacement of the Lord's Prayer. Hence the loss of a few liturgical acts which are attested to by the universal voice of antiquity, but were omitted in the Roman mass. Hence their limitation to the liturgical formularies, produced by the stiff Roman spirit, and their want of contact with the fervor of devotion, as glowing in the eastern liturgies.

References to the fathers in matters of cult, discipline and polity, are frequent in the liturgical writings of the Reformation period; and so are the general appeals to the apostolic practice and to that of the ancient church. Now and then, there is also apparent some special historical knowledge. A few agenda mention Gregory's letter to the bishop Johannes of Syracuse, using it as an argument for the simplicity of the "apostolic mass" and inferring therefrom the sole use of the Lord's Prayer

along with the words of institution; so the Hanover Kirchenordnung of 1536 (A. L. Richter, Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, Weimar 1846, I. p. 275), and the Lippe KO. of 1538 (ibid. II. p. 494). The latter refers at once to Justin Martyr's apology, taking, as it seems, his well-known term εὐχῆς λόγος ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ for the Lord's Prayer, without deriving any other advantage from his beautiful liturgy. The Hanover KO. adopts the statements of Platina (†1481), Historia de vitis Pontificum Romanorum, enumerating the gradual additions to the first section of the mass, and giving with each part the name of the Pope who is believed to have introduced it. But these statements, borrowed by Platina from the mediæval ritualists, are, as to their historical value, almost worthless. The Brandenburg Nuremberg KO. of 1533 (Richter I. p. 201) has some general knowledge of the Greek orthodox rite and of the Milan mass.

Distinct indications of historical study, and real attempts to restore liturgical acts in their ancient significance, are found in the Pfalz Neuburg KO. of 1543, and in the Cologne Reformation of the same year. The former (Richter I. p. 28), prepared under the influence of Osiander, places between exhortation and consecration an oblation of bread and wine. This act is performed during or by a corresponding prayer which embraces at once such contents as are peculiar to the ancient invocation of the Holy Ghost. The main passage of this prayer reads thus, "Wir bringen für deine göttliche Majestät diese deine Gaben, Brot und Wein, und bitten, du wollest dieselben durch deine göttliche Gnade, Güte und Kraft heiligen, segnen und schaffen, dass dieses Brot dein Leib, und dieser Wein dein Blut sei, und allen denen, die davon essen und trinken, zum ewigen Leben lassen gedeihen." The Cologne Reformation (Richter II. p. 43), prepared by Bucer and Melanchthon, at the request of Hermann, Count of Wied, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, restores the ancient combination of the general prayer and of the contribution of voluntary offerings to one sacrificial act; introduces a dismissal of the excommunicated before the administration of the Lord's Supper, reminding of the ancient dismissal of catechumens, energumenenoi, and penitents; and renews "a thanks-

giving after ancient universal custom" before the consecration, shaped in the form of the preface, combining the exact contents of the primitive general and special eucharistic prayers, and terminating in the sanctus, presenting thus a unique phenomenon in the Lutheran agenda.

These sporadical attempts to derive some advantages from the study of history failed to obtain a practical value. The oblation act of the Pfalz Neuberg KO., although framed and placed so as not to offend the Protestant mind, stands alone in the Lutheran agenda. Besides, this KO. was but short-lived, owing to the expulsion of Count-Palatine Ottheinrich from his land, by the Smalcald war. The fate of the Cologne Reformation was still worse. This noteworthy document, distinguished by piety and learning, though not free from peculiarities, exercised only a casual influence. It was in practical use in Hesse for a while, and furnished some material to the rich and remarkable Austrian KO. of 1571. According to H. A. Daniel (Cod. lit. III. p. 297), it appeared in an English version, and attracted the attention of the committee appointed for the compilation of the Book of Common Prayer. Thomas Cranmer personally inclined to the Cologne book; but for reasons of prudence, viz. regard for the adherence of the people to the old rite, he took as much as the Reformed spirit could bear, from the missals and breviaries of the old Anglican Church, improving, besides, some Reformed liturgies from the continent. So the Cologne liturgy may have suggested some general directions, but without leaving, in the Anglican rite, perceptible traces of a material influence. In its own territory, the Cologne plan of Reformation was a mere project. The Prince-Archbishop encountered in his land a hot opposition to which he finally succumbed. Suspended and excommunicated by the Pope in 1546, he resigned his dignities in 1547,—and the Cathedral of Cologne is Roman Catholic to this very day.

Taking into account all these various hindrances, it is not surprising that mistakes occurred in the liturgical reform, but it is a triumph of the power of evangelical truth that the Lutheran liturgy is as correct as it really is.

Another circumstance which has stamped one of the most

distinctive features on the outward appearance of German Lutheranism, in its home as well as in foreign countries, and which likewise explains some irregularities in the Lutheran agenda, is the lack of a common and harmonious leadership, vested in an authoritative power. There was indeed an intellectual leadership given in Luther, and a centre established in Wittenberg. The Wittenberg liturgies furnished the models to other districts, and the Kirchenordnungen, previously published and enacted, were sent to the Wittenberg theologians for examination, amendment and approval. But such an authority was not sufficient to prevent an endless variety. The episcopate was lost. A national Council, so much hoped for that a number of KOO were expressly introduced as provisional, was not brought about. So the secular powers took the government of the churches into their hands. The protection and assistance, coming from this side, were certainly providential, and one of the instrumentalities in God's plan for securing the success of the Reformation; but they explain also some of the human infirmities attending the work. The long list of political territories created as many ecclesiastical districts. Each country, larger or smaller, must have its own Kirchenordnung; and many a divine, commissioned to prepare a liturgy for some diminutive territory, could not help introducing a few ideas of his own. In addition to this, the old division of the German nation into several tribes, different in dialect, habits and views, really required some accommodation to the popular wants. Hence the variegated multiformity of liturgies with which the Lutheran Church of Germany is so amply provided, and with which she has also enriched her daughters beyond the oceans. There is indeed a common Lutheran liturgy, but it is to be discovered by way of comparison and discrimination. South-west Germany must be set aside, as exhibiting a particular type, while the north and middle German agenda, together with those of some Bavarian districts, are recognized as representing the genuine Lutheran type. But in reviewing even these, many abnormities come to light. The majority is to decide; and even the majority is not always reliable.

After this sketch of the situation, so far as it bears in some

way or other upon our question, we turn to examine the work of the Reformers in emending the Roman mass, and especially in placing the Lord's Prayer.

Luther's Latin Mass ("Formula Missae et Communionis") of 1523 is as correct as it can be, composed as it is from the Roman model. Whatever is scriptural, has been retained, but few changes being made in the section from introit to creed. The preference given to placing the sermon before the introit, instead of after the creed, ignores the ancient bipartition of the mass. The offertory is rejected. The communion liturgy required a thorough purification. Everything that savors of oblation or sacrifice, intercession of saints, prayers for the dead, and human merit, is swept out. In this way, the proper mode of introducing the verba was lost. So Luther inserts them into the preface, just after its beginning where the subjects of thanksgiving are expected, and causes the sanctus abruptly to follow the verba. The Lord's prayer is left in its position, with the usual introduction, but without the additional prayer. The result is this order: Preface, verba, sanctus, *pater noster*, pax, agnus, prayer for worthy reception ("Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi"), sumption and distribution.

Luther's German Mass ("Deudsche Messe vnd ordnung Gottisdiensts") of 1526 exhibits progress on one hand, and a deviation on the other. There was apparently, in Wittenberg, a desire for an out and out German order of service: undoubtedly an imperative demand of a consistent reform. But at that time, the work preparatory to a radical change of the liturgical language, linguistic and musical, had not yet been fully done. Agenda and music-books of a much later date wisely retain Latin pieces. And indeed, the Latin language, concise, and sonorous, and rhythmical as it is, eminently answers the requirements of liturgical formularies and of texts for singing. Rendering the latter into smooth German of equal merit, was not easy; and when it was done, then the musical difficulty arose. To retain the Gregorian chant was regarded out of the question. But the chant and the text were grown together; and it was a hard thing to adapt the tune to the translated text.

There was no trouble with those liturgical parts whose chant is but a solemn recitation on a given musical tone, slightly rising or falling, after certain rules, according to the grammatical incisions of the text, as it is with collects, lections, psalms, versicles, etc. But there are other parts, as introit, kyrie, gloria, graduale, credo, præfatio, sanctus, with characteristic and complicate tunes whose transfer from the Latin to the German text is about as hard a task as a metrical translation of poetry. Luther was well aware of these difficulties. In his writing "Wider die himmlischen Propheten" he says: "Ich wollte heute gern eine deutsche Messe haben, ich gehe auch damit um; aber ich wollte ja gerne, dass sie eine rechte deutsche Art hätte. Denn dass man den lateinischen Text dollmetschet und lateinischen Ton oder Noten behält, * * lautet nicht artig noch rechtschaffen. Es muss beides, Text und Noten, Accent, Weise und Gebärde aus rechter Mutter-sprach und Stimme kommen. * * Nun aber der Schwärmergeist darauf dringet, es *müsse* sein, * * will ich mir die Weile nehmen und weniger dazu eilen denn vorhin." In his German mass itself he highly appreciates the ancient languages, and affirms that he does not wish at all to abolish the Latin mass, but to retain it, along with the German, for the benefit of the youth; and if Greek and Hebrew were as common and familiar as Latin, and had as much of fine music and song as the Latin language has, he would like to have the mass said and sung alternately in German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. But in preparing now a completely German liturgy, Luther seems to have yielded to some pressure. His practical skill, however, coupled with some aggressiveness, helped him wonderfully; and by some changes, substitutions, and even omissions, he overcame or avoided the difficulties, though in part not without disturbing consequences.

The *Introit* is replaced by a German hymn, or a German psalm, the latter being exemplified by Ps. 34 to which the first psalm tone is given. The ninefold *Kyrie* with its expanded melodies, varying according to festivals and seasons of the Christian year, is simplified in text and tune. The *Gloria in excelsis* with "Laudamus te," like the kyrie variable in its tunes, is omitted without a word. A German *Collect* from the Latin is given,

fluent and rounded, with musical directions for its chanting. *Epistle* and *Gospel* are provided with new recitation tones, in Gregorian style, but less monotonous than those of the mediæval rite. For the *Graduale* and other chants between the pericopes, a German hymn is substituted. The *Nicene Creed* is represented by Luther's "Wir glauben all an einen Gott." In the communion liturgy, the *Verba*, privately said in the Roman canon, are set in music, in imitation of the pater noster as sung in the Roman mass. The *Sanctus* appears in the form of Luther's hymn "Jesaia dem Propheten das geschah." So almost everything was ready for a German mass.

But there stood the *Preface* as an old venerable relic, with its grand and quaint Gregorian chant. Luther did not recognize in this precious heirloom of the Church, the thanksgiving, said by the Lord in the institution of his Supper. Theologians of a later date are aware of this significance. George Calixt says, (Calvör, Rituale ecclesiast., I. p. 569), "Quia Praefatio *εὐχαριστίαν* complectitur, and praestat quod ante distributionem et sumptionem Dominus ipse praestitit, negligendum vel insuper habendum id minime fuerit." But to Luther and other Reformers, the term "preface," first used by Cyprian for the introductory versicles, and now long since adopted for this eucharistic prayer itself, was an impediment to the understanding. This was not reckoned as a part of the canon of the mass, so it could seem to stand outside of the holy action. What was to be done with it? Transforming it into a German hymn was not practicable. Translating it into good German, and adapting the text to the tune, as we have it now, was a hard work, especially in view of the complicated and much adorned "preface tones," peculiar to the German provincial type of the Gregorian chant. In short, Luther silently *gave up the preface*, retaining the sanctus which he placed, in a versified form, between the verba.

After the sanctus begins the "Canon" in the Roman mass, to be said privately, and commencing with a series of five prayers which are hardly recognizable as standing for the second eucharistic prayer, including the verba, and so representing the *εὐλογία* by which the Lord blessed the elements. Luther threw away these five prayers, keeping only the verba into which

they lead; and for the foregoing preface he substituted *his* paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, with a brief exhortation to communicants annexed.

This *Paraphrase*, as chiefly accounting for the subsequent perturbation of the Lutheran liturgy, deserves a special, though prevailing negative interest.

Luther surely felt, on every hand, the need of the poor ignorant people coming from the Romish Church, to be instructed, educated, and warned on every occasion. And his edifying paraphrase certainly answers this pedagogical purpose, and would do this even more if it were not unfinished. It reminds of the ancient diaconal prayers, and could be easily shaped after such models, if the congregation had been led to say, after each paragraph, the pertinent petition of the Lord's Prayer. But as the paraphrase stands, it leaves an unsatisfactory impression, as the people are called upon, at the beginning, to pray with the pastor the "Our Father," but the latter does not come.

As an element in the progress of the liturgical action, this novel part, paraphrase with exhortation, is meant to be the conclusion to a general prayer which, as it seems, followed the sermon, and at the same time a preparation to communion, forming thus a connecting link between the homiletic and the communion part of the service. The communion liturgy proper begins with the verba. Contrary to the Lord's institution there is no eucharistic prayer whatever. The verba are, at the close of the exhortation, introduced by a transitional passage, and thereupon recited as an historical report, but interrupted, owing to Luther's idea of a partial and consecutive consecration and distribution.

So the communion order is as follows: Paraphrase and exhortation; verba over the bread (with elevation); distribution of the Lord's body, while the congregation sings the German sanctus or other hymns; verba over the cup (with elevation); distribution of the Lord's blood, while the rest of the hymns or the German agnus are sung; collect of thanksgiving and benediction.

This precedence of Luther gave rise to a *transposition of the Lord's Prayer* in the eucharistic service. He had not exactly

transposed it, since he did not cause it to be said at all, but placed a paraenetic circumscription of its contents between sermon and consecration; on this wise, however, he gave the suggestion for that displacement.

The next influential agenda, *the Brunswick Kirchenordnung* of 1528, effects this transposition, placing the "our Father" before the verba, and prescribing this succession of parts: Exhortation and (or) preface (the former preferred), Lord's Prayer, verba (intermitted as with Luther), distribution. Its author is *Bugenhagen*, whose name is inseparably associated with the history of the Reformation, but whose liturgical views are sometimes of a home-made description. He says (Richter I. p. 115). "Dar hoeret nicht vele wunders in, wy moeten dar vp syn beuehl sehn." He means: administering the Lord's Supper does not require many ceremonies, but is a very simple thing, when we look upon Christ's mandate. That is correct. But the church of all ages has endeavored to speak of the Lord's sacred legacy, and to administer it, with the utmost reverence, and to endow its public celebration with such a measure of solemnity as circumstances ever may admit. Of the preface he says, "Sus mach wol totiden sulke prefatie vnde sanctus nabliuen, wente de exhortatie vam sacramente is de rechte prefatie, dat is, eyne vohr rede." (The preface may sometimes be omitted, since the exhortation is the right preface to the sacrament). We need not add anything, since the lack of understanding is obvious. In arranging the sequence of the Lord's Prayer and verba, he says, "Balde na der exhortatie, schall dat beuehl Christi vam sacramente vnde danckseggingе, bet in dat ende der missen stedes also gehoelden werden. De prester hefft also an slicht to singen dat bet von Christo beualen: Vader vnse, etc. Balde nympt he dat broet in de hand vnde bringet vp den beuehl Christi also: Unse Here Jesus Christus, etc." In this passage, the "danckseggingе" claims our special interest. The author can hardly mean the thanksgiving after reception, but bears in mind the εὐχαριστία of the Lord; and when he inverts the order, mentioning the thanksgiving *after* Christ's mandate, this seems to be but a casual want of exactness. In his arrangement, he gives no prayer of thanksgiving, but the Lord's Prayer;

and for its use he states no other reason but that it is the prayer ordered by Christ. Hence it must be fit for every occasion. And since the Lord first offered prayers, and then, while distributing the blessed elements, gave the disciples his mandate, our author places first a prayer, viz. the "our Father," and then the verba, containing Christ's mandate. This is, we are sorry to say, anything but a rational liturgical construction; and the cause of it lies mainly in a lack of historical knowledge.

The Brunswick KO. became typical for the agenda of many other Low-German districts, all of them having been prepared either by Bugenhagen himself or under his influence; *e. g.* those for Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Sleswick-Holstein, Göttingen, Westphalia, Pomerania, etc., among which the last named, the *Pomeranian KO.* of 1535, is the best known, and one of the most notable Reformatory documents.

The Wittenberg KO. of 1533 (Richter I. p. 223), published for the Electoral Saxon territories, also adopts the displacement of the Lord' Prayer, prescribing this order: preface (facultative), our father ("for the whole congregation"), consecration ("for the communicants"). In the other parts of the service, Luther's course, taken in his German mass, is generally kept, but greatly modified in its substitutions and omissions. The singing in Latin, *e. g.* is restored for gloria, credo, etc., and on festival days even extended to collects, epistles and gospels, "so wir hie ein Universitet haben, vnd die gelerten dem Altar am negsten stehen vnd Latein verstehen." The paraphrase does not appear, being replaced by the Lord's prayer itself; but the transition which it marked from the homiletic to the eucharistic part of the service, reappears in the direction that the "our father" is meant for the whole congregation, *i. e.* communicants and non-communicants, and the consecration for the communicants. This is apparently a combination or rather confusion of that Lord's Prayer which concludes the act of general intercessions (represented in our KO. by "Da pacem and collect), and that Lord's Prayer which forms part of the communion liturgy. A similar arrangement is found in the Meissen Visitation Articles of 1539 (Richter I. p. 307). This consideration, viz. not to use the Lord's Prayer too frequently in close succession, seems to fur-

nish another explanation of its being placed before the verba. Other agenda do not regard it as a pleonasm to have the Lord's Prayer twice, at the end of the general prayer, and in the communion service, insisting however on its position before the consecration; so the Saxon Visitation Articles of 1533, the Hamburg KO. of 1539, the Calenberg and Göttingen KO. of 1542, the Pomeranian of 1542, the Nördlingen KO. of 1650, etc.

The *Saxon KO. of Duke Henry*, 1539 (Richter I. p. 313), one of the ablest and most important, whose preface is signed by such names as Justus Jonas, Georgius Spalatinus, etc., pays much deference to Luther's German mass, adopting, as only some few did, even the paraphrase, but allowing it to be replaced, occasionally and on festival days, by the Latin preface and sanctus, whereupon the Lord's prayer and the verba are to follow. This KO. appeared in frequent and enlarged reprints, receiving *e. g.* all the music of Luther's German mass, together with the preface tunes from the Roman missal, and besides a wealth of collects for every occasion. Owing to the transfer of the Electorate to the Albertine line of the Saxon dynasty, in consequence of the disastrous battle of Mühlberg, this KO. became known afterwards as the Electoral Saxon KO., its most important edition being that of Elector August, 1580, which has outlasted many a change, political and ecclesiastical, and maintained its practical use in territory formerly Saxon, up to modern times, even within the Prussian "Union."

The *Mecklenberg KO.* of 1552 (Richter II. p. 115), prepared under Melanchthon's influence, and having incorporated in its contents his complete "Examen der Ordinanden," obtained influence beyond the bounds of its own territory. The copy of 1554, was republished under Melanchthon's impulse as a Wittenberg KO. of 1559, and appeared also in a Low-German and a Latin translation. Its communion order is as follows: preface with sanctus (facultative), exhortation with prayer for worthy reception (facultative), Lord's Prayer, verba.

Thus the transposition of the Lord's Prayer had gained an ascendency in North Germany, and in a number of Middle and South German agenda (Cassel, Frankfort, Worms, Palatinate, Swabia, etc.)

Before presenting the other side, we wish to state how the Lord's Prayer was handled in its accidental parts, irrespective of its placement.

The majority of agenda *confine the Lord's Prayer*, as Gregory did, *to the minister officiating*, because of its close proximity to the consecration act. The people's share in this prayer finds its sole expression in the response of Amen. A number of South German agenda, however, (Wurtemberg, Baden, Palatinate), restore the Lord's Prayer to the congregation, either to be said, or to be sung in the shape of Luther's hymn "Vater unser im Himmelreich." The ancient *preface* or *introduction* to this prayer was retained by Luther in his Latin mass, and by some of the earliest agenda, in the Roman or a similar formula, *e. g.* Lasst uns beten, wie uns der Herr Christus Jesus befohlen hat, dass wir aus rechter Zuversicht und Vertrauen dürfen sa gen." But the majority, without a visible reason, reduce this passage to the simple formula "Lasst uns beten." The *additional prayer* occurs but sporadically. The *doxology* is added in some few agenda, while the general Lutheran usage concludes the Lord's Prayer, as used in the communion service, with the seventh petition.

It is a fact that the majority of the Lutheran agenda place the Lord's Prayer before the verba. But it is no less a fact that a considerable minority, part of them ranking high for their character and influence, and covering provinces, larger in some cases than half a dozen of the numerous duodecimo territories, retain, in accordance with Luther's Latin mass, the Lord's Prayer in its ancient position, between consecration and distribution. These are, in their chronological order, as follows:

Ordnung Christlicher Messe, anonymous, Wittenberg, 1524 (Löhes' Agenda p. 35, 49): preface, sanctus, *verba*, LORD'S PRAYER, brief prayer for worthy reception, confession of the true body and blood, distribution.

Landesordnung des Herzogthums Preussen, 1525: preface, *verba*, (inserted), sanctus, LORD'S PRAYER, agnus, pax, brief exhortation, distribution.

Andreas Döber's Nuremberg Mass, 1525 (Löhe p. 47, etc.): LORD'S PRAYER *after consecration.*

Strassburg Teutsch Kirchenampt, 1525, facsimile reprint, secured by Carl Reinthaler: 1. brief admonition to call upon the Holy Ghost that he may make our bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God. 2. preface and sanctus. 3. general prayer for Church, rulers, people, conversion of the world, hunger for God's grace, concluding with "durch Jesum Christum unsern Herrn:" 4. "Welcher am nechsten tag vor seim leyden das brot nam," etc.: *verba* in this way connected. 5. introduction to the Lord's Prayer, urging, on the ground of Christ's sacred legacy, the confidence and right of God's children and heirs to approach him with his own Son's prayer. 6. LORD'S PRAYER. 7. Brief additional prayer, resuming the last petition. 8. Agnus ("Du Lemblin Gottes, der du hiennymbst," etc.) 9. Short prayer for efficacious reception (from "Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi"). 10. Brief exhortation (facultative). 11. Distribution.

Erfurt Deutsch Kirchenampt, 1526 (Löhe p. 47; Schöberlein, Schatz, I. p. 20, 47): LORD'S PRAYER *after consecration.*

Minden KO., 1530: strictly following *Luther's Formula Missae.*

Riga KO., 1530: preface, *verba* (inserted), sanctus, LORD'S PRAYER.

Joachim Slüter's Low German Mass, Rostock, 1531, prepared from Döber's Nuremberg mass, reprinted Swerin, 1858: preface, *verba* (inserted), sanctus, introduction to the Lord's Prayer from Luke 11 : 1 and Matt. 6 : 7, LORD'S PRAYER, additional prayer, pax, agnus, exhortation, prayer for worthy reception, distribution.

Brandenburg Nuremberg KO., 1533: exhortation ("Ihr Allerliebsten in Gott, dieweil wir jetzo, etc.," from Döber's mass), *verba*, LORD'S PRAYER, pax, distribution.

March of Brandenburg KO., 1540, one of the most important and interesting, on account both of the extent of its territory and its marked character. It represents the tendency of a high-churchly conservatism, owing to the decided attitude of Elector Joachim II., whose tenacious adherence to traditional usages was with a noble liberality tolerated, and at the same

time indirectly criticised, in a vein of fine humor, by Luther in his well-known reply to the "Dome Provost" Buchholtzer of Berlin. Communion service as follows: offertory, preface, sanctus (all in Latin), during sanctus general intercessions, *verba* (sung) with elevation, LORD'S PRAYER (sung) with introduction, agnus (Latin), pax (sung), two or three Latin collects for worthy access (from the missae), exhortation (from Brandenburg Nuremberg), distribution. After the death of the bishop of Brandenburg and the establishment of the Consistorial polity, this KO. was remodeled and republished, in 1572 and '73, as Elector Georg's Agenda, Visitations- and Consistorial-Ordnung, with slight modifications of some traditional rites, and, as for the Lord's Prayer, conformed to the prevalent practice of placing it before the verba. This KO. was the main historical foundation on which the Agenda of the Prussian "Evangelische Landeskirche" were based, in 1821 and '29.

Pfalz Neuberg KO., 1543: exhortation ("Ihr Allerliebsten in Gott"), oblation of bread and wine with corresponding prayer, *verba* (with elevation), sanctus or hymn during which general intercessions, LORD'S PRAYER, agnus, distribution.

Cologne Reformation, 1543: dismissal of the excommunicate, admonition to non-communicants and communicants, thanksgiving "according to ancient common usage," sanctus (Latin and German, choir and people alternating), *verba* with the amen of the people, LORD'S PRAYER, pax, distribution.

Veit Dietrich's Agendbüchlein für die Pfarrherren auf dem Land, Nuremberg, 1546, a private work, but much used and often reprinted: exhortation ("Ihr Allerliebsten"), *verba*, sanctus, LORD'S PRAYER, pax, distribution, agnus.

KO. for Courland and Semgallen in Livonia, 1570, follows the Prussian KO. of 1525, placing the LORD'S PRAYER *after the consecration.*

(The *Austrian KO.*, 1571, grants liberty to have the Lord's Prayer before or after the verba, and uses it once again in the post-communion act).

The result is a dissension among the Lutheran Agenda. One part leaves the Lord's Prayer in its ancient and constant place, where it was since Tertullian, preparatory to the approach to

the altar; the other part removes it into a position before the verba where it stands now as a problem, either instead of the eucharistic prayers, or as some kind of consecration prayer. But neither part seems to be conscious of a mutual opposition; neither part gives perceptible reasons for its procedure, except those which we tried to gather from a glance into the work-shop of the composers of liturgies. The place of the Lord's Prayer seems to be regarded as immaterial. Its removal was under various untoward circumstances inaugurated by some leading authorities, and the followers, preoccupied, stepped into the same traces. But that displacement is not an adiaphoron. In this holy action every thing ought to be well considered, and arranged with the utmost carefulness. That the "our Father" cannot represent the Lord's thanksgiving has been sufficiently emphasized. That it cannot stand for a consecration prayer, effecting some general preliminary dedication or sanctification of the elements, is self-evident. C. M. Pfaff († 1760) says, "Nihil enim in oratione ista exstat, quod ad benedictionem symbolorum eucharisticorum perficiendam spectet." Our search in the writings of modern liturgiologists, for a solution of that problem, has failed to reach a satisfactory result. T. Kliefoth believes that the Reformers felt the fact of having to do, in the holy communion, with the Lord and his words alone, wherefore they preferred his own prayer to prayers of human composition. L. Schöberlein explains: the Lord's Prayer was justly understood as meaning a sanctification of the communicants; but as this preparatory act might be deemed appropriate sooner or later in the course of the action, the place of the Lord's Prayer was different, accordingly. W. Löhe and T. Harnack simply restore it to its ancient position.

As the Lutheran Church is not a new Church, originated in the sixteenth century, but represents the Christian Church, as developed under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, in its purity; and as she is not a sect, fostering particular human inventions of her own, even in matters of cult, but lays a just claim to the character of true catholicity: those of her liturgical documents which deviate in a specialty from the ecumenical type of Christian liturgy, are to be CORRECTED on the ground of their own

principle by which they either stand or fall. After this correction, the affirmation of the Augsburg Confession, in its epilogue, will be the more an actual truth, "that in doctrine and ceremonials among us there is nothing received contrary to Scripture or to the Catholic [Universal Christian] Church."

ARTICLE VI.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK AND LONDON.

Bible Characters. Being Selections from Sermons of Alexander Gardener Mercer, D. D. (1817–1882). With a brief Memoir of him by Manton Marble. pp. 335. 1885.

Dr. Mercer was a minister in the Episcopal Communion, a man of great intellectual accomplishments and extraordinary pulpit powers, which were exercised among the cultured audiences of Newport and Boston. The present series of brief discourses on "Bible Characters" were prepared solely for his pulpit, and after his death were selected from his manuscript remains and upon urgent solicitation given for publication.

The author displays uncommon faculties for the treatment of these examples from sacred history. He is, first of all, quite successful in demonstrating their representative and typical character. They are not ideal or unique personages, but specimens of our common human nature, not so very remote from any one of us, their wickedness marking the horrible development of those beginnings of evil, of which we are all conscious, their saintly virtues but revealing the nobler possibilities within reach of every one.

Then, too, these sermons disclose remarkable insight into the human breast, a penetration into the depths of the heart that amounts to intuition. With this is combined such a clear analysis of the individual qualities and such a bold delineation of features that these ancient celebrities are made to stand before us in veritable forms, flesh and spirit reproduced in vivid portraits, their virtues and vices such as are familiar at the present day.

A slight mark, a single act or utterance is often seized upon, just as a few bones from an extinct animal serve the naturalist for the construction of the unknown original, and by means of that the individuality of the man, the whole character is portrayed. In the forcible words of the editor, "For such intuition of human character as his, a slight trace, a faint intimation is enough. With certainty and ease he produces the

full extent and significance of the scriptural lines, lays out their implications, recreates, as it were, their temporal environment and that spiritual world of which they form a part but imply the whole, until the portrait of Caleb coming from Eschol has the life-like solidity of that of David, psalmist and king, and all Gallio seems known to us no less than the character of Saul of Tarsus."

The style is at once chaste, vigorous and impressive. The reader is charmed as well as instructed on every page and must wonder by times at the origin of the slur "dull as a sermon." It is a volume that will form a valuable addition to any library, but is to be especially commended to the rising generation of ministers, who will find it very helpful in the study of Bible characters and very serviceable as a lofty-model of pulpit excellence.

HARPER & BROTHERS, FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK.

Old Times in the Colonies. By Charles Carlton Coffin, Author of "The Boys of '76," "The Story of Liberty," &c. Quarto. pp. 460. 1881.

This is not strictly a new book, but it possesses those merits which keep it ever new and ever in demand by boys and girls of educated tastes. It belongs to that series of favorites with the young which Mr. Coffin has written from time to time on American history, properly filling the gap between "The Story of Liberty," which traced a chain of events through a period of five hundred years, from the signing of the Magna Charta to the settlement of Jamestown and Plymouth, and "The Boys of '76," a narrative of the battles of the Revolution. "Old Times in the Colonies" covers the period from the discovery and settlement of America to the Revolutionary War.

In clear and attractive style the author details the principal events that transpired during the colonial period of our country, and portrays the hardships and sufferings of those who laid the foundations of a new empire. He shows how the Old World laws, habits and customs were gradually changed; how the grand ideas of Freedom and the Rights of Man took root and flourished.

Apart from the stirring and captivating interest which attaches to our colonial period, the importance of the struggle which then transpired can never be overestimated. It is still a question in many minds whether the conflict between France and England in the colonies or the great contest of the Revolution was the more momentous struggle. Greater problems were undoubtedly solved by the former, and more decisive results contributed to the destiny of the human race. During the colonial wars it was the question between Freedom and Absolutism, between an empire which the principles of liberty and Protestantism should transform into a universal home for man, or one from which the spirit of liberty was forever to be excluded by Jesuitism and French Despotism. The success of Wolfe at Quebec determined the fortunes of Amer-

ica and Europe and the world for a thousand years. That struggle is well portrayed by Mr. Coffin and he writes throughout with the heart and mind of a Protestant.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, NEW YORK.

Leaders in Modern Philanthropy. By William Garden Blaikie, D. D., LL. D., Edinburg, Scotland. With Fifteen Portraits. pp. 296.

Dr. Blaikie writes with a fluent and forceful style and has produced a most interesting and wholesome volume in his "Leaders in Modern Philanthropy." In hasty sketches and glowing outlines he has portrayed the nobler traits of character and the grand philanthropic enterprises which gave distinction to the names of Howard, Wilberforce, Chalmers, Guthrie, Livingstone, Elizabeth Fry and others. All his subjects are persons of striking individuality, who would have achieved greatness in any sphere and whose lives even apart from their noble deeds for humanity are possessed of many charming features. Some will be surprised to discover how large a proportion of these British philanthropists were either of Quaker origin or Quaker sympathies. In the case of all, however, it is notable that the spirit of Christianity gave the impulse to their benevolent, unselfish and far-reaching endeavors for the amelioration of their kind. It was in fact the special object of these biographical sketches to show the connection between a vigorous faith in Christ and the labor of love in the service of man. And one can hardly read them without experiencing the strengthening of his faith in man as well as in God.

MACMILLAN & CO., CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON.

The New Testament in the Original Greek. The text revised by Brooke Foss Wescott, D. D. and Fenton John Anthony Hort, D. D. pp. 618. 12mo. 1885.

Wescott and Hort hold the foremost rank among Greek and Biblical scholars, and their edition of the New Testament in 1881 is pronounced by competent judges as the purest Greek text extant. Some thirty years of research and labor have been devoted to this task and the result, combining as it does the brilliant productions of former editors, such as Lachman, Tischendorf and Tregelles, constitutes the most important contribution yet made to the critical study of the original text of the New Testament. The revisers who were favored with advanced proof-sheets of this edition, were largely controlled by it on all matters pertaining to the text.

The edition before us is a smaller reproduction of the edition of 1881, following the second and corrected impression of the larger edition. Its advantage over that is found in the more convenient form and much lower price, while type and text remain the same. Additional simplicity has been gained by removing all strictly alternative marginal readings from the margin to the foot of the page, and by transferring to the

end of the volume all such rejected readings as had been allowed to stand in the margin on account of some special interest, together with such other rejected readings as were noticed only in the Appendix. It is destined to be *the* pocket edition of all who love to read the Scriptures in the original.

LUTHERISCHER-CONCORDIA-VERLAG, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Tanz und Theaterbesuch. Je zwei freie Vorträge hierüber, in vier dazu veranstalteten Erbauungsstunden gehalten und auf Grund stenographischer Aufzeichnungen auf Wunsch seiner Gemeinde veröffentlicht von C. F. W. Walther, Pfarrer der ersten deutschen evangelisch lutherischen Gesammtgemeinde ungeänderter Augsburgischen Confession Zu St. Louis, Mo. pp. 100. 1885.

This little octavo attractively bound and executed throughout in the most substantial style, contains four discourses delivered by the venerable Dr. Walther on the subject of dancing and attending the theatre. The four collegiate churches composing the congregation of which Dr. W. still remains pastor held a united service for this purpose on four different occasions during last October and November, and two discourses on dancing and two on the theatre were delivered to overflowing congregations.

That dancing as it is in vogue with the world conflicts with the sixth Commandment and is altogether irreconcilable with the life of a Christian, is very strongly set forth and on grounds that are unassailable. The discourses on the theatre abound with citations from heathen as well as Christian writers, and even from actors, testifying to the immoral and pernicious influences of the stage.

Some will be surprised to learn that in October 1778 the American Congress adopted resolutions urging the States to take the most effective measures for the suppression of theatrical entertainments as being at war with religion and good morals, which are the foundations of liberty and the public welfare; and declaring that any one in the service of the United States, who shall take part in a play, or encourage or attend the same, "shall be deemed incapable of holding his office and shall be dismissed from the service of the United States." How is this for our boasted progress?

Biblische Geschichten für Unterklassen. pp. 147. 1885.

This is an admirable compendium of biblical history for the young. It is given in the simple phraseology of the Scriptures, divided into seventy-seven lessons and furnished with a profusion of wood-cuts, much better in design and execution than is usual in elementary works of this character. Each chapter is closed with a bible-text of a devotional nature which serves as a fitting spiritual commentary on the history which it contains. The representation of God by the picture of a man is of very questionable propriety and is condemned by many as savoring of

idolatry. Apart from two such illustrations it is to be commended to all families and schools in which children know or are learning the German.

First Reader. Illustrated. pp. 51.

Here is a little work in English from the same press, exciting our admiration for the enterprise and wisdom which characterizes these German Lutherans, who not only maintain their own Christian schools in every congregation, but who also provide their own text-books, thus shielding their children from the insidious secularism which so completely dominates in our public schools. We know of no American publishing-house that surpasses the "Concordia" in either the contents or the mechanical execution of their school-books.

Achter Synodalbericht des Illinois Districts der deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten. pp. 93. 1885.

Dritter Synodalbericht des Wisconsin-Districts der deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von. Missouri, &c. pp. 79. 1885.

There is possibly to be found in no other Christian body so much solid reading matter in the minutes of synodical conventions. It appears that no division of the great Missouri Synod ever holds a meeting without the discussion of doctrinal questions. The Proceedings of the Illinois district contain an excellent paper covering sixty pages on the subject of eternal life, by Pastor Albert Brauer. Those of the Wisconsin district contain an able discussion by Pastor H. Sprengeler, extending over fifty pages on the thesis: "A thoroughly grounded, genuine Lutheran congregation believes with the heart in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper and endeavors to guard against anyone partaking of the same with her unto his condemnation." In regard to the formula of the Prussian Agenda: "Christ says, This is my Body," it is claimed that after having appeared first in a few Reformed and Rationalist liturgies it was appropriated by the United Church and adopted in the new Prussian Agenda, at the instance of the Unionistic (unirtgesinnte) theologian Marheinecke for the express purpose of being used both by the Reformed and the Lutherans. "This formula has accordingly in the Prussian Union no other meaning than that Christ indeed says, 'This is my Body,' &c., but how these words are to be understood must be left to the individual judgment."

The same house also sends us the two following tracts, likewise set for the defense of the faith, as these Missouri Lutherans most firmly hold it.

Die sogenannten Evangelischen oder Unirten. Was lehren sie in ihren Katechismen? Und warum können wir mit ihnen nicht in Kirchengemeinschaft stehen?

Warum sollen wir an unserer deutschen evang.-lutherischen Kirche festhalten?

J. A. SCHULTZE, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

Dr. Martin Luther's House-Postil, or Sermons on the Gospels for the Sundays and Principal Festivals of the Church-year. Translated from the German. Vol. III. pp. 410. 1884.

Luther excelled as a father nearly as much as he proved himself the model of a Reformer. For a while he preached regularly in his own house to the children and other members of his household, holding that it was a matter of conscience to him to preach thus as the head of a family.

The style and contents of these sermons differ very little, if at all, from his pulpit deliverances, being marked by great simplicity, evangelical doctrine and searching practical application. The translation is well done. We have never seen Luther rendered into better English, and yet the translation remains very faithful to the original. We find on comparison that he has followed the Dietrich Edition of the *Haus-Postille*. The reader is referred to Vol. XIV. of the QUARTERLY, p. 628, for the history of the two editions. This third volume of the translation contains the sermons from Trinity Sunday to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity, in all twenty-seven, there being two for Trinity Sunday. Preachers and laymen ought to supply themselves with this valuable work. Whatever may be said of Luther's discourses as homiletical models or as specimens of fine writing, we look in vain for a sounder or more effective exposition of gospel truth than that which characterizes his preaching. Nor is his genius more marked in anything than in the stimulating and impregnating power of all his writings. Contact with such a mind is in the highest degree profitable. If one wishes to stir up and kindle his dormant and sluggish energies let him by all means study the electric Luther.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

American Presbyterianism. Its Origin and Early History. Together with an Appendix of Letters and Documents, many of which have recently been discovered. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D. D., Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate languages in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. With Maps. pp. xviii. 373, cxlii. 1885.

Whatever comes from the pen of Dr. Briggs is sure to reveal, on every page, his learning, earnestness, painstaking and independence. He always writes like an author, who has something to say, who knows how to say it, and who is not afraid to say it. His history of American Presbyterianism is a very valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical history of this country, useful not only to Presbyterians but to every one that has an intelligent interest in the progress of our common Christianity, and our own religious or national history.

One of the most notable features of American Presbyterianism is its relation to English Puritanism. Though the Presbyterians were long engaged in a bitter struggle with Independency for civil and ecclesiastical supremacy in England, the Presbyterianism of this country is as much the child of English Puritanism as it is of Scotch Calvinism. The Westminster Assembly was controlled by the Puritans and the general type of spiritual life and opinion among the Presbyterians of the Colonies was largely, if not predominantly, derived from that party in the mother country. On this part of his subject Dr. Briggs is eminently just and pronounced.

As a scientific historian, Dr. B. not only traces American Presbyterianism to British and Continental Calvinism, but he also discriminates Calvinism from Lutheranism. Here, to our regret, he does not furnish the sources of his material or offer the liberal citations from original authorities with which the ample appendix supplements the body of the work. That a man of Dr. Briggs' learning, candor and freedom from denominational bigotry should repeat against Luther the stale and outworn charge of Consubstantiation is simply astounding, and to us utterly unaccountable. We challenge him to produce a single recognized Lutheran theologian who ever used the term or acknowledged the doctrine implied by it, as held either by Luther or the Lutheran Church. If he fails in this let him surrender this vulgar misrepresentation of the foremost Protestant denomination to the stupid and slanderous bigots from whom nothing better could be expected. He has a few other faults to pick at Luther. For instance, the Reformer was content with the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Calvinism advanced beyond him "in the doctrine of salvation by the divine grace alone." If this distinction means anything it means that the chronic claim to Luther by the Presbyterians because in his doctrine of salvation by grace alone he was out and out a Calvinist, is disavowed by one of the most eminent Presbyterian divines.

Again, the Lutheran Church is charged with tieing "the divine grace too closely to the Word and Sacraments." This is Dr. B's. opinion, but it was not the view of that able exponent of Presbyterian doctrine, Dr. Charles Hodge, who in his Systematic Theology, Vol. I. p. 68, teaches that the inward influence of the Spirit is through the word, and in Vol. III. p. 466, declares "The Word of God, so far as adults are concerned, is an indispensable means of salvation." Dr. Hodge must have been a Lutheran! Dr. Briggs makes a great deal of this theory of saving grace outside the means of grace divinely instituted. It forms the basis of his amazing claim that "the Calvinistic system of grace is the most comprehensive and liberal of all Christian systems. It recognizes the salvation by the divine grace of men who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word or reached by the means

of grace." And yet he expresses regret that "Presbyterianism has been too often represented by spurious types which were not born of Presbyterianism, but were the children of Anabaptism." Now this doctrine of the Spirit's agency apart from the external form and letter of Scripture was the very first-born of Anabaptism, a subversion of truth so revolting to Luther that he was ready "to smite such a Holy Ghost on the mouth." It is sad enough that such a bastard progeny has been anywhere welcomed into the Presbyterian family—but it is surprising that Prof. B. recognizes neither its parentage nor its true character. That these same Anabaptists, when it suited their purpose, were guilty of an absurd literalism, only reveals one of the inconsistencies of fanaticism.

But inconsistencies are not confined to the enthusiasts. They seem to attach even to the splendid system of Calvinism. For here a learned historian of that system holds that it recognizes the salvation of some who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the Word, and yet the Westminster Confession says: "Much less can men, not professing the Christian religion, be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature," etc. The author has confounded us by this antinome just as he did by the statement that "the sovereignty does not limit the grace of God, but the grace of God is ever supreme and determines the sovereignty," but our perplexity here found relief a few sentences on where it is admitted that "there have been forms of Calvinism which have hedged in the divine electing grace with sovereignty and with arbitrariness." Calvinism and castiron are after all not synonymous.

The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. By Otto Pfleiderer, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated by J. Frederick Smith. [The Hibbert Lectures, 1885]. pp. 237, 1885.

The reader will find both interest and profit in this volume. The profit, however, will not come by reception of the author's views, but from the instructive short-coming everywhere manifest in the labored attempt of an able writer to make an erroneous theory consistent with itself or with the irreduceable facts involved. The book is a study of a great historical and religious phenomenon, and the real truth in the case becomes more firmly established to the thoughtful reader's view by the incredibilities which plainly attach to this different explanation.

Dr. Pfleiderer belongs to the class of theologians whose rejection of a supernatural inspiration of the Scriptures leaves them in full liberty to treat them as erroneous as to facts and doctrines. This liberty he uses in the freest license. Following Baur, whom he mentions as "distinguished equally for his learning, his critical acumen and his constructive genius, who first succeeded in forever scattering the thick

mists of traditional illusion which had settled over the early years of our religion, and obtaining a connected and critically established view of the actual development of primitive Christianity," he finds the chief element of Paul's influence in an exaggerated notion of his antagonism to the rest of the apostles, primarily on the relation of Christians to the law, and then on justification by faith alone and almost all the great features of Christianity. He finds Paul coming into religious convictions in a very naturalistic way, progressing in and modifying his views and statements under the influence of his contention with his opponents and the expediency of the circumstances of his labors. Throughout, the representation implies that he was guided by his own reasonings, and that the power of his unique influence in determining the mould of Christian views, as well as his lofty ideals of religious verity, was due simply to his peculiar and superb genius. The great divergence of his Christogical and Soteriological views from the rest of the apostles, is represented as causing an ever-present and exciting conflict in the apostolic churches, traceable in all the gospels and epistles. The ingenuity with which Dr. Pfleiderer finds traces of this strife illustrates the facility men acquire in finding what they seek for. The Apocalypse—not held as written by the apostle John—is supposed to be written by some Jewish Christian, taking various occasions to condemn Paul and his friends. The Gospel by St. Mark is claimed to be a Pauline defense, and the Gospel by Matthew a reply. Mat. 5 : 19 is viewed as referring to Paul, and 7 : 21, 23 to those Paulinists who call Jesus Lord but slight the law. In *Luke* a moderate Paulinism is again heard, and our author finds reference to this conflict in the account of the commission given to the seventy, the beautiful story of the sisters, Martha and Mary, and the narrative of the two disciples on the way to Emmaus.

The author's account of the order and motives of the writing of the gospels is self-refuting. It alleges intentions on the part of the writers which, if the interpretations given are to be accepted, have been carried out in a style of oblique indirection and covert allusion, that is at once unnatural and without example in the history of controversy. The theory is inconsistent with the straight-forward candor which marked the evangelists.

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., CHICAGO.

Fichte's Science of Knowledge. A Critical Exposition. By Charles Carroll Everett, D. D., Bussey Professor of Theology in Harvard University. Author of "The Science of Thought."

Hegel's Aesthetics. A Critical Exposition. By John Steinfort Kedney, S. T. D., Professor of Divinity in the Seabury Divinity School, Fairbault, Minnesota. Author of "The Beautiful and the Sublime."

These two volumes belong to the "German Philosophical Classics for English readers and students," edited by Prof. George S. Morris, of

the University of Michigan. They harmonize in method and purpose with Prof. Morris' exposition of "Kant's Critique of the Pure Reason," and Prof. Watson's explanation of "Schelling's Transcendental Idealism," heretofore favorably noticed in this REVIEW. And like them, they are valuable contributions to the help of English reading students in understanding the course of metaphysical thought in Germany.

Prof. Everett, in a few well-chosen statements, has given a view of Fichte as a man and his personal relations to Kant, that sheds light on his philosophical tendencies and work. This is followed by an account of the development and modification he gave to Kant's teaching and which prepared the way for Schelling. The exposition is marked by clear insight into Fichte's teaching, fine analytic power, and apt statement of the distinguishing features and defects of his philosophy.

In Prof. Kedney's exposition of Hegel's Æsthetics, we have an interesting discussion of the philosophy and principles of art. The value of the exposition is not alone in its presenting the teaching of Hegel, but in the dissenting or modifying views with which the author accompanies Hegel's statements. Both these volumes deserve to be carefully read by our students of philosophy.

Complete Rhetoric. By Alfred H. Welsh, A. M.

Professor Welsh calls his book The *Complete* Rhetoric, probably because it embraces a somewhat wider range of topics than has been customary of late in works of this kind. It does in fact include all the topics usually treated under the head of rhetoric. Sublimity, beauty and wit are restored to their old place. The book, however, can in no sense be regarded as an important contribution to literature. There is little originality in the treatment of any part of the subject, and the main value of the book will consist in the opportunity it gives teachers of going over the whole subject with their classes without a change of text-book.

GINN & CO., BOSTON.

Outlines of Practical Philosophy. Dictated portions of the Lectures of Hermann Lotze. Translated and edited by George T. Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale College. pp. 156. 1885.

Lotze occupied front rank in Germany in the conflict with pantheism and materialism. With his wide knowledge of science and philosophy, his critical acumen and calm judgment, he was remarkably equipped for the great service he accomplished in the interest of theistic truth. Scarcely any one has done more to show the unphilosophical character of the materialism of Vogt, Moleschott, Büchner and their followers.

Prof. Ladd is doing an excellent service in giving the series of "Outlines" of Lotze's lectures to the American public. That it is appreciated is seen in the favorable reception given to the two volumes which

have preceded this—the *Outlines of Metaphysics* and the *Outlines of Philosophy of Religion.*

The present volume presents two divisions—the first giving a very brief statement of ethical principles, and the second discussing what is commonly understood by applied ethics. The idea of *value* underlies Lotze's conception of moral good. The value, however, is not worth to self, but to others, and the conclusion is reached that "the idea of benevolence must give us the sole supreme principle of all moral conduct." The application of the principle thus outlined is, in the second part, carried through a discussion of its relation to the individual, to marriage and the family, the intercourse of men, society, and the state. It is throughout full of interest, and students of the questions involved will be glad to have the opportunity, through these pages, of knowing the views of so prominent a teacher.

THOMAS WHITAKER, NEW YORK.

The Christian Ministry at the Close of the Nineteenth Century. By Rt. Rev. A. N. Littlejohn, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Long Island. pp. 430. 1884.

In this volume we have the first series of lectures on the foundation of "The Bishop Paddock Lectureship." This is a foundation created by Geo. A. Jarvis of Brooklyn, N. Y., in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and named by him in honor of the Bishop of Massachusetts. The first series of lectures, thus provided for, were delivered in 1884 and form a large volume.

The subject here discussed has the advantage of being not only in itself a practical one, but one which is just now attracting wide discussion. Apart from the instruction and counsel given to the students of the seminary, the eminent lecturer is well deserving of being heard by the public on the important questions the subject is raising. Of the twelve lectures which form the book, the first views the Christian Ministry at the bar of criticism. The second considers the causes which have hindered or impaired its influence. The third notes the evidences of its intellectual vigor and activity, followed by others on its activity in Christian and scientific ethics and in apologetics and Biblical Criticism, on the material and training of the ministry, on preaching, on the clergy as educators, on improved methods in the cure of souls, dogmatic teaching, "The New Theology," and character. The discussion shows everywhere wide knowledge, fine culture and discriminating judgment.

Bishop Littlejohn has, very naturally for him, largely made the term Christian Ministry synonymous with Episcopal Ministry. Yet the vigorous treatment he gives of the questions which concern its power and right influence will serve well for the ministry in all branches of the Church. The high standard he insists on, as to personal character,

qualifications, wisdom, and consecration, make the reading of the volume a tonic for ministerial life and service.

H. L. HASTINGS, BOSTON.
S. BAQSTER & SONS, LONDON.

The Errors of Evolution. An Examination of the Nebular Theory, Geological Evolution, The Origin of Life, and Darwinism. By Robert Patterson, author of "The Fables of Infidelity." Edited, with an Introduction by H. L. Hastings, Editor of *The Christian.* Boston. pp. 271.

The author of this volume has evidently read much of the scientific discussion of our times, and freely uses the knowledge thus gained in the examination here conducted. He has been impressed with the immense assumptions which mark much of the reasoning by which the evolutionist hypothesis, especially in its materalistic form, is sought to be established and counted as science. He is justly concerned at the religious skepticism that evolutionist speculation causes—unsettling the minds of many and overthrowing their Christian faith. And he rightly thinks that the immense literary activity of the advocates of the hypothesis of atheistic evolution ought to be met by a correspondent activity of Christian writers in maintaining the truth. But it is questionable whether he has taken the best way for the accomplishment of the worthy end he seeks. The book is earnest and bright, and brings into clear view many of the weak points and conflicting relations in the teachings of evolutionism. He deals many strokes on the absurdities in which its advocates often involve themselves. But he has weakened the force of it all by his intensely polemic method, his too free use of epithet, ridicule and denunciation. However merited some of his epithets, ridicule, and varied characterizations may be, the good aim of the book would be better served by their omission. In questions such as this nothing is gained and much lost by the free use of these weapons.

The following books have been received and will be noticed in our next number.

The Holy Bible. Containing the Old and New Testaments, translated out of the original tongues, being the version set forth A. D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities, and revised. Harper and Brothers.

Eight Studies of the Lord's Day. Houghton Mifflin & Co.

The Riverside Parallel Bible. The Holy Bible arranged in parallel columns with the revised versions of 1881 and 1885. 4to. pp. 1304, 408. The same.

General History of the Christian Religion and Church: from the German of Dr. Augustus Geauder, translated by Joseph Torrey.

Thirteenth American Edition, revised, corrected and enlarged. Six volumes. The same.

Church History in Brief. By Rev. James C. Moffat, D. D.. Professor of Church History, Princeton. pp. 492. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Scotland's Influence on Civilization. By the Rev. L. J. Halsey, D. D., LL. D. pp. 256. The same.

In His Steps. A book for young Christians setting out to follow Christ. By J. R. Miller. pp. 120. The same.

Tent and Saddle Life in the Holy Land. By Rev. David Van Horne, D. D. pp. 352. American Sunday-School Union.

Daniel the Prophet. By Rev. E. B. Pusey, D. D. Funk & Wagnalls, New York. pp. 519.

Apostolic Life, as Revealed in the Acts of the Apostles. By Joseph Parker, D. D. Funk & Wagnalls, New York. pp. 357.

History of the People of the United States. Vol. II. By John Bach McMaster. D. Appleton & Co., New York. pp. 656.

The Story of Greece. By. Prof. James A. Harrison. "The Story of the Nations" Series. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. pp. 515.

PERIODICALS.

The periodicals published by the Harper Bros., New York. viz., the *Monthly Magazine*, *Weekly*, *Bazar*, and *Young People*, have been coming regularly and are highly appreciated. Each occupies a leading place in its own sphere, and we heartily recommend them.